Mostly Holocaust: Sources & Resources
A Special Feature Prepared by Peter Lande

Introduction
The Leo Baeck Institute is dedicated to the principle that the memory of the German Jewish culture, history, and accomplishments "shall not perish from this earth," and Stammbaum seeks to cultivate German Jewish family history, an important component of the larger whole.

The legacy lives on, although the unique pre-war community has ended. Some of us - born in Germany and with some direct memory of the language and the culture - are the last ones who were part of this community of more than half a million. And the total comes to 700,000 after we include Austrian Jews whose country was taken over by Germany in March of 1938. There is a growing community in Germany today; but most of its current members trace their origins elsewhere.

The Holocaust, the "Final Solution," is the pivotal event, a conclusion to a chapter of German Jewish history, including family history. Genealogy continues, but it will no longer be German, except for its antecedents going back, for some of us, to the late Middle Ages.

Ascendancy. Some of us cultivate family Ahnentafeln or pedigrees. Our software is fully prepared for two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, although there is the matter of Ahnenschwund, the attrition of ancestors. This is very common because in small communities our ancestors (and lots of other ancestors) tended to marry cousins, some remote and some not so remote. (This is so common that many genealogical computer programs are prepared to print: "Descendants not printed; see above p. yy."). And so it happens that many of us have fewer than sixteen great-grandparents. On paper, this produces a tree stood on its head.

Descendancy. Others - sometimes the same genealogists - start with a patriarch and collect descendants who spread out like the typical family tree, with an un-predictably long and short branches. For these persons it is important, genealogically speaking, to be able to learn the fate of those relatives who did not escape, who died in the Holocaust. Psychologically speaking, there also is the need for many to achieve closure, to learn who lived, who died, and possibly even where they died.

Focus on Holocaust. It is against this background that we present an issue with a focus on the Holocaust. We discuss tools, archives, and microfilms; we present lists, or at least samples or excerpts with guidance on where to find the full lists - almost an oxymoron.
This is family history, based on genealogy. This will enable us to gather names and dates as part of the larger effort to chart the destiny of members of our families, the lucky ones who escaped, and the victims who did not. This special issue of Stammbaum should be useful, especially because over the past ten years at least as much information on Holocaust victims and survivors has been found or made available than in the previous 40 years.

The pessimism that has long shrouded Holocaust research, e.g. "they were all killed" or "there are no records", is simply no longer justified. This is particularly true of records pertaining to the fate of Austrian and German Jews, where we have much more information than about, say, Jews from Eastern Europe. However, much more needs to be done to organize this material and to make it accessible to researchers.

We can only hope that the German government, and the Bundesarchiv in particular, will accelerate work on a new Gedenkbuch, to include all Jewish victims from within Germany's 1937 borders. However, the contrast with Austria remains painful, exemplified by the glaring absence of an Austrian memorial book.

Numbers. Genealogists rarely fall into the trap of the numbers games. There is little point in seeking to establish whether 125,000, 150,000 or 175,000 German Jews perished in the Holocaust, or in trying to establish how many European Jews in total perished. We know there were too many, because even a single death diminishes all of us.

We, and the German government, know that the number of deaths is significantly more than the names which appeared in the 1986 Gedenkbuch, especially because it was limited to West Germany. It is, therefore, not with the goal of counting numbers that a list of victims appears in this special feature. These names are only a small fraction of "new" names which are now available.

Stammbaum will continue to publicize such lists in the hope that they will be helpful to our readers in their ongoing research.

Finally, a personal note. I can remember not so long ago, when asked to work on Holocaust records, that I was warned that these records are schmutzig (soiled). To be sure, seeing the name of a family member in concentration camp records can cause pain, but all who have worked in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum can attest to the fact that far more frequently the tears are of joy when uncertainties are resolved. Instead of numbers of victims or names of camps, individuals appear. It is in this spirit that this issue of Stammbaum is dedicated to the memory of the victims.

— Peter Lande, contributing editor for the Holocaust feature

German Jews and the Holocaust - the 1939 Census

While a few lucky genealogists know the names and fates of all their German-Jewish relatives in the period 1933-1945, most can identify only a portion of their family tree, and they must first establish who their relatives were before they can turn to their fate. There are many sources for German genealogical information which have nothing to do with the Holocaust, e.g. Standesamt records, Adress-
bücher, and the records of the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden. These will be discussed in a future article on "How to Do Family Research in Germany."

The present article is devoted to one extremely valuable, if painful source, the 1939 census, which is often, though erroneously, called the Minority Census of 1938-39. The census was organized in 1937 and initially planned to take place in 1938, when it was delayed (probably due to the Anschluss) and finally was held in May 1939. While all that remains of this census are the forms where Jews are listed, in fact, all German residents had to fill out forms, though, apparently, non-Jewish forms were later discarded.

Why a Census? There are two somewhat different, but not exclusive, explanations given for the taking of this census. One is that the earlier 1933 census, planned before the Nazis took over, designated as Jewish only the 503,727 persons who listed themselves as Jews [Glaubensjuden], but exclusive of persons of Jewish descent who did not consider themselves Jewish, although the Nazis did. The 1933 census did include 99,000 who did not have German citizenship. The Nazis, therefore, wanted a special census to be conducted under their full control.

The second explanation is that they were less interested in determining the total number of Jews in Germany than in obtaining detailed data on current residents and their addresses, especially since so many Jews had fled Germany between 1933 and 1939, while others had moved within Germany.

Emigration was no small matter; here are estimated numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-1937</td>
<td>92,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169,000</td>
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This does not include the 15,000 to 17,000 Polish Jews resident in Germany who were deported in 1938. The 1939 census yielded a figure of 233,646 Jews within Germany's 1937 borders, i.e. not including those areas of Czechoslovakia and all of Austria which had been absorbed by Germany by 1939. The Austrian situation is described in a separate article.

Doubtful Data. These numbers should be used with considerable skepticism. They simply do not add up. If we take the number of Jews reported to have lived in Germany in 1933 and subtract those who were reported to have emigrated (504,000 minus 169,000) the resulting figure of 334,000 is about 100,000 more than the number reported in 1939. Presumably the discrepancy in official statistics results from sizeable unreported emigration, as well as natural attrition due to the relatively older age of many remaining Jews.

Leaving the numbers game aside, however, the census yields a wealth of data on the nearly quarter of a million Jews still residing in Germany in 1939, at a time when there were very limited opportunities to escape. Jewish emigration was encouraged in the years after 1933, especially because of the income from the very heavy exit taxes, and the seizure of the emigrants' property after they left. And there were a variety of countries, primarily in Europe, where refuge could be taken. By 1939 it was far more difficult to find refuge elsewhere.

All Jews, defined as anyone with at least one Jewish grandparent, were required to fill out a printed form which called for the following information:

- Family name, including maiden name; first name(s); date of birth; place of birth; whether any of the respondent's four grandparents was a "Volljude", and, if so, which one; whether one had obtained higher education (Hochschule or Fachschulstudium) and, if so, what exam the respondent had passed.

The same information was required even from those who had no Jewish family roots or connections but lived in the same residence as Jews. One member of the family then signed the form. In almost all cases the information is hand-written and is often hard to read, particularly for those who have no experience in reading German script. In a few cases additional information was attached to the form, usually a statement by a local registry to the effect that a person was a Volljude.

Organization of Responses. All the forms were then sorted by locality and then put into alphabetical order within each locality. Where more than one Jewish family name appeared on a single form, a cross reference was added showing where information on that
individual could be found. The number of forms for any location varied widely, ranging from more than 100,000 in Berlin to a single form in tiny towns. In the version on film available through Family History Centers this results in as many as 130 reels devoted to Berlin, while Rostock was one of a number of cities or towns aggregated on one reel.

Almost the entire collection survived World War II, except for Thuringen and a few cities in the Rhineland, including Essen and Düsseldorf. The Thuringen gap in information has largely been closed with the publication of a special work on this state. You may be fortunate enough to locate your town(s) in this way. If not, you must do as I recently did and study detailed maps of Germany, guessing into which larger designation your tiny village was subsumed.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [LDS, Mormons] maintains a huge Family History Library in Salt Lake City. Many of its holdings are accessible through local Family History Centers.

The 1939 census film number will then appear. For example, the Kassel film number 1742 432 includes the names from Abel through Spangenthal, while 1742 433 finishes the alphabet through Zatorski.

There are, however, two problems. The first, and most obvious, is that many researchers do not know where persons lived or where they may have moved by 1939. There simply is no solution for this problem at present, since it would be incredibly tedious to go through hundreds of reels of film looking for a particular name. In the future the information presently sorted only by town may be computerized and indexed by state, thereby reducing the problem, but this may take some years.

The second problem is that there is no separate listing for smaller towns and villages. Such listings were simply bundled together. A partial solution was provided by Thomas Edlund of the Family History system in his An Introduction and Register to the German Minority Census of 1938-39. In this index, Edlund not only lists the film numbers for larger towns but also identifies where smaller localities can be found. Melnsungen, for example, appears with other localities under Kassel Land.

Using Results. If you are fortunate enough to find names of interest to you, what have you found, or not found? In utilizing this source of information, I have discovered that family members who were not closely connected, e.g. cousins or in-laws, often were forced to share an apartment or house, thereby providing information on family linkages which are not always easy to find. What you will not find is the ultimate fate of these individuals. However, by knowing where they resided and by utilizing other reference works you often can make an educated guess as to where they might have been deported, permitting you to look at other records which might establish their fate (see article on Memorial Books, below.) Of course, what you will also not find is any information on those Jews resident in Germany in 1933 who emigrated or died of natural causes by 1939. Arrests and deportations of German Jews from elsewhere in Europe, as well as survivors, are dealt with in separate articles in this issue.

The German Government’s Gedenkbuch, a Memorial Book

Undoubtedly the most extensive and best known source of information on German Jewish victims of the Holocaust is the German Government’s Gedenkbuch, released in 1986. Its full name is Gedenkbuch, Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945. (Various German cities have also issued Gedenkbücher but these are dealt with in a
Finally, and far more accurate, there is a discussion of the extent of the former Jewish population of West Germany, displayed by Land and Regierungsbezirk.

**Shortcomings.** The most obvious defect is the absence of the place of birth. This is particularly annoying since this information was available to the compilers and was omitted simply for reasons of space. For persons with unusual names, e.g. Lande, this is not a serious flaw. However, for researchers looking for the Stiefel family from Abterode, where the family members may have scattered throughout Germany, this is more of a problem.

More serious, though excusable, is the fact that the list is limited to former residents of West Germany and Berlin. The decision was both technical and political, in the sense that much less information was available from the former DDR, and political, since Bonn did not at that time wish to claim that it spoke for all of Germany. The new edition, the current work underway, is much more expansive; it will include not only those areas formerly in the DDR, but also all areas which had been part of Germany in 1937, e.g. Silesia, East Prussia and Pomerania.

The third and most easily understandable flaw in the Gedenkbuch arises simply from the limited amount of information available to its authors. Over the last ten years many new sources of information have become available, ranging from the 1939 census, to new city memorial books, to additional deportation lists and, most important, much more information on the concentration camps located in Eastern Europe. All of these subjects are discussed in separate articles and I would strongly recommend that researchers check alternative sources of information, even for persons listed in the Gedenkbuch.

**Toward a New Edition.** The Gedenkbuch is and will remain a well-intentioned useful first step in identifying German Jewish victims of the Holocaust. What is important now is to encourage the German government to devote more resources to the preparation of a new edition. At the present rate of progress it will take at least five years before anything new appears. Even if work is accelerated, problems will always remain due to the never-complete search for information on the fate of thousands of German Jews who cannot be accounted for either as having died during the Holocaust or as having survived. The search for these “missing people” will continue.

In the meantime the Gedenkbuch will continue to be misused. A recent author, for example, claimed that 75 percent of German Jews survived. He compared the Gedenkbuch statistic with 1933 numbers, and claimed that this “proves” how a much higher percentage of other European Jews could have survived, if only they had made the effort.

There is nothing like taking a false statistic and then drawing an even more inane conclusion from it. Further research, computerization and publication of original data will permit a more accurate presentation of the Holocaust, for all those who suffered and died.

**Reichsvereinigung der Juden.** Microfiche copies of records of the Reichsvereinigung der Juden, the major umbrella organization for Jews in the 1930s, long held by the Bundesarchiv, have been turned over to the Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin Centrum Judaicum, Oranienburgerstrasse 28/30, D-10117 Berlin. A copy of these records may also be examined at the USHMM.

To be described in a future issue of Stammgaz, the collection is only partially in alphabetical order, thus searches may require considerable effort. It includes deportation lists, wills and other legal documents left by persons emigrating from Germany, lists of properties which Jews were forced to sell before being deported to Theresienstadt, and much more information.
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<th>Last Name, First, birth name</th>
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Lesman, Artur 011230 see Arthur Lesman
Lesman, Arthur 011230 (Artur Lesman) Lodz;
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Lesman, Hasada 037855 (Hataka Pozmanter) Dobrzn;
Auschwitz, Majdanek, Warsaw, Ravensbruck, Birkenau
Lesman, Samuel 079128 Lodz;
Auschwitz, Mauthausen
Lesman, Samuel 037855 Raczaz;
Auschwitz, Dachau, Birkenau, Buchenwald
Lesniak, Esther 037856 (Ester Kohn) Lodz, Brzeziny;
Auderan, Auschwitz, Lodz, Theresienstadt
Lesniak, Stefan 037856 (Salomon Goldberger) Krakow;
Brneec, Gross Rosen, Plaszow, Podgorze

Leszman, Motek 200946 see Martin Leszman
Leszman, Szlomo 200946
Leszno-heniek, Chaim 037845 see Henry Lesno
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Lettich, Max 011490
Lettich, Sonia 011490
Letz, Otto 090431 (Otto Lec) Lwow;
Letzter, Arie 078917 Kulbuszowa, Kuluszowa; Soviet Union
Letzter, Frances 012208 see Frances Letzter Malkin
Letzter, Lea 012208 (Lea Letzter Malki) Sokal;
Sokal
Letzter, Lucia 009039 see Lucy Wilkins
Leuchter, Edith J 214222 (Edith L'Abbey, Edith J Loeb) Bruchsal;
Gurs, Rivesaltes, Masgelier, Moissac

1 Only residence before WWII was provided. 2 Only birthplace was provided. 3 Birthplace and residence before WWII are the same.
Memorial Books for Specific States and Localities

As noted in the preceding article, in addition to the German Government's Gedenkbuch, there are a number of city/state (Land) memorial books/lists. My impression is that most, but not all of them, provide more complete and more accurate information on Holocaust victims than does the Gedenkbuch. The principal reason for this is that most of them were prepared more recently than the Gedenkbuch, and therefore their authors had access to more recently available information.

In addition, it is always easier to develop data on a limited target. To my surprise, however, when I took a sample of 44 names drawn from Stutthof and compared them to the Gedenkbuch and the city/state books, I found that both sources were equally complete/incomplete, i.e. both contained complete information on victims for only one third of the sample. However, my advice to researchers remains the same: first look in the Gedenkbuch, and then in any relevant city/state book.

The information may vary and the latter sources will often provide different types of information than the Gedenkbuch (see below). While the format varies, the methodology is essentially the same, i.e. a name is included when there is evidence that that person was deported and did not return, or committed suicide. Former residents with respect to whom no information was available are not included. There are differences as to scope, particularly with respect to the inclusion of Polish Jews who were deported in 1938.

The following are brief reviews of the principal city/state books, followed by a lengthy list of such material for smaller localities.

Berlin. With the largest Jewish population, it is hardly surprising that the Berlin book, Gedenkbuch Berlins der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, prepared by the Zentralinstitut für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung der Freien Universität Berlin in 1995 is also the largest, with 55,696 names. While this number is large, the listing includes only about one third of the number of Jews registered in Berlin in 1933. The researchers explain this by noting that many Jews fled Berlin before major deportations began in 1941, and that there were only 64,720 Jews still registered then.

The information is more comprehensive than in the Gedenkbuch. In addition to names, including maiden names, the book shows date and place of birth, local address in Berlin, as well as transport and date and place of death, where known. This book also contains a useful description of the principal concentration camps to which Berliners were sent.

The authors had the advantage of access to the 1939 census, which they took as a base, and then employed the methodology described above. However, with the exception of some Dutch deportation material, they do not appear to have consulted to any significant extent other countries' deportation lists or concentration camp records. With the exception of Hamburg, this is a problem which haunts all of these books and lists. Were one to reverse the methodology and take the names of German Jews in 1933 (a list which does not exist) and subtract only those Jews whose names appear on survivor lists or who later made claims, the list would be very different, even after allowing for deaths from natural causes.

Hamburg. This city is unique in two respects. First of all, it is the only city which has issued two memorial books. The first, issued in 1965, listed 6,000 victims as Die jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg. This was replaced by the 1995 version entitled Hamburger jüdische Opfer des Nationalsozialismus, Gedenkbuch; it identified 8,877 victims.

Second, this is the only book where the number of names listed significantly exceeds the number of persons who were deported directly; it reflects the unusual efforts to collect information from all sources. The resulting 8,877 are in striking contrast to the roughly 5,300 persons actually deported from Hamburg; it reflects the inclusion of the names of Poles deported in 1938, deportations from other countries and persons who committed suicide during the Nazi regime or who were murdered in German mental hospitals or similar institutions. The information on each victim is much the same as in the Berlin book.
Cologne. **Die jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus aus Köln, Gedenkbuch**, issued in 1995, includes more than 7,000 names, compared to the roughly 15,000 Jews resident in Cologne in 1933. Its format is the same as the Hamburg book but, unfortunately, it suffers from the same weaknesses as the Berlin book, i.e. limited use of sources of information outside Germany.

Frankfurt am Main. The best thing that can be said about **Deportationsbuch der von Frankfurt am Main aus gewaltsam verschickten Juden in den Jahren 1941 bis 1944**, published in 1984, is that it has an impressive title. The authors simply took the names of all persons whose names appeared in the Gedenkbuch whose last place of residence was Frankfurt and issued this list as a book. Since 1984, more names have been collected by the staff at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt; there are no current plans to publish a revised book.

Leipzig. **Deportationsbuch der in den Jahren 1942 bis 1945 von Leipzig aus gewaltsam verschickten Juden**, published in 1991, includes about 6,000 names of Jews who were deported from Leipzig. The data include name, date and place of birth and date of deportation as well as place to which they were deported. Unfortunately, the names are arranged by transport and there is no overall index. Since Leipzig was in the DDR at the time the Gedenkbuch was published, none of these names appear in that book.

Thüringen. **Juden in Thüringen 1933-1945, Biographische Daten, Vol. I A-L**, published in 1996, and **Vol. II, M-Z**, published in 1997, are not really memorial books since they include information on survivors. The format falls somewhere between the minimal listing of names in the Gedenkbuch and the short biographies provided in some city memorial books, but they do contain a brief paragraph on each person, describing his/her fate. Unusual among the memorial books, they list the sources from which information was taken. These books are especially valuable since Thüringen is one of the few places in Germany where the results of the 1939 census were lost (see Census article above). This book, and its sequel expected next year, which will complete the alphabet M-Z, will close a major gap in our information. As in the case of Leipzig, the names of Thüringen victims do not appear in the Gedenkbuch.

Schleswig Holstein. **Memorbuch zum Gedenken an die jüdischen in der Schoa umgekommenen Schleswig Holsteiner und Schleswig Holsteinerinnen**, published in 1996, lists approximately 1,700 Jews who perished in the Holocaust. Like most memorial books, it includes date and place of birth and residence as well as where they perished, when this is known.

Baden. One of the earliest memorial books, **Sie sind nicht vergessen**, appeared in 1958 and focused on the Baden Jews who were deported to Gurs and other camps in France. There are many discrepancies between this book and the Gedenkbuch and, while I have not been able to research their relative accuracies, I am inclined to give the later book the benefit of the doubt when there is a conflict. Nevertheless, for persons interested in Southwest Germany, this book is worth consulting.

Baden-Württemberg. This memorial book was published in 1968/69 in two volumes. The first, by Paul Sauer, **Die Schicksale der jüdischen Bürger Baden Württembergs während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungszeit, 1933-45**, provides a comprehensive review of what took place during this time, while the second, **Ein Gedenkbuch, Die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung in Baden-Württemberg, 1933-1945**, lists 8,500 Jewish victims in two categories: those who resided in that state before January 30, 1933, and those who either moved there after that date or who were born after that date. Entries include names, date and place of residence, but not birth, and information as to their fate. The book suffers from a lack of information on former residents of that state, though it includes some limited information on deportations from Holland.

Kassel and Göttingen. These cities and their respective memorial books, **Namens und Schicksale der Juden Kassels 1933-1945**, published in 1986, and **Die jüdischen Bürger im Kreis Göttingen 1933-1945**, published in 1992 have nothing to do with each other but I have listed them together simply because they share the same format, name lists and short biographies, which give more information than most memorial books.

Other localities. There are many other localities where memorial books have been published and it is simply impossible to review them all. There is no common
format for these books; many include histories of the Jewish community and are therefore useful for the researcher seeking information dating well before the Holocaust. They also often include smaller communities located close to them and the researcher who does not find his/her town listed should look for the names of nearby communities.

An incomplete list arranged in alphabetical order follows on p.11. Readers looking for a specific bibliographic citation for any of these localities can write me, including a self-addressed stamped envelope, and I shall send them the information.


| Aachen | Ahlen | Alsenz | Altenkuchen | Altenstadt | Augsburg | Auroch | Bad Buchau | Bad Kissingen | Bad Mergentheim | Bad Nauheim | Barnberg | Bendorf | Bensheimer | Benheim | Bergen-Enkheim | Bergheim/Erf | Bersenbrück | Beuel | Bleifeld | Blaiburg | Bochum | Bonn | Borgentreich | Born | Bovenden | Braunschwag | Bremen | Buchen | Bücksburg | Büren | Burgsteinfurt | Butzbach | Camberg | Celle | Coesfeld | Dachau | Darmstadt | Dattenfeld, | Delmenhorst | Dinkelsbühl | Dinslaken | Dorsten | Dortmund |

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Even more than Switzerland, Austria appears to remain the West European country least able to deal with its past. While this is not the place to review Austria’s questionable role after the March 1938 Anschluss, Austria continues to pretend to be a victim, and has been slow in providing compensation to survivors and honoring its victims.

This attitude is well illustrated by the fact that Austria is the only country in West Europe where a memorial book to victims, Jewish and/or others, has not appeared. (Totenbuch Theresienstadt, edited by Miroslava Karmeloho et al., published by the Nadace Terezinska initiative, is limited to Austrians deported to Theresienstadt and does not even appear to correspond to the 15,000 names which the Czechs have collected and plan to publish in a year or two.)

Discussions in 1987 between Yad Vashem and the Austrian Government led to an agreement, in principle, that a memorial book would be prepared. The project did not begin until 1991, and to date (see below) only very limited funding has been provided to an organization, Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (DöW) which has been preparing a list of Jewish victims.

Despite the limitations suggested by its name which focuses on “Resistance,” this organization has done some excellent research and made considerable progress in collecting information on Austrian Jewish victims. The memorial project is well described in its 1993 publication, Verbreitung und Ermordung: Zum Schicksal der Österreichischen Juden 1938-45. Das Projekt "Namentliche Erfassung der Österreichischen Holocaustopfer." In 1997 the DöW issued this publication in English as Expulsion and Extermination. Instead of summarizing this 45-page publication, the following is a basic sketch of the fate of Austrian Jews:

The 1934 Austrian census enumerated 191,458 Jews, of whom 177,867 lived in Vienna. By the time of Anschluss in March 1938, this number had reportedly declined to 181,778. After Anschluss the pattern of persecution of Jews in Austria paralleled that in Germany, i.e. brutality, selective arrests and mostly brief deportations to camps such as Dachau; there were no major deportations until 1941. Nevertheless, the 1939 special census conducted throughout Germany and Austria reportedly found only 94,601 Jews in Austria.

Refugee Numbers. I say “reportedly” since this census remains an object of mystery. While almost all of the lists which comprised the German census were located after World War II, the lists (as opposed to the numbers) for Austrian Jews have never been found. Even more mysterious are the numbers themselves. If one is to believe them, nearly 90,000 Austrian Jews managed to escape Austria in a period of about 14 months. Then, according to Jewish community records cited by DöW, the number of Austrian Jews declined further to 66,260 by the end of 1939. While it would certainly have been in the interest of the Jewish community to minimize public disclosure of its membership, it is equally certain that this was not true for those who zealously conducted the Census.

The explanation for these numbers furnished by DöW is that Austrian bureaucrats, led by Adolf Eichmann’s Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung, were remarkably efficient and were successful in arranging the departure of about 100,000 Jews to various countries, including Palestine, the United States, the United Kingdom, and in Central and South America. Keep in mind that this was in the days when Eichmann administered a policy of mere “cleansing” of the Third Reich, followed only later by the “Final Solution” which was extermination.

Without resolving the issue of the size of the Jewish community prior to the onset of mass deportations, let us turn to the deportations themselves. Here, the DöW’s intensive research has identified roughly 48,000 Jews who were deported from Austria and for whom there is no indication that they survived. (The DöW utilized the same criteria for identifying victims as did the German Bundesarchiv, i.e. a Jew was someone persecuted by the Nazis as a Jew, and a victim is someone for whom there is a record of the person’s death or where there is a record of arrest or deportation and no record of survival.)
Deportation to the East. Austrian deportees initially were sent primarily to Poland, and later destinations were Minsk, Riga, Maly Trostinec and Theresienstadt. While no firm numbers can be established, the DöW notes that some Austrian Jews who had successfully fled Austria were later arrested in other countries and then deported and murdered. This was particularly true of France where deportation lists made it possible to trace the fate of roughly 2,500 Austrian Jews. Smaller numbers are believed to have been arrested in various East European countries. The total number of Austrian Jewish victims deported from or murdered in third countries is estimated at 15,000 for a total of 60,000 to 65,000 victims. To put it another way, "only" one third of Austrian Jews resident in Austria after Anschluss died in the Holocaust.

While I do not question the serious work undertaken by the DöW, I find these numbers difficult to believe. I know from my own family's experience how difficult it was for anyone, Jewish or not, to obtain a visa and to find a refuge in any of the destinations mentioned above. It stretches the imagination to argue that 100,000 Austrian Jews, even with Eichmann's help, succeeded in reaching safe havens. Yet I have no reason to question the relatively small figure of direct deportations from Austria. If, indeed, these roughly 100,000 Austrian Jews left Austria, where did they go? Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain reliable arrival records for Austrian Jews in any of the countries mentioned above. My guess, based on little more than Fingerspitzengefühl and years of working with Holocaust records, is that the truth is more complicated.

Accepting the numbers cited above, I am inclined to believe that large numbers of Austrian Jews did not reach the safe havens like the United States and the United Kingdom, but, in fact, ended up in other countries which were later occupied by Germany. This would have been especially true of the large number of Jews resident in Austria who did not have Austrian citizenship, particularly Czechs and Poles.

The availability of reliable information is limited, though growing. For example, the French Government in recent years has published lists, which indicate that the number of Jews deported from France was much larger than previously believed. The forthcoming Czech lists of deportations of non-Czech citizens will be very helpful. Poland will, however, remain as the largest gap in information.

Questionnaires. The problems involved in preparing a complete list are well illustrated by four Personalbogen, four questionnaires, from Stuthof (I did not check these names against the DöW list.)

✓ Julianne Zollner is relatively simple since she was probably deported from Vienna. However, should her husband, Eugen who died at some unspecified place in 1943 be included?
✓ Renee Tellsch, is similar, but she lists both her parents as held in Auschwitz. They should be included?
✓ The third and fourth cases are more difficult since, while both Franciska Toffler and Eleonora Spitzmann were born in Vienna, they were arrested and deported from Brno/Brno in Czechoslovakia and Borislaw in Poland respectively.

These names would not appear on any Austrian deportation list nor would they have been included in any printed source material until now. Yet, in my opinion, they clearly should be included among the list of Austrian victims. By how much will the 15,000 figure grow? I believe many more Austrian victims will be found.

Where does this leave the researcher seeking information on Austrian victims? The DöW has kindly agreed to answer inquiries regarding specific individuals. It can be reached at Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, Wipplingerstrasse 8, A-1010 Wien, Austria. (An international postal reply coupon would certainly be welcome). The DöW does not deal with survivors, but see the separate article on German and Austrian survivor records which appears below.

A final note. I recently was informed that the Austrian Government had decided to cut off all funding of the DöW project in the near future, when the project will not have been completed. While part of an overall austerity move, rather than an action solely directed at DöW, this is extremely regrettable at a time when there is more work to be done and international interest in the Holocaust is growing. The results of the years of DöW work deserve and need to be published. The Austrian Government should make this possible.
Deportations from Other Countries

There were about 400,000 Jewish residents in Germany and Austria who were able to flee somewhere. That "somewhere" was sometimes a “dream” destination such as Switzerland, the United States or Palestine, or a fallback country in Latin America. For many it was a neighboring country, where the refugees were later caught when the Nazis invaded. For reasons discussed below, no one knows how many thousands suffered this fate. And for reasons discussed above, dealing with German and Austrian Gedenkbuecher, there is the problem of not knowing the size of the affected population; my number of 400,000 refugees is merely a plausible estimate, based on the differences between the best 1933 and 1939 numbers. What follows is a discussion, country by country, of available information:

Researchers need to be unusually careful in evaluating data provided in “third-country sources,” i.e., sources which include names of deportees and victims who were not native to or citizens of the country from which they were deported. This applies since most memorial books list as deceased those persons who did not return to the country from which they were deported. What may be a reasonable assumption for persons who resided in their “home country,” is less warranted for those deportees who were refugees or in transit in the country where they were caught. They had little reason to return. Accordingly, while most of these transients did, in fact, perish, there is far less certainty of this than the memorial books indicate.

Belgium Just as they fled to other countries, many Germans fled to Belgium, and some of them (like the author and his parents) used it as a transit point to safer destinations. With the German conquest and occupation, those who stayed were subject to arrest and deportation. While between 30,000 and 35,000 Jews were deported from Belgium, of whom about 5,000 survived, I have not seen any breakdown as to nationality. Serge Klarsfeld and Maxime Sternberg’s Memorial de la Deportation des Juifs de Belgique, published in 1982, includes an alphabetical list of about 35,000 names. Unlike Klarsfeld’s similar book dealing with France, survivors and persons who escaped from transports are specifically identified.

Women are listed by their maiden names, although married names are also given. Date, but not place of birth is given, and nationality is not listed. This means that researchers other than those looking for unusual names, or where they know an exact date of birth, cannot determine whether names on the list are of interest to them. This is a particularly unfortunate omission since it was unnecessary – the deportation lists give place of birth, as well as profession. It is also, obviously, impossible to know how many of the deportees were German or Austrian. Some names from this book appear in the Gedenkbuch (with place of birth) but it is impossible to know how complete this is. All we need is a volunteer prepared to travel to Brussels and to add the place of birth to the data.

France. Probably only second to Holland, France was a favorite destination for German and Austrian Jews fleeing the Nazis. It proved to be only a temporary safe haven for those who could not travel further. Until recently the best source of information on deportations of Jews from France (whether French or other nationals) was Serge Klarsfeld’s Le Memorial de la Deportation des Juifs de France. The book first appeared in 1978, and listed about 74,000 deportees, including a few thousand survivors, who are not separately identified. A 1997 edition of this book contains a number of corrections, but the format remains the same. I have not had an opportunity to examine the new edition in detail, but the format appears to be the same and my comments still apply.

The book lists names, but not maiden names, date and place of birth and nationality by transport. The lists are alphabetical within each transport, thus researchers need to go through all the lists, transport by transport, to find a name. Faced with this tedious problem, a few years ago the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum obtained an index to the book by last name, which at least narrows the search. For example, the name Goldberger appears in transports 7, 17, 18, 28, 50, 63, 70 and 72.

The book suffers from numerous errors, which may result from the poor quality of the deportation lists or simply from poor editing, e.g. Erich Wollstein born in
Heme is listed as Heric Wollstein born in Hena. Perhaps the second edition of the book has eliminated some of these problems.

The USHMM recently filmed the Jewish deportation lists and these have been computerized. When this work has been checked, a slow process which will take considerable time, the most complete record of Jews deported from France will become available.

As to nationality, Klarsfeld noted that about 7,000 deportees were identified as Germans, and about 2,500 deportees were identified as Austrians. These numbers need to be taken as minimums since there was no nationalitv noted by many deportees, and others were marked as “stateless”, a term often applied to Germans and Austrians who had been stripped of their citizenship. In addition, of course, there were undoubtedly many persons of other nationalities who had resided in either Austria or Germany but had fled to France.

Two years after Klarsfeld published his book, Barbara Vormeier published Die Deportierungen Deutscher und Oesterreichischer Juden aus Frankreich. Drawing on the same lists as Klarsfeld, she provides an alphabetical list of all Austrian and German Jews deported from France. For reasons which are not clear to me, Vormeier comes up with somewhat lower numbers than Klarsfeld: 6,258 Germans and 1,746 Austrians. While some of the errors in Klarsfeld were corrected, e.g. Heric Wollstein now becomes Eric Wollstein but he is still not Erich and he still is listed as having been born in Hena rather than Herne.

While the French Government has never issued a memorial book, beginning in 1988, it began to publish lists of all persons who had been deported from France, Jewish and non-Jewish, who did not return to France and, therefore, are assumed to have died. These lists continued to appear sporadically until 1996 and they are a valuable but frustrating source of information. They are valuable in that they are more complete than Klarsfeld, even with respect to Jews (see above), they provide maiden names for women, and information on an individual’s fate, when known. Place of birth, but not nationality, is given. They are frustrating in that the lists have not been collected in one volume and they are often not in alphabetical order. Even with a complete collection of the lists at hand, it takes hours to search for an individual name. I have reviewed all of the lists and collected the names of all persons born in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Stamm Baum hopes to make this list available in the future.

Comparing the French Government’s lists and the Gedenkbuch, and given that the French lists appeared much later, it is not surprising that there are major differences and omissions. Comparing these two sources, I took 17 names at random from the lists and found that in only four cases was the Gedenkbuch information the same. In six other cases the name and date of birth appeared in both sources but other information e.g. date of death, was different. In the remaining seven cases the name simply did not appear in the Gedenkbuch. Far more puzzling is a comparison between the Journal Officiel lists and those utilized by Klarsfeld. The former source does not identify deportees by religion, but, taking names which were obviously Jewish, I found a large number of persons not listed in Klarsfeld. Moreover, there were often significant differences in the spelling of names. Klarsfeld worked from deportation lists while the French Government did not cite its sources. I cannot explain these discrepancies.

For those researchers who are fortunate enough to have access to a library where the Journal Officiel is available, and who have the patience of Job, I recommend utilizing this rich source of information. For ordinary mortals I recommend writing to (or visiting) the French Government agency which maintains these files and asking for a search for individual name(s). To my knowledge those who have done so have received replies. The address is: Ministere des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre, Delegation a la Memoire et l’Information Historique, 37, rue de Bellechasse, F-75007 Paris.

Netherlands. It may be the memory that Holland managed to remain neutral and unoccupied in World War I, or it may have been the presence of a large native Jewish community: the result was that Holland probably was the most sought after European refuge for Jews fleeing Germany. The historic precedent did not hold true this time, and the conquering Nazis were extremely efficient in collecting and deporting Jews. Partial lists of deportees have been available for many
years, but it was not until 1995 that the lists were pulled together in one book, *In Memoriam* (Sample listing on p. 10.)

This book presents an alphabetical list of about 100,000 Dutch and other Jews, who were deported and did not return, and therefore are assumed to have died. The information includes name and maiden name, date and place of birth and fate, if known. The last piece of information is often quite misleading for two reasons. First, as noted above, non-Dutch nationals or residents should not automatically be assumed to have died because they did not return. Second, *In Memoriam* lists specific dates of death for persons where no such information is available. In fact, in most cases, the authors simply took the date of arrival of the deportation trains and assumed that this was the date of death. This is a reasonable assumption for death camps, such as Sobibor, but is far from certain for other camps, such as Auschwitz, where many persons were entered into work details or were transshipped to other camps.

There is no breakdown of the deportees by nationality and, short of counting all persons born in Germany/Austria, no way to even estimate this number. Simply looking at the list, it is clear that the number is large but I would not presume to guess how many thousands it totaled.

As I did for other memorial books, I compared a random sample of listings with the *Gedenkbuch*, excluding of course all names where the person came from eastern Germany. To my pleasant surprise, most names appeared in both books, with the only difference usually being a date of death in the Dutch book, and the notation “verschollen” or “für tot erklärt” in the *Gedenkbuch*. Since the Bundesarchiv did not have information on the last place of residence in Germany, and they chose not to list foreign residences, they included place of birth, just as the Dutch book did. Despite their similarities, I recommend that researchers check both books and use the Dutch book for any person believed to have been born in eastern Germany.

**Italy.** There is no official memorial book listing Jews deported from or killed in Italy, but researchers will find Liliana Picciotto Fargian’s *Il libro della memoria Gli Ebrei deportati dall’ Italia 1943-45*, published in 1991, quite helpful. The book includes two alphabetical lists; the first of Jews (whether Italian or not) deported from Italy itself, while the second consists of Jews deported from the island of Rhodes, which was under Italian rule. In addition to names (married women are listed by maiden name) the list includes date and place of birth as well as where the individual resided in Italy, date and destination of deportation, and date of death where such information was available. If a deportee survived, this is also noted.

Almost all deportations from Italy went to Auschwitz but many persons were later transported to other camps. The nationality of deportees is not listed but, using place of birth as a guide, it is not surprising to find significant numbers of Jews from neighboring Austria and a smaller number of German Jews. Taking ten names at random where the person was born in Germany, I found none listed in the *Gedenkbuch*, which was published before the Italian information was available.

Francesco Folino’s *Ferramonti un Lager d. Mussolini* lists large numbers of Jews, including date and place of birth, held at Italy’s largest concentration camp. While nationality is not listed, place of birth points to many German and Austrian Jewish prisoners.

**Eastern Countries.** The countries discussed above are all in Western Europe but, of course, German and Austrian Jews also fled east. For most of these countries, however, there are few deportation lists, as compared to concentration camp lists, which are discussed in a separate article. The two exceptions are the Czech and Slovak Republics. With respect to the former, the recently published two-volume *Terezinska Pametni Kniha* claims to list all former Jewish nationals of Bohemia and Moravia who were deported. The Terezin Initiative promises a future book, which will list all persons with other nationalities. In the case of Slovakia, Yad Vashem has copies of the deportation lists, but I have not been able to review them to see what information is provided, and whether they include non-Slovaksians.

Poland was another major destination for Jews fleeing Germany, particularly those who originated in Poland or other countries in Eastern Europe. While the Nazi
authorities kept detailed lists of persons who were deported from West European countries, this either was not the case in Poland, or the lists have not been found. What we do have are ghetto lists from some cities, including Lodz, Cracow and Lwow, and some of these include the place of birth. Up to now I have had the opportunity only to examine the Lodz lists, and they are discussed in the following article. Perhaps additional information will become available in the future. This is particularly likely for towns which had substantial Jewish communities, such as Breslau and Königsberg, where deportation lists almost certainly existed.

One unusual destination for German/Austrian Jews, from which no one was subsequently deported, was Shanghai, and the story of the 18,000 Jews who ended up there is a fascinating one. This is discussed in the article on survivors, below.

**Concentration Camps, Killing Centers, Ghettoes**

It would be impossible to list, much less to discuss, all of the concentration camps, killing centers and ghettos, which existed between 1938 and 1945. *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, often considered the best source of information on these places, runs to 1,168 pages. Accordingly, I have limited the scope of this article to the 13 places where the largest number of German Jews were sent and murdered, or where they are listed as “verschollen,” and two additional places, Stutthof and Shanghai. To a large extent, these are also the same places where Austrian Jews were sent and murdered. I will not attempt to describe these places, but rather focus on what records are available as to the fate of individuals. While primarily addressed to German/Austrian Jews, my comments apply both to Jews of other nationalities and non-Jews who were imprisoned in the same camps.

There were no camps reserved for a single nationality, or even for Jews alone. Relatively few German or Austrian Jews were murdered in the camps located in their home countries. This was no accident, since, beginning in 1941/42, Nazi authorities preferred to send these persons to be killed elsewhere, perhaps to minimize witnesses to what was happening to Germans and Austrians.

**Auschwitz.** Auschwitz is deservedly the most notorious concentration camp, and the place where more Germans died than anywhere else. While exact numbers will never be known, about 1.2 million persons were sent to Auschwitz, and most perished there. Of the 1.2 million, about two-thirds were either murdered immediately upon arrival; a smaller number were transshipped to other camps in Germany or Poland. In either case, they were never formally “entered” into Auschwitz records, and the only way to determine their fate is to consult transportation records (see below).

The other 400,000 prisoners were “entered”, i.e. records of their imprisonment and death were established. Unfortunately, most of the death books were destroyed just before the Russians entered the area. The remaining death books, with the names of about 80,000 victims from all over Europe, were published in two volumes in 1995 by the State Museum of Auschwitz, Birkenau as *Death Books from Auschwitz*. These lists of names are alphabetical and include name, date and place of birth, date of death and death book number. Please note that near the end of volume 2, after the letter Z, the alphabet begins anew for a smaller number of names.

The publication of the death books was to be followed by the publication of about 300,000 names taken from Auschwitz hospital and other records. However, due to unexplained disagreements with the persons who were to prepare the material, these names have never been published. If you do not find the names you are looking for in the death books, send a letter to the Auschwitz Museum, POB 32-603 Oswiecim #5, Poland. So far, the Museum has been very good about replying, in Polish. Please remember that, for the reasons noted above, the Museum itself does not have records for most of the persons who died in Auschwitz.

Researchers who know when and from where a person was deported to Auschwitz, may wish to look at *Auschwitz Chronicle* by Danuta Czech. This book provides a day by day chronicle of what happened in the camp, including how many persons in incoming
transports were killed immediately or "entered". An index leads to a few thousand names mentioned at various points in the text.

About 5,000 Auschwitz Personalbogen were recently located and computerized at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. These names can be checked on the Internet at http://www.ushmm.org. Since most of these forms also list other family members, about 20,000 names are available. If a name appears to be of interest, a copy of the Personalbogen can be requested from the museum.

Transport Lists. Finally, and probably the most significant and frustrating sources of information, are the transport lists. These are available from most major German cities and Vienna, but, of course, do not provide information on what happened to these persons once they arrived in Auschwitz. (While there always were exceptions, it is safe to generalize that all persons younger than 15 or older than 45, as well as all persons with any form of disability, were killed immediately.)

There are also a number of lists of prisoners transported between Auschwitz and other camps, such as Dachau, Buchenwald and Stutthof, but these have never been systematically organized and they are extremely difficult to search for individual names.

As is noted elsewhere, please do not assume that because a person's name appears in a book listing transport lists from Belgium, France or Holland, and a date of death is given, that there is, in fact, any record of that person's death. Usually these are merely the date of arrival in Auschwitz (or elsewhere), combined with failure of the person to return to the country from which he/she had been deported; accordingly the person was assumed to have died on that date. For the reasons noted above this is true for most, but not for all.

**Theresienstadt (Terezin).** Theresienstadt was the showpiece among concentration camps and excellent records were kept on all persons sent there, persons who died there, and persons sent on to other camps. There should be no "verschollen" for Theresienstadt. Unfortunately, few of these records have been published. Totenbuch Theresienstadt lists Austrians sent to Theresienstadt (see article on Austria, above) while none list Germans. Virtually complete records are held at the Terezin Museum (Terecorva 1356, 14900 Praha 4, Czech Republic) and at Beth Theresienstadt, Givat Haim-Ichud 38935, Israel (web-site: www.cet.ac.il/terezin). My contacts have been solely with the latter institution and I have always received prompt and complete answers.

A remaining problem is that we cannot "browse" to look for names; we must know that a person was sent to Theresienstadt before we can inquire. Neither institution has information on the ultimate fate of persons sent elsewhere from Theresienstadt.

**Riga.** Riga was almost the exact opposite of Theresienstadt in several ways. First of all, it made little pretense of being something other than a death camp, although arrivals were not immediately killed as was the case in other camps such as Minsk and Sobibor. Moreover, at least up to now, no records of what happened there to the thousands of German and Austrian Jews sent there have been located, though extensive transport records permit the researcher to determine who was sent there. Few survived and "verschollen" appears by most names.

Recently obtained records from Stutthof, however, indicate that a substantial number of the German and Austrian Jews originally sent to Riga, usually in 1942, survived until 1944, when they were transported to Stutthof. A partial list of these Jews, and a description of this information, appears below.

**Minsk and Maly Trostinec.** These were not concentration camps in the usual sense of the word. The Minsk ghetto had two parts. One part held largely local Jewish residents, and perhaps as many as 100,000 persons were either killed there or sent elsewhere to be murdered.

In addition, however, about 35,000 Jews from Germany, Austria, and Bohemia and Moravia were sent either to Minsk or Maly Trostinec, which is close to Minsk. Most persons were sent to Maly Trostinec and were murdered within a few days of arrival. Arrivals, placed in a part of the ghetto separate from Minsk Jews, were held there for various periods of time. Most were killed there, but some were sent to various death camps. There are virtually no victims.
lists for either Maly Trostinec or Minsk, other than the
records relating to their transportation there.
“Verschollen” or “für tot erklärt” may appear in the
Gedenkbuch by a name, without a date, but it can be
assumed that the date of arrival was the date of death.
There was only a handful of survivors.

Lodz. In a certain sense, Lodz should not appear in a
list of camps, since it was not one. Rather, this city
contained an extensive ghetto, which the German found
convenient as an initial deportation destination. Many
German and Austrian Jews died there, but this was
more the result of starvation and disease, rather than
the methods employed elsewhere. The ghetto was
ultimately totally liquidated in 1944, but long before
that most of its Jewish residents had been sent else-
where, primarily to Auschwitz, but also to other Polish
death camps. Many of the extensive records on the
ghetto were saved.

The largest and most important collection was pub-
lished in 1994 in five volumes under the simple title,
Lodz - Names. These volumes list alphabetically more
than 200,000 names, giving name, maiden name,
occupation, year of birth, ghetto address, and, some-
times, the city from which the person originated. When
the prisoner died in Lodz, this is noted with the date. In
other cases, cryptic notations with dates appear,
apparently indicating the date when the person was
sent to some unspecified destination. In other cases
there is no notation whatsoever. There are no transport
lists from Lodz.

While this information is sometimes repetitive and
frequently confusing, it is an excellent source of
information on the thousands of German and Austrian
Jews sent there. Many of these persons can be
identified by the notation in the last column of Wien,
Berlin, Frankfurt, Köln or Hamburg. Although we
know that Germans from other cities were also sent to
Lodz, for some reason, other cities’ names do not
appear.

I compared the German Gedenkbuch with a sample of
Germans and found that slightly more than half of
them had been recorded either as dying there or as
“verschollen” (missing.) Technically, this is incorrect,
since almost all these persons died elsewhere. However
the logs do not indicate where they were sent, this is
more reasonable than omitting them. Lodz – Names
appeared long after the Gedenkbuch, so the next
dition, discussed above, should include the missing
names.

The USHMM also has an incomplete collection of
records from Lodz ghetto hospitals. However, these are
chronological, rather than alphabetical, and are very
difficult to use to locate individual names. Ultimately,
they should be compared to Lodz – Names to see if
they provide additional information.

How many German and Austrian Jews were sent to
Lodz? How many died there? Almost certainly, many
more than 8,394 German Jews were sent there, but
most perished when they were transported elsewhere.

Izbica. Thousands of German and Austrian Jews were
sent to Izbica, in southern Poland, but it was more of a
transit point than a concentration camp. Most persons
were sent on to Chelmo and other killing centers and
very few survived. There are no lists of persons who
died in Izbica, or in the killing centers such as Chelmo,
Sobibor or Treblinka.

Buchenwald. Buchenwald, in Thuringia, was one of
the earlier concentration camps, and many German
Jews were sent there temporarily after Kristallnacht.
By 1945, a total of 239,000 prisoners from all over
Europe had been entered and about 43,000 persons
died there. The National Archives has an extensive
collection of records – 64 reels of film – from this
camp. These records are broken down by an alpha-
betical roster of inmates, numerical listings, and death
lists. The quality of the filmed records varies widely. In
addition, researchers can write to Nationale Mahn und
Gedenkstaette Buchenwald, D 19427 Weimar-Buchen-
wald.

Sachsenhausen. Like Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen,
just north of Berlin, was used after Kristallnacht to
hold German Jews, most of whom were later released.
From 1940 it grew rapidly, and about 200,000
prisoners from all over Europe were held there. It is
estimated that nearly 50,000 persons died in Sachsen-
hausen and its subsidiary camps.

Virtually all the records were seized by the Russians,
and copies have only recently been made available to
the USHMM. These records are quite good for the early years, but there are major gaps in lists for later years. Also, the later lists do not identify prisoners by nationality, and they are limited to name and date of birth. These records are currently being computerized and, after this project is completed, it will be much easier to locate individual names.

While they took the camp records, the Russians did not take a smaller collection of death notices maintained in a local Standesamt (Registry Office). The names of about 1,200 Jews listed there, have been published by the Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen, Strasse der Nationen 22, D-16515 Oranienburg. This list is also available at the USHMM in Washington, DC.

Dachau. Dachau had the dubious distinction of being the earliest major concentration camp and is, perhaps, almost as well known as Auschwitz. However, both in numbers of prisoners, 206,000, and numbers of deaths, about 32,000 registered deaths, it was far less significant. Two books have been published listing some of those who died in Dachau, Memorial Dates Yorzait of the Martyred Jews of Dachau, which lists Lithuanian and Polish victims, and Spis Pomordowanych Polakow w Obozie Koncentracyjnym w. Dachau, which lists Poles.

The National Archives in College Park, Maryland and the New York City branch of the National Archives have eleven reels of film containing personnel records from Dachau. Six of these reels are organized alphabetically and contain information on the fate of about 140,000 inmates. The other five are organized chronologically, beginning in 1933.

For the earlier years the films provide considerable personal information, but for the later years there is very little other than name and nationality. For those researchers unable to come to the National Archives, the Dachau Foundation in Dachau has computerized all Dachau records and researchers may write there requesting information. (Dachau KZ Gedenkätte, Alte Römerstrasse 75, D-85221 Dachau, Germany.) It is hoped that copies of these records will be made available in the United States in the future.

Bergen Belsen. Somewhere between 100,000 and 120,000 prisoners were sent to this camp from all over Europe. There is no exact country by country breakdown, but the percentage of German/Austrian prisoners seems to have been small. Gedenkbuch Häftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Bergen Belsen was issued in 1995, and lists 25,000 of these prisoners. This book is unusual, since it also lists survivors who were found at the camp, many of whom died in the months after liberation. The book lists name, including maiden name, date and place of birth, and date of death, where known. Prisoners are not identified by nationality or religion. Taking ten names which appeared Jewish, where the person was born in Germany, I found only two listed in the German government’s Gedenkbuch.

Ravensbrück. Ravensbrück, located just north of Berlin, is known primarily as a concentration camp for women. In fact, during its history, it held about 20,000 males as well as 106,000 women. Prisoners came from all over Europe, with about 20 percent from Germany, though most of the German prisoners seem to have been non-Jews. The USHMM has four reels of film listing transports to and from Ravensbrück, as well as movements of prisoners between various sub-camps. These are generally chronological and there is no alphabetical index to names. Researchers may also write to Mahn und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Strasse der Nationen 1, D 16798 Fuerstenberg/Havel.

Flossenbürg. Flossenbürg, located in northeastern Bavaria, is less well known; it did not contain many prisoners until 1943. Between 1943 and 1945, however, nearly 97,000 persons, including about 10,000 Jews mostly from Hungary and Poland, were sent there, and about 30,000 persons died in the camp or in the death marches which took place near the end of the war. Reportedly, the United States gave the International Tracing Service a list of all those who died there, but no copy of this list is available in this country at present. The USHMM has a large number of lists of persons in transports to and from Flossenbürg and these often list nationality and date of birth and, in a few cases, date of death.

Gross Rosen. More than 100,000 prisoners were sent to Gross Rosen from all over Europe. The only published list of victims appeared in 1992 when the Gross Rosen Museum issued Księga Zmarłych Wieśniów Kl. Gross-Rosen. This book lists 8,887

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persons and gives name, date and place of birth and date of death. Religion is also listed by many names and would appear to indicate a preponderance of non-Jews. However, many of the persons listed without a religious designation had names which appear to be Jewish. Judging by place of birth, there were relatively few German or Austrian victims but it seems clear that there were more than the 92 listed in the Gedenkbuch. To check this, I took five names at random where the place of birth was located in Germany. None was listed in the Gedenkbuch.

It is possible that the Gross Rosen Museum may have records other than the published death lists and researchers may want to write to ul Starchowicka 9a, 58-300 Walbrzych, Poland. The National Archives has fragmentary records from this camp but these lists have not been computerized. In addition, since many prisoners were sent from Gross Rosen to other camps, transport records may turn up in other camps archives.

Shanghai. Several books have been written about Jewish refugees in Shanghai, and I shall not attempt to summarize them here. Of the roughly 18,000 Jews who made it to Shanghai, more than nine-tenths survived. However, more than 1,000 Jews died in Shanghai and a list of these persons, provided by the Communal Association of Central European Jews in Shanghai, was published in Aufbau on April 12, 1946. Their names will be included in the computerized Aufbau list described in the article on survivors. The list gives name, date and place of birth and date of death, and while nationality is not given, it is clear that the overwhelming majority were Germans, with significant numbers of Austrians and Czechs, as well as a sprinkling of other nationalities.

Though these persons died fleeing Nazi persecution, they are not considered “victims” for purposes of the Gedenkbuch or the future Austrian list. The rationale is that they did not die in German-occupied Europe and they, therefore, are considered no different from a German Jew who might have died in England in 1943 after fleeing Germany. In my opinion, they deserve some sort of acknowledgment, even if it is only to mention them at the end of this article.

**Holocaust: Explanatory Notes for Lists of German Jews**

The list below was primarily prepared from Personalbogen (personal data sheets), part of a major collection obtained from the Stutthof Museum. There is also a short list taken from some Auschwitz transport records. The latter provides much less personal information.

Initially, names were compared with the Bundesarchiv’s Gedenkbuch as well as Gedenkbücher from Hamburg, Berlin and Cologne. Where the information in these books was identical with that on the Personalbogen the names were not included. However, if additional information was provided, e.g. maiden name or Stutthof in addition to Riga, the name was included. Later all names were included. Copies of the relevant Personalbogen are sent to the Bundesarchiv and the archives in Cologne and Hamburg. Germany is defined as Germany in its 1937 borders. A person is considered Jewish if so designated on the forms. While such information is often not included for other camps, fortunately, it is provided for Stutthof.

Initially, Wohnort (place of residence) was only included where it differed from Geburtsort (place of birth). Later, Wohnort was always included, where available, and is designated by w. In most cases the Personalbogen includes information on other family members, e.g. tot or unbekannt (unknown). These are not included in the list but where the Personalbogen discloses that a family member is in a KZ (concentration camp), whether or not Stutthof, these names are included. In those cases date and place of birth as well as last residence are not known but the name is included and the notation “wahrscheinlich” (probably) is inserted before w. since the information can usually be found in the 1939 census.

Names/words are typed as they appear in the records and no attempt is made to correct what may be typographical errors, e.g. “Dortmunt”. Where the information is illegible it is marked with “...” Where I believed that I could read the material but was not certain I put in a “?”. 

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While most of these prisoners perished, there were some who survived, including one specific person who wrote the USHMM quite recently, seeking details about her mother.

Updates. The following list, by its very nature, is incomplete and growing. As more names are being added they will be posted on a Stammbaum website, according to present plans. In addition separate lists of Austrian Jewish victims as well as deportees from France are in preparation. Further information will appear in a future issue of Stammbaum.

German Jews in Stutthof and Other Camps

Abraham, Gertrud geb. Lewin 31/12/10 Berlin w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof Gestorben 17/11/44
Abraham, Isra geb. Lili 6/10/97 Berlin w. Berlin Kauen/Stutthof
Abraham, Moritz 7/7/27 Berlin Stutthof
Abrahams, Moritz Rolf 9/10/25 Berlin w. Berlin Kauen/Stutthof
Adler, Adele 26/8/23 Kassel w. Kassel Kauen/Stutthof
Adler, Josef 8/3/20 Berlin w. Berlin Kauen/Stutthof
Adler, Julius 21/3/21 Niederstein w. Kassel Stutthof
Adler, Regina w. Kassel Stutthof
Affenkraut, Rose 18/2/18 Leipzig w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof
Aguilar, Lotte geb. Zimmer 29/4/08 Hamburg Stutthof
Ahrens, Willy w. Kauen Kauern/Stutthof
Aile, Mia 1927 Berlin w. Kauen Kauen/Stutthof
Aleksandra, Walter 13/4/49 Hamburg Riga/Stutthof
Alexander, Johanna 23/2/23 Gelsenkirchen w. Amsterdam Auschwitz/Stutthof
Allmuth, Jutta 12/22 Leipzig w. Leipzig Kauen/Stutthof
Allmann, Sonia w. Leipzig
Andres, Gotthelf geb. Raths 30/10/15 Dortmund Stutthof
Anszel, Max 28/4/48 Schonberg w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof Verstorben 22/11/44
Apfel, Guenther 21/2/21 Dortmund w. Dortmund Stutthof
Apfel, Irma geb. Levy 16/8/03 Bilburg w. Bonn Auschwitz/Stutthof
Apfel, Ursula 12/12/29 Frankfurt a.M w. Bonn Auschwitz/Stutthof
 Arensberg, Walter 30/4/30 Allerdissen w. Hannover Kauen/Stutthof
Annhozl, Margot 3/2/24 Düsseldorf w. Duisburg Kauen/Stutthof
Annhozl, Ruth 3/2/24 Düsseldorf w. Duisburg Kauen/Stutthof
Annhozl, Willi 28/8/28 Stargard w. Stargard Kauen/Stutthof Verstorben 16/11/44
Aron, Gerd 13/4/28 Essen w. Recklinghausen Kauen/Stutthof
Aron, Herbert 26/2/29 Berlin w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof
Aron, Rolf 13/4/26 Essen w. Recklinghausen Riga/Stutthof
Aronsen, Zara geb. Rosenbaum 3/6/66 Hermontbach w. Hamburg Verstorben 26/12/44
Aser-Volff, Ingeborg 5/1/10 Hamburg w. Hamburg Auschwitz/Stutthof
Aser oder Voll Veronica w. Hamburg Hirenau
Aufrecht, Ilse geb. Rothgesser 9/12/13 Berlin w. Riga/Stutthof Verstorben 8/1/46
Aufrecht, Steffi 9/7/27 Teplitz-Schönau w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof Verstorben 27/11/44
Bab, Klara geb. Michaelis 19/9/36 Berlin w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof Verstorben 6/12/44
Bacharach, Lisa geb. Spier warmscheinlich w. Moench-Gladbach Riga/Stutthof
Bacharach, Salo 14/10/43 Marsberg w. Monsbach Riga/Stutthof
Bacharach, Walter 5/1/69 Marsbach w. Moench-Gladbach Riga/Stutthof
Bachmeier, Irm geb. Hess 14/3/65 Hannover Kauen/Stutthof
Bachmeier, Mathilde geb. Grünbaum 3/8/19 Hellstein w. Fulda Riga/Stutthof
Bacher, Walter 14/11/83 Berlin w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof
Bachmann, Albert 7/11/69 Fürstenau w. Fürstenau Riga/Stutthof
Bachmann, Sidonja geb. Hanebacht 23/9/99 Tetscher w. Fürstenau Riga/Stutthof
Baeer, Erich 9/10/14 Berlin w. Berlin Auschwitz
Bailmann, Erich 11/1/22 Stuttgart w. Gropingen Riga/Stutthof
Biel, Hans 12/4/17 Pforzheim w. Stuttgart Riga/Stutthof
Barbara, Frank geb. Volfstein 17/8/10 Buchen Stutthof
Barfield, Harry 20/8/19 Leipzig Stutthof

Baruch, Max 20/9/14 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Baruch, Walter 17/3/19 Köln w. Köln Danzig/Stutthof
Bauer, Gerhard 30/12/62 Weilburg w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof Verstorben 4/12/44
Baum, Ernst 17/3/24 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof trans. Buchenwald
Baum, Erwin 15/1/12 Giessen w. Weilbach b. Münster Riga/Stutthof Transferred Buchenwald
Baum, Günther 5/9/27 Köln w. Köln Kauen/Stutthof
Baum, Hedwig geb. Stern 8/1/87 Hamburg Stutthof
Baum, Sigmund w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof
Baum, Thea geb. Kahn 31/12/12 Volklingen w. Köln Kauen/Stutthof Verstorben 19/11/44
Baumfeld, Michael 19/5/98 Przemysl w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald
Baumgart, Lydia 20/11/00 Breslau w. Breslau Auschwitz/Stutthof
Becker, Hans 19/5/19 Köln w. Köln Buchenau/Riga/Stutthof
Becker, Hans 23/4/26 Hannover w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
Becker, Ilse geb. Meyer 23/2/22 Buchen Stutthof
Behrens, Henry 13/8/19 Würzburg w. Würzburg Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald
Behrens, Lieselotte geb. Blumenau w. Würzburg Riga/Stutthof
Beigel, Sara 30/5/11 Hannover Stutthof
Bendix, Marguerite geb. Folck 26/1/36 Hamburg w. Hamburg Kauen/Stutthof
Bensinger, Ruth 11/3/21 Kehl Stutthof
Berger, Bert geb. Brosan 26/12/86 Meseritz w. Italy Auschwitz
Berger, Max 8/4/23 Duisburg w. Duisburg Riga/Stutthof
Berger, Regina geb. Neumann 14/6/30 Lodz w. Dortmund Kauen/Stutthof
Verstorben 22/12/44
Bergmann, Grete 18/12/27 Berlin w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof Verstorben 17/12/44
Berlin, Maike 24/6/19 Hamburg w. Hamburg Riga/Stutthof
Berliner, Edith 9/6/25 Köln w. Köln Auschwitz/Stutthof
Biberfeld, Gertrud 8/7/66 Hannover w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
Bibo, Alfred 18/2/95 Landsberg/Warta w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof
Bieleschowsky, Hannelore 12/3/27 Breslau w. Breslau Auschwitz/Stutthof
Bierhoff, Ruth geb. Nathan 12/7/15 Essen w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof
Birkemeyer, Johanna geb. Gotsche 4/12/26 Gelsenkirchen w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
Birnbaum, Erna 14/3/40 Berlin w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof Verstorben 17/12/44
Black, Hermann 4/22 Minden/Westf w. Minden Riga/Stutthof
Bloch, Fritz 27/6/49 Schneekkheim w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
Bolck, Margot 23/10/68 Saueheim w. Heilbronn Riga/Stutthof Transferred Auschwitz
Bolch, Julius w. Kauen Kauenz/Stutthof Verstorben 15/12/44
Blum, Alfred 18/2/95 Landsberg/Warta w. Kassel Riga/Stutthof
Blum, Gertrud geb. Schmitz 20/1/35 Köln Stutthof
Blum, Isidor 23/10/68 Saueheim w. Heilbronn Riga/Stutthof Transferred Buchenwald
Blum, Joseph 10/11/27 Köln-Süd w. Köln-Süd Kauen/Stutthof Transferred Auschwitz
Blum, Max 20/9/14 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Blum, Max 12/11/27 Köln-Süd w. Köln-Süd Kauen/Stutthof Transferred Auschwitz
Blum, Max 30/7/64 Fulda w. Gelsenkirchen Riga/Stutthof
Blum, Margot 23/12/23 Kassel Stutthof
Blum, Selma geb. Steinfeld 21/7/22 Lobsach w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof Verstorben...
Bukolzer, Selma 22/11/86 Euskirchen w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Burk, Betty geb. Lewin 29/4/02 Dresden w. Dresden Kauzen/Stutthof
Burk, Niebel w. Kauzen w. Dresden Kauzen/Stutthof
Cahn, Arthur 20/9/02 Bohmen w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
Cahn, Hannelore 24/3/25 Köln Stutthof
Cahn, Marianne 11/8/24 Czelowitz w. Hamburg Riga/Stutthof
Capstan, Martin 2/1/20 Stettin w. Berlin/Polen Riga/Stutthof
Capstan, Anna 5/2/20 Stettin w. Stettin
Ceffmann, Max 5/2/06 Münster w. Münster Riga/Stutthof
Ceffmann, Rosa geb. Lewenthal w. Münster Riga/Stutthof
Ceslarn, Gerti geb. Rossman 14/9/17 Nürnberg w. Nürnberg Riga/Stutthof
Verstorben 12/2/44
Ceslarn, Julius w. Polen Riga/Stutthof
Chajm, Rosa geb. Springer 15/3/08 Reichshof Stutthof
Chajm, Gerti geb. Kaden w. Heusfeld (?) Stutthof
Chajm, Sofie geb. Kader w. Heusfeld Stutthof
Chajm, Willi w. Heusfeld Riga/Stutthof
Chersonsky, Bernard 13/2/96 Gödessa w. Köln Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald
Chersonsky, Edith 12/12/22 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Chewitz, Frieda geb. Szabiner 26/6/02 Pritzl w. Dortmund Riga/Stutthof
Choyke, Alonzo 24/11/26 Berlin w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof
Cody, Kurt 11/6/25 St. Wendel w. Ulm/Donau Riga/Stutthof transferred Auschwitz
Colsh, Erna geb. Oberhaus 20/3/08 Rawensbrück
Cohen, Edith 19/10/27 Borken/Westfalen w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohen, Elsa geb. Friesen w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohen, Fred 30/1/24 Gelsenkirchen Stutthof
Cohen, Lotte 31/10/20 Werne/Westfalen w. Berlin Stutthof
Cohen, Mary 8/11/00 Wedel/Flensburg w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof
verstorben 23/11/44
Cohen, Paula 8/7/04 Rhenscheid w. Düsseldorf Riga/Stutthof
verstorben 28/11/44
Cohen, Regina 19/10/07 Düsseldorf Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohn, Rosa 13/6/06 Düsseldorf w. Düsseldorf Auschwitz/Stutthof
verstorben 7/1/45
Cohn, Bruno 26/12/00 Berlin w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof
Cohn, Elise geb. Loskotz 12/10/13 Horzliv w. Berlin Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohn, Hans 26/9/22 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Cohn, Helene geb. Neumann 1/10/86 Miszow w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof
Verstorben 24/11/44
Cohn, Helene geb. Sasi w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof
Cohn, Helga 19/10/25 Breslau Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohn, Johanna geb. Cohn 14/2/98 w. Breslau Auschwitz/Stutthof
Cohn, Lena geb. Sasi 24/3/99 Leipzig w. Leipzig Riga/Stutthof
verstorben 20/12/44
Cohn, Rosa geb. Prinz 12/11/10 Choszczan (Polen) w. Berlin verstorben
Stutthof 1/1/45
Coppel, Antonia geb. Hertz 29/4/03 Krefeld w. Lüdenscheid/Stutthof
Verstorben 1/12/44
Cossman, Ima 17/8/10 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Crother, Frieda geb. Rosenthal 14/5/05 Berlin Stutthof
Dahl, Jakob 10/1/16 Döberitz w. Döberitz Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald
Dalheim, Hugo 25/7/66 Springe w. Hannover Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald
verstorben 10/1/45
Danzer, Franz geb. Fleischer 17/9/04 Betsche w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof
Verstorben 21/1/45
De Haas, Minna 29/5/25 Werther/Hannover w. Werfer Riga/Stutthof
dassauer, Frieda geb. Van der Rees 28/10/05 Neuenhaus w. Rheine Riga/Stutthof
Dehries, Hilde 1/8/23 Medern w. Medern Riga/Stutthof
Dehries, Selma geb. Flauß 3/10/07 Goch w. Medern Riga/Stutthof
Dieners, Heinrich 14/6/30 Berlin w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof
Dimmelstede, Anna 7/2/14 Königsberg w. Königsberg Kauzen/Stutthof
Dingfelder, Manfred 17/9/25 Uffeld/Neustadt w. Nürnberg Riga/Stutthof
Dolffel, Dina 9/4/27 Rotenburg/Büdingen w. Auschwitz/Stutthof
Dolffel, Rosa geb. Manfred w. Eschwege Riga/Stutthof
Dötzer, Else geb. Loßfeldt 26/6/00 Ulm Auschwitz/Stutthof
Dreißig, Hedwig geb. Silberberg 1902 Bad Rothenfelde w. Wanne Eickel
Kauzen/Stutthof
Dreißig, Leopold w. Wanne Eickel Kauzen/Stutthof
Dreißig, Manfred 30/12/24 Frankfurt a. M. w. Stuttgart Riga/Stutthof
Dresler, Helga 30/5/25 Berlin Stutthof
Dubn, Dora 9/12/24 Haisen/Polen w. Auschwitz/Stutthof bei Hamen
Riga/Stutthof
Dubowsky, Jacob 2/6/25 Koszyrzyn w. Berlin Ostland/Danzig/Stutthof
Durlacher, Emo geb. Somomonia 26/9/05 Chemnitz/Stutthof
Durra, Erwin 20/9/20 Breslau w. Berlin Riga/Stutthof
Edelestein, Berth 15/6/25 Dortmund-Husen w. Dortmund-Husen Riga/Stutthof
Egggen, Frieda 9/6/02 Köln w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Ehmann, Ida geb. Sax 31/5/02 Aschendorf w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Eichangrön, Ernst w. Dortmund Auschwitz
Eichangrön, Marta geb. Winter 20/9/00 München w. Dortmund
Auschwitz/Stutthof
Eichenbrand, Ella geb. Herzfeld 7/7/06 Dortmund w. Bochum Riga/Stutthof
Eichenbrand, Elly geb. Moses 15/11/06 Breslau Stutthof
Eichenbrand, Erwin 28/11/29 Horstrom w. Horstmar Kauzen/Stutthof
Eichenbrand, Grete geb. Seigmann 27/11/07 Legien w. Burgsteinfurt Riga/Stutthof
Eichenbrand, Ruth 8/1/23 Recklinghausen Stutthof
Eichmann, Gertrud geb. Oppenheim 8/9/01 Leipzig Stutthof
Eichmann, Fritz 9/7/23 Stuttgart w. Stuttgart/Flössingen/Stutthof
verstorben 19/4/42
Eisen, Helga 25/10/22 Leipzig Stutthof
Eilass, Ludwig 10/5/33 Ludwigsburg w. Ludwigsburg Riga/Stutthof
Eilass, Isidor 13/10/85 Ahlen w. Köln Riga/Stutthof
Eipler, Louis w. Angerburg Kauzen/Stutthof
Eipler, Margot geb. Epstein 8/8/26 Insterburg w. Heydeck Kauzen/Stutthof
Eipler, Selma geb. Radnowski 19/12/04 Memel w. Angerburg/Ostpr.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gerson, Lewe</td>
<td>13/11/12</td>
<td>14/11/12</td>
<td>Münster Riga/Stutthof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerster, Irene</td>
<td>15/3/20</td>
<td>Warburg</td>
<td>Stutthof</td>
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<td>Gerster, Regina</td>
<td>24/3/13</td>
<td>Berlin Stutthof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Gerstadt, Ruth</td>
<td>24/2/25</td>
<td>Köln-Deutz Stutthof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gewitz, Anni</td>
<td>17/4/24</td>
<td>Leipzig Riga/Stutthof</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gewitz, Baruch</td>
<td>12/9/25</td>
<td>Breslau Riga/Stutthof transferred Buchenwald</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gewitz, Eva</td>
<td>17/4/24</td>
<td>Leipzig Riga/Stutthof</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gidiansky, Helena</td>
<td>14/5/99</td>
<td>Königswalde Schaulen Stutthof</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Translation: Inmate Identification Card, Stutthof concentration camp, stamped: Jude.

Original reproduced on page 29

| KL: Concentration Camp Stutthof | PA Jude/ [Jew] | Innate Number: 01891 ▼ |

**Prisoner Identification**

**Card**

- **Family Name:** Jacoby
- **First Name:** Fritz
- **Born on:** 12 Dec 1896 in: Mehlsack
- **Marital status:** widower  Children: 1
- **Residence:** Koenigsberg
- **Street:** Kapoenstr. 22
- **Religion:** Protestant  Citizen: German
- **Residence of family members:** None
- **Concentration Camp:** Stutthof
- **Arrived on:** 13 Nov 1944
- **By authority of:** Sipo Koenigsberg  ([i.e. Sittenpolizei, police in charge of public morals, or vice squad])
- **Reason:** Hid Jewish ancestry
- **Prior Sentences:** None

- [This column, which is blank, is to record transfers to other camps.]
- **Ueberstellt = transferred to:** KL = Conc.Camp
- **Entlassung = discharge**
- **Mit Verfuegung by authority of:**

**Personal data:**
- **Height:** 165 cm
- **Body:** slim
- **Face:** Oval
- **Eyes:** Brown
- **Nose:** Normal
- **Mouth:** Normal
- **Ears:** Normal
- **Teeth:** Gaps
- **Hair:** Bald/gray
- **Language:** German
- **Special marks:** Right knee...war wound.
- **Reliability on assignment:**
- **Physical condition:** good

**Punishment in camp**

- **Reason:** died on 5 Jan 1945

28 May 1998

**Stammtanz** Issue 13

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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fam.-Name:</th>
<th>Jacoby</th>
<th>Überstellt am:</th>
<th>an KL.</th>
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<td>Fritz</td>
<td>Gew. an: 12.12.96 m. Nebelsack</td>
<td>an KL.</td>
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<td>Stand:</td>
<td>verw.</td>
<td>Kinder: 1</td>
<td>an KL.</td>
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<td>Königsberg</td>
<td>Strasse: Kapplerstr. 22</td>
<td>an KL.</td>
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<td>Religion:</td>
<td>ev.</td>
<td>Staatsang.: DR.</td>
<td>an KL.</td>
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<td>keine</td>
<td>Entlassung am:</td>
<td>durch KL.</td>
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<td>Eingewiesen:</td>
<td>13.11.44</td>
<td>durch: Sipo Königsberg</td>
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<td>in KL.:</td>
<td>Stutthof</td>
<td>Strafen im Lager:</td>
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<td>Vorstrafen:</td>
<td>keine</td>
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Survivors of the Holocaust

It is even more difficult to define and identify "Holocaust survivors" than to identify and define "Holocaust victims". For years there was an often unpleasant struggle between those who insisted on a "narrow" definition - only those persons who were arrested and sent to concentration camps and survived there could call themselves "Holocaust survivors" - versus others who favored various broader definitions, which at a minimum included those who escaped from camps and those who were in the resistance or in hiding in occupied areas. Today there is broad agreement to include those who fled Nazi Germany or escaped from countries occupied by the Germans. For German Jews this includes anyone who left after 1933, for Austria 1938, and for most other countries 1939 or 1940.

Using this broader definition, Yad Vashem has come up with the following estimates of survivors, defined as someone who survived the Holocaust; it does not mean that the person is alive today: While these numbers strike me as somewhat on the low side, I have no quarrel with them as estimates, and there will never be a number which can be cited with certainty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Survivors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>360,000 - 380,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former Soviet Union</td>
<td>184,000 - 220,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>140,000 - 160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>80,000 - 100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>50,000 - 80,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>834,000 - 960,000</strong></td>
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Just as there is no single list of victims, there is no single list of survivors. In practice it is more difficult to identify survivors than victims, particularly under the broader definition of survivor. By way of illustration, there are few lists of those who escaped by immigrating to Palestine, the USA, Canada, Australia and other countries in the 1930s, although in theory such lists could be developed. For those with legal entry, consult the immigration records of these countries.

The following sources include significant information on survivors (utilizing various definitions of survivor) from Austria/Germany and may be helpful.

Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. Originally developed by the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in New York, it focused on collecting information on Jewish survivors in North America. In 1994 this data base was transferred to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and since then the two organizations have worked together and broadened the focus to include survivors (and their children and grandchildren) anywhere in the world. At present the Registry contains about 100,000 names, consisting of 60,000 survivors and 40,000 family members.

Two important considerations are that the Registry is a compilation of voluntary personal submissions, not an official documentation, and that a survivor is someone who survived the Holocaust, i.e. not necessarily a person who is alive today. In that sense, it parallels Yad Vashem's Hall of Names for victims. As a result, if information on place of birth, for example, is omitted in a submission, it simply does not appear. Addresses of survivors are not published, but inquiries will be forwarded to anyone who has registered.

The Registry's latest printed listing appeared in 1996 and includes only the names of survivors. It consists of two volumes, the first alphabetical by family name, with cross references to previous names, and the second geographical. The geographic volume is broken into two parts - place(s) of residence prior to the Holocaust, and place(s) of residence during the Holocaust. Thus, researchers can look for all registered persons who resided in, say, Berlin, or who were sent to Sachsenhausen, to use specific examples.

Persons seeking to determine whether an individual has submitted information to the Registry may visit the Registry or send an inquiry.


Alternatively, consult the two volumes which are available in a number of Holocaust centers and libraries in the United States, Europe, Israel, and Australia. Remember, however, that this printed
version will increasingly become out of date, as more submissions are constantly being added.

Swiss Refugee List. For many years there has been considerable controversy about Switzerland’s treatment of Jews seeking refuge in that country. In 1997 the Swiss Federal archives published Flüchtlinge juedischer Herkunft (Refugees of Jewish Background/Origin), a list which names the roughly 22,000 Jews who were granted asylum.

The names are listed alphabetically, with many women’s names hyphenated (presumably to indicate maiden names), while in other cases the second family names is preceded by geb (née). Date of birth and nationality, but not place of birth, are also given but many are listed as staatenlos (stateless). Many of these persons are identified as German, with a smaller number listed as Austrian. Every name is accompanied by an unpublished dossier and volume number, and the Swiss Government undoubtedly holds additional files on all persons who were listed. Whether the Bundesarchiv is prepared to open these files in response to specific inquiries is not known. Copies of this list are available in the Survivors’ Registry at the Holocaust Museum. The Swiss Government has never compiled a list of those persons who were refused entry. It explains this on the grounds that records of refusal were kept at the Canton (state) level.

Aufbau. While it has a much smaller circulation today, in the 1930s and 1940s, Aufbau, a weekly newspaper published in New York City, was the unofficial newspaper of record for German-speaking refugees. In addition to its news articles, obituaries, and advertisements, mostly in German, from late 1944 through early 1946, Aufbau published dozens of lists of persons who had survived the Holocaust in Europe, as well as a few lists of victims. These lists also often stated that these survivors were looking for friends/relatives outside Europe, and gave these names.

The information provided on survivors did not follow any particular format. At its best, it listed names and maiden names, date and place of birth as well as current location. Typically the information was much more limited, such as only the name and date of birth. Since more information was available from areas occupied by the western Allies, and since displaced person camps were often located in Germany and Austria, the lists tend to focus on these two countries. There is no breakdown by nationality, but I would estimate that more than half the persons on the lists had been either German or Austrian citizens prior to the Holocaust, or had resided in these countries then.

Over a period of several months, volunteers at the Holocaust Museum have computerized the information on these lists, totaling about 33,000 names. (Some names appear on more than one list). This material is currently being proofread and, when finished, computer searches will be possible not only by name or maiden name, but also by any other piece of information which has been entered, e.g. place of birth. When final processing of these lists is completed, a copy will be given to the Leo Baeck Institute in New York City and to other institutions which would find this information useful. For the time being, written requests for information should be sent to the Survivors Registry, Holocaust Museum, at the address noted above.

I should add what was not included: In 1944-46, every issue of Aufbau published advertisements by persons, mostly in the United States, seeking information on Holocaust survivors. These search notices have not been included in the computerized list, since, by their very nature, they give no information on the fate of the persons being sought. Nevertheless, they do give information on family linkages, which would be of interest to genealogists, and perhaps someone will in the future develop an additional data base to include these names.

Aufbau Obituaries. Volunteers are needed for a project to index obituaries, anniversaries, birthdays, and similar notices which have appeared in Aufbau over the decades. Harry Katzman is eager to build this database, a rather large undertaking, and asks that prospective volunteers get in touch with him. They will be assigned a specific time period for indexing, a template for computer use so that the data will be collected in a consistent manner before they then are collated into a master index. E-mail: Harryk@digital.net. New mail address: 7482 Falls Road West, Boynton Beach, FL 33437.

International Tracing Service/International Red Cross. At the end of World War II, the International Red Cross established an International Tracing Service (ITS) designed to bring together information on families separated by the Holocaust, the war, and the
massive movements of people immediately after the war. Over the following 50 years, the ITS, currently located in Arolsen, Germany, succeeded in pulling together the world’s largest collection of records on survivors, wherever located in Europe, as well as a major collection of information on arrests, deportations, forced labor and even deaths during the period 1933-1945. This massive collection is indexed by name and the ITS replies to thousands of inquiries every year. While its original purpose was to reunite families, it now concentrates on other tasks, such as documenting claims for compensation.

While the ITS does not break down its files by nationality, and it would be impossible even to estimate how many Austrians and Germans are listed, there is no question that this number is large (see below). Researchers seeking to ascertain whether the ITS has information on particular persons may submit their requests through their respective national Red Cross offices. In the case of the United States, requests can be made through local Red Cross offices. Due to the magnitude of its files, the ITS discourages requests for searches by family names, even for particular localities. Thus, a search will be made for Isaak Goldberg born 3 May 1913 in Warsaw, but not for all Goldbergs from Warsaw. There is no charge for this service but replies may take considerable time.

Since many researchers do not know full family names, or names of children, this limits the usefulness of this source of information. At some time in the future, it is expected that ITS files will be reproduced and made available in a number of countries, thereby facilitating research. At present there is only one way you can get around these obstacles and still take advantage of the immense resources the ITS has to offer. In the early 1950s a major part of ITS files, including the name indexes, was filmed and a copy of this film is available in Yad Vashem’s archives (not to be confused with the Hall of Names). Once you get accustomed to ITS’s German soundex system, you can browse through names to find linkages you had no reason to assume had existed. For example, I found 20-30 persons with the name Lande, most of whom I had never known to exist. The real work then begins, trying to put together all the pieces of the genealogical jigsaw puzzle.

Due to shortages of staff, Yad Vashem’s archive staff cannot do research in response to written inquiries, so a personal visit is necessary. Expect to spend a few hours for this research — it is not easy, but it is rewarding.

Published Sources. The following books may be helpful to researchers seeking information on persons who fled Germany and, in many cases, survived.

- The *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945*, published by the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration in New York, provides a who’s who of immigrants, with brief paragraphs on each person listed. This foundation also has files on other emigrés who, for one reason or other, were not included in the book.

- *Expatriation Lists as Published in the “Reichsanzeiger” 1933-1945* lists 39,000 persons whose nationality was stripped, usually after their flight from Germany. The list includes name, date & place of birth and place of residence.

- *Quellen zur deutschen politischen Emigration*, published in 1994, lists the location of personal and institutional archives for major organizations and individuals.

Shanghai. While those who died in Shanghai may not for technical reasons be included in German and Austrian victims’ lists, there is no reason to exclude the approximately 17,000 Jews who survived there. There is no complete list or national breakdown but the overwhelming majority were Austrian or German. Indeed, there were so many, that they published *Emigranten Adressbuch für Shanghai*, a local business directory, recently republished. It contains an alphabetical list of about 8,000 names as of November 1939; in most cases it lists the person’s city of origin, profession and address in Shanghai.

Austria. In her *Exile and Destruction The Fate of Austrian Jews 1938-1945*, Gertrude Schneider identifies the location of 2,017 Austrian survivors at the end of World War II. She provides names and year of birth for about half of these survivors. Several of the *Aufbau* lists focus on Vienna and other Austrian locations, in many cases identifying individuals as having resided in Austria before World War II.