



PROJECT MUSE®

---

Who Died in the Holocaust? Recovering Names from Official  
Records

Edward Anders, Juris Dubrovskis

Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Volume 17, Number 1, Spring 2003,  
pp. 114-138 (Article)

Published by Oxford University Press



➔ For additional information about this article  
<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/43121>

## Who Died in the Holocaust? Recovering Names from Official Records

Edward Anders\*  
*Burlingame, California*

Juris Dubrovskis†  
*Museum and Documentation Center “Ebreji Latvijā”*

**The names of most Holocaust victims from Central and East Europe have remained unknown, but can be retrieved from official records, as illustrated here for the town of Liepāja, Latvia. Drawing on thirteen different sources, the authors have recovered the names and fates of about 7,000 of the ~7,140 Jews once living there. The main source (5,700 names) is a census conducted during August 1941, the second month of the German occupation. Other sources are victims’ lists compiled by Yad Vashem and by the Soviet Extraordinary Commission, house books, police and camp records, telephone and business directories, lists of deportees to the USSR, survivor reports, etc. All sources are incomplete and many are error-ridden, but they usually can be reconciled. Coverage of victims from Liepāja thus has increased from ~20% to over 95%. For most victims, accurate data are now available on birth dates and places, prewar and wartime addresses, occupations, etc., permitting analysis of demography, survival patterns, and other trends. The authors’ methodology should apply to other countries where detailed residence records were kept.**

### Outline of Holocaust Events in Liepāja/Latvia

The Holocaust in Latvia was more complete than in any country other than Estonia. Most of the ~90,000 Jews failed to flee when Germany attacked the USSR on 22 June 1941, and of those who stayed only 1.6% survived. A detailed account has been given by Andrew Ezergailis,<sup>1</sup> and only a brief overview is presented here.

The USSR had occupied independent Latvia on 17 June 1940 and annexed it a few weeks later. Businesses down to one-person shops and all but the smallest houses were nationalized without compensation, savings were wiped out overnight, and hous-

---

\*Edward Anders, 525 Almer Road, Apt. 105, Burlingame, CA 94010-3495.

†Juris Dubrovskis, Museum and Documentation Center “Ebreji Latvijā,” LV-1322 Riga, Latvia.

ing space was restricted (to 9 m<sup>2</sup> per person) to make room for Soviet officers and bureaucrats. Arrests mounted. Though the victims were mainly nationalists and wealthy people, they also included farmers and workers, true to Stalin's principle that terror must be blind and unpredictable. The arrests climaxed on 14 June 1941, when about 14,000 people from all over Latvia, including ~1,800 Jews, were deported to Siberia.

A week later Germany attacked the USSR, occupying most of Latvia within ten days. About 12,000 Jews fled to Russia, but the others either chose to stay or were prevented from leaving by lack of transport or closure of the Russian border. Unfortunately for them, *Einsatzgruppe A* under Franz Walter Stahlecker, which operated in the Baltics, was the most murderous of four such killer forces. Though its area had the fewest Jews, Stahlecker's group killed twice as many as any of the others, totally eradicating Jews in the countryside and decimating those in the three largest cities: Riga, Liepāja, and Daugavpils. The Wehrmacht and Latvian uniformed units also did their share, and when Stahlecker's functions in the Baltics were taken over in November 1941 by Higher SS- and Police Chief Friedrich Jeckeln, he continued in much the same spirit, leaving fewer than 10% of Latvia's Jews alive by the end of 1941.

The pace slowed in 1942, but after repeated "selections" and ghetto closings only ~3,000 Jews remained by late summer 1944, when the Red Army advanced into Latvia. Shortly before the Soviets' reconquest of Riga, this remnant was deported to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. About 1,000 survived the war, as did some 300 who had been hidden by Latvians.

Events in the port city of Liepāja paralleled those elsewhere. Of the ~7,140 Jews who lived there on 14 June 1941, some 200 were deported to the USSR; another ~250 fled to the USSR after the German attack of 22 June 1941. Most of the remaining Jews were killed in the months after German forces captured the town on 29 June 1941. The Navy took a very active part during the summer, at times overshadowing the SD.<sup>2, 3</sup> Most Jewish men were shot during the summer and fall, at first near the lighthouse, then on the naval base, and finally in the dunes of Šķēde north of town. Women and children were largely spared until the big *Aktion* of 14–17 December, when 2,749 Jews were shot. Killings continued in early 1942, and by the time the ghetto was established on 1 July 1942, only 832 Jews remained.

The ghetto was closed on 8 October 1943 and the ~800 survivors were taken to Riga. Young adults were initially spared, but in the next few months older people and women with children were killed locally or sent to Auschwitz to be gassed. As the Red Army approached Riga in the summer of 1944 the survivors were sent to Stutthof in several transports between August and October. Many died in the increasingly brutal conditions of that camp, especially on death marches in early 1945, and barely 200 survived. Those camp survivors who returned to Latvia received a chilly welcome from the Soviets, who generally accused them of having worked for the enemy. Some were sent to the Gulag for lengthy terms, either right away or in 1949–53, during the final flare-up of Stalin's antisemitism. Others got away with only a few years of forced labor.



Jewish women and girls huddle on Šķēdē beach near Liepāja (Libau) a few minutes prior to their murder on 15 December 1941. Mass shootings of 2,749 Jews were carried out over three days by two Latvian firing squads and one German squad on orders of SS and Police Leader Libau Obersturmbahnführer Dr. Fritz Dietrich. The SD man in charge of the execution site, SS-Oberscharführer Carl-Emil Strott, used a whip to drive victims to the pit, and presumably intimidated these women enough to make them pose for his camera. Left to right: (1) Sorella Epstein; (2) presumably Rosa Epstein, her mother; (3) unknown; (4) Mia Epstein; (5) unknown. Alternate identification makes Mia Epstein (5) instead of (4), and (2) Pauline Goldmann. In background Latvian police make other victims undress. Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives.

The deportees and refugees in the Soviet Union fared better, as only one-third of them perished. Refugees began to return to Latvia in 1944, but deportees only between 1956 and 1958, after Stalin's death.

### **Recovering Names**

Most Holocaust victims have become nameless statistics. Although Yad Vashem has energetically collected names of Holocaust victims from survivors since 1955, it has received only about 2.3 million "Pages of Testimony," including duplicates. Many additional names are scattered through millions of published and unpublished documents, and according to an educated guess, these may raise the total to 4 million or more once they are fully indexed and pruned for duplicates.<sup>4</sup> The other 2 million victims have sunk into oblivion. That would have pleased Hitler.

An alternative source of names is official records. Indeed, most deportation lists in Germany and Western European countries still exist, and have served as the basis for memorial books. But for Central and East European countries, equivalent records

such as ghetto and execution lists have disappeared. In this paper we show that the initial Jewish population and its fate can be largely reconstructed from other records. We have done this specifically for the Latvian town of Liepāja, which had a pre-Holocaust population of ~7,140 Jews. However, our methodology is applicable to much of Central and East Europe, as discussed in the final section of this paper.

A preliminary report, based on partial data, was presented at two conferences.<sup>5</sup> The recovered names have been published in a memorial book and are available on the Web.<sup>6</sup>

The fate of the Liepāja Jewish community is outlined in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
**Liepāja Jews, 1935–45 (uncertain numbers in italics)**

Date	Event	Change	Left
12 Feb. 1935	Census <sup>7</sup>		7379
14 June 1941	Normal Demographic Changes	-240	<b>7140</b>
14 June 1941	Deported to USSR <sup>8</sup>	-209	6930
22 June 1941	Soldiers, Workers' Guards	-160	<i>6770</i>
22–29 June 1941	Fled to USSR	-250	<b>6520</b>
July–Dec. 1941	Shot (mainly July and 15–17 Dec 41)	-5470	1050
1 July 1942	Further Killings <sup>9</sup> ; Ghetto Established	-213	832
8 Oct. 1943	Deported to KL Kaiserwald, Riga	-30	800
Aug.–Oct. 1944	Deported to KL Stutthof, near Danzig	-450	350
8 May 1945	Survived	-175	<b>175</b>
1941–45	Hidden by Latvians	+33	208

The initial population on 14 June 1941 was calculated from the work of Mordechai Altshuler,<sup>10</sup> who has carefully estimated the Jewish population in Latvia and Estonia “on the eve of the Holocaust,” taking into account emigration and the negative growth rate due to the aging of the population. For the two countries combined, he estimated a Jewish population of 94,700, corresponding to 96.73% of the 1935 Jewish population. Applying the same factor to Liepāja, we obtain 7,140 Jews before the deportations. Henceforth we shall distinguish between the *pre-deportation* and *pre-Holocaust* populations, referring to the dates of 14 June 1941 and 29 June 1941. They are shown in boldface in Table 1.

### **Initial Populations, 14 June 1941 and 29 June 1941**

#### The 1941 Census

The largest and best bloc of data comes from a little-known census conducted in Latvia in late August 1941, two months into the German occupation. This census has been preserved in the Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga (LVVA).<sup>11</sup> Apart from name and address, it lists birth-date and place, religion and ethnicity, occupation, previous address and date of move, and remarks. About 20% of the Jews in Liepāja—including some 60% of the men over fifteen years of age—had been shot in the first weeks of the

occupation, but many of their names still appear in the census, with euphemisms such as “working, but not known where,” “did not return from work,” “disappeared,” or occasionally a blunt “arrested.” In most cases this meant “shot,” but a few people so listed were still alive in 1942 or later.<sup>12</sup>

Among 48,484 residents, the census includes 5,678 Jews, about 1,500 short of the pre-deportation population of 7,140. We shall look for these 1,500 in other sources, but let us first see whether any categories are preferentially omitted. Indeed, the census omits most of the 14 June 1941 deportees, who had been promptly stricken from the records by the Soviet authorities, and many of the refugees, who were similarly deleted when their apartments were taken over after the German capture of the town. Coverage of the *pre-Holocaust* population is better, 5,470 out of an estimated ~6,520, or 84%. But two groups that were missed disproportionately are men and children.

*Missing Men.* Although many of the men killed in the first weeks of the occupation are listed in the census (as disappeared, arrested, etc.), some 300–400 others were not. We can estimate their number in two different ways. A very rough indication is the male/female ratio of 0.756, which is lower than the ratio for Liepāja Jews in the 1935 census, 0.848.<sup>13</sup> This corresponds to a shortfall of 297 men of all ages.

A second estimate, but of married men only, can be made from married women without husbands in the 1941 census. The census did not indicate marital status, but we can infer it from the presence of children (350 cases) or from other clues, such as maiden names (55 cases). Some of these 405 women, especially in the older age brackets, must have been widows or divorcees. We therefore limited ourselves to the age group 16–64 and applied corrections for widows and divorcees from the 1935 census data for Jewish women in the province of Kurzeme (where Liepāja is located). These corrections ranged from 0.5% for the 25–29-year group, to 39% for the 60–64-year group. Subtracting 79 widows and divorcees, we are left with 326 missing husbands. Their ages are not well defined, but a reasonable guess would be 21 to 70 for most of them. We later found the names of 91 such missing husbands in house books and other records, especially Yad Vashem. Of these 8 were killed only after 1941 or survived the war, but the remaining 83 apparently were killed early in the summer of 1941.

The total number of missing men must be greater than 326, as the above analysis excludes all unmarried men and all husbands of women over 64. We shall need a number for a later calculation, and have chosen 400 as a working estimate.

There is a distinct trend in the census data: men were less likely to be omitted if the family still lived in their original apartment. The census apparently was based on prewar police registration records, and if a man was registered in an apartment, he had to be accounted for, even if by a vague “disappeared.” But if the family had been evicted *after* the husband was killed, then only the wife and children would be registered in the new apartment. The distinction was not razor-sharp, however. A lazy census taker might not bother to record the name of a man who had “disappeared.” Conversely, a diligent

or compassionate census taker would record the name of a missing husband if the wife clung to the vain hope that he was merely “working in the countryside.”

*Missing Children.* Children also were undercounted, although, in contrast to men, virtually none had been killed in July–August. A main purpose of the census was to find able-bodied people for labor, so the lazier census takers often skipped children. Their names must be retrieved from other sources. We have found 120 thus far.

*Accuracy of Data.* Some 85% of the data in the 1941 census are accurate, but the remainder have required further checking and validation. Most of the errors are minor: incomplete birth dates, vague or missing birth places, obvious misspellings of Jewish names, illegible handwriting, etc. About 3% of the names or birth dates are more seriously garbled. Fortunately, correct data often can be obtained from other sources such as house books, various wartime lists, and survivors.

### House Books

Potentially valuable sources are the “house books” listing each person who moved into or out of a building. About one third of these books for Liepāja have disappeared, but 2,632—some going back to 1910—are still preserved in the Latvian State Historical Archives. Although a search of house books is very time-consuming, they are useful for finding missing men and children, or for checking errors in the census. We checked 1,399 names in house books, and found 185 people who had been omitted from the census.

House books also contain veiled information on the later fate of the Jewish residents. After the mass killings, the books were updated between December 1941 and June 1942, using a bland code. “Signed out”—often with the remark “not known where to”—usually means “killed,” whereas the remark “see Jews’ page/list” almost always means that the person was still alive. Apparently from early 1942 on, surviving Jews were no longer carried in house books but in a separate “Jews’ List,” which has disappeared.

### Extraordinary Commission Report

The Soviets’ Extraordinary Commission for Investigation of Fascist Crimes, operating in Liepāja in July 1945, recorded the names of 1,205 victims, including 779 Jews (actually 744 if we eliminate duplicates and erroneous reports).<sup>14</sup> Such erroneous reports included 2 men who had died before the war, 3 deportees, 2 refugees, and 11 people who survived the war after deportation to Germany, but, having failed to return to Liepāja, were presumed dead.

Most of the Jewish names—708 (92%)—were contributed by only four people. For such a heroic memory feat one cannot expect much detail or accuracy. Often only surnames and family relationships (husband, wife, child) are given. Married daughters are listed by their maiden names, and their husbands are identified only as nameless “sons-in-law.” When first names are listed, they usually are not the official Hebrew or Yiddish names but informal, often secular, names used by friends and family. Age esti-

mates are given for only a fraction, and can be off by up to twenty years. Young children often are omitted. Street addresses, when given at all, often are obsolete business or residential addresses from the 1930s, or temporary wartime addresses (many Jewish families had to move two to four times during the first two months of the occupation).

Some further problems arise from transliteration, as the lists are in Russian and the census is in Latvian, and neither language does a perfect job of transliterating Jewish names. Misspellings make the task harder still, and thus only 450 names have been matched up with the census. Of the remaining 294, some fraction may be new, but at least 147 are likely duplicates. For example, there were 130 Jakobsons in Liepāja, and dozens of them are possible matches for any poorly identified Jakobson.

#### Yad Vashem Pages of Testimony

The Yad Vashem database in February 2002 had 1,782 names from Liepāja (actually 1,489 without duplicates and 20 erroneous listings of people who died of natural causes or survived). Most are Holocaust victims in the strict sense, but some 2% are soldiers killed in action or deportees and refugees who perished in the USSR. The data were submitted between 1955 and 2002, and are highly variable in quality. Some include exact birth dates and names of parents and spouse, but many others are fragmentary or otherwise inaccurate. This is all too understandable for survivors who, having gone through hell, decades later tried to recall a fellow prisoner or even a relative. Further errors were introduced by transcription of the original Yad Vashem Pages of Testimony into the database, and by transliteration to and from Hebrew, which often resulted in mutated vowels and even consonants. Even after persistent efforts to match names to those in the census, 490 (33%) appear to be “new” cases. As the census was  $86 \pm 8\%$  complete (see below), we would expect  $16 \pm 9\%$  new cases, two standard deviations below the observed value of 33%. Some of the new cases are people from Liepāja who were in Riga on 22 June 1941, others were soldiers or refugees who were killed subsequently. But a substantial number are likely to be duplicates.

#### “Metals Collection” List, *Schutzpolizei* Reports

No list of Liepāja ghetto inhabitants has come to light thus far. However, there exists a bizarre proxy, discovered by Paul Berkay among the documents of the *Schutzpolizei* Libau. This is a list<sup>15</sup> of 174 Jewish families who “donated” copper, brass, etc. in April 1942, when the *Schutzpolizei* made a house-to-house collection of non-ferrous metals for the war effort. The list gives only one name per family: sometimes the head of the household, sometimes whomever happened to open the door. But after the “wild” killings of men in the summer of 1941 it became customary to spare the entire family if the father or mother had an “essential” job. Thus we can usually assume that if a man appears on the list, his wife and children were alive too. However, if a woman’s name appears on the list, we assume that the husband was killed in the early months of the occupation, unless there is some evidence that he survived. We make the same as-



sumption for older relatives who had previously lived with their children. In this manner the 174 names on the metals list yield a total of 425 people who presumably were alive in April 1942. Executions were stopped in May 1942, so most of these 425 were around to enter the ghetto on 1 July 1942. That is only half the ghetto population, but a good start.

By early 1942 many Jewish families had been driven out of their homes and had been forced to double- or triple-up with others. Thus, in addition to each family on the Metals Collection list there should have been several other people sharing the apartment. Their names would have been recorded in the “Jews’ List,” but it has disappeared.

Some 88 additional names, mainly of the dead, were extracted from Schutzpolizei reports from 1941/42.<sup>16</sup> Many of these reports concern looted apartments of Jews who had been “evacuated” in the 15–17 December Aktion; others deal with Jews charged with offenses such as bartering their belongings for food.

### Stutthof Prisoners

Through the courtesy of Danuta Drywa of the Stutthof Museum, we obtained pages of the log book (*Einlieferungsbuch*)<sup>17</sup> and prisoner personal record cards<sup>18</sup> for Liepāja Jews, as well as the death register, transport lists to/from Stutthof,<sup>19</sup> and a list of 48 Stutthof Jews shot by German sailors on the beach of Neustadt/Holstein a few hours before liberation.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Paul Berkay found additional records for Liepāja Jews in twenty-three microfilm reels of Stutthof documents at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Together these sources list 237 of the ~350 Liepāja Jews who arrived there during July–October 1944. It is not easy to match these names to those in the census, however, as many prisoners had Germanized or secularized their (mainly Hebrew or Yiddish) official first names, and had also made themselves younger or older by as much as fifteen years to avoid “selection.” Fortunately, the Stutthof records often include birthplaces or even home addresses, which generally help establish a match. As for ages, many prisoners merely changed their birth year, although others also made changes in the day and month. Unfortunately several volumes of the log book are missing, and so are many record cards. One prisoner, who allegedly died at 09:45 on 30 December 1944, turned out to be alive and well in Israel. More bizarre than this error was the massive documentation of her death, on four documents with five signatures and two official seals—at a time when a Jewish life was worth next to nothing.

We obtained 106 additional names of Stutthof prisoners from other sources, such as Yad Vashem, the International Tracing Service (ITS), the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Survivors’ Registry,<sup>21</sup> and survivors’ reports. Thus the total number of Liepāja Jews in Stutthof was at least 343.

### International Tracing Service

The ITS in Bad Arolsen, Germany, agreed (on approval of its parent organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross) to check its database of 15 million names

for any names of Liepāja Jews that we might submit. However, ITS records for Latvian Jews start only with their first arrival in Stutthof in August 1944 and, as most of the data are not yet computerized, searches can be conducted only by name and are very time-consuming. Thus we submitted to them only 650 names of people who had survived the massacres of 1941 and were not known to have been killed in Kaiserwald in 1943/44. This list included all those known to have reached Stutthof. The ITS<sup>22</sup> found most but not all of the latter, indicating either that their Stutthof records are incomplete or that their search methods are not perfect. But they also came up with 41 new names not in the census, and for a number of others they found evidence of death or survival that had not been known to us. They also mistakenly reported a few Polish Jews whose names and birth dates resembled those of Liepāja Jews on our list.

### Prewar Directories

A valuable source of names, patronymics, and addresses—of the more prosperous Jews, but also of shopkeepers—were the 1940 telephone book,<sup>23</sup> 1925–1930 business directories,<sup>24</sup> a 1938 real estate list,<sup>25</sup> etc. Paul Berkay has posted several on his web site, <<http://members.aol.com/liepajalat/>>. These have been helpful in identifying many of the poorly characterized cases from the Extraordinary Commission and Yad Vashem, and even in finding a number of new names. (We generally checked these names against the record book of the Liepāja Jewish Cemetery<sup>26</sup> to ensure that the person had not died a natural death before 14 June 1941.) Unfortunately there are no comparable sources for the poorer Jews, who had neither phones nor businesses.

### Births and Natural Deaths under German Occupation

Paradoxically, while Jews were being shot by the thousands, expectant mothers and sick elderly people continued to receive a modicum of care in both the City and the Jewish Hospitals of Liepāja. The city's Vital Records Office data show that 26 Jewish children were born in the second half of 1941<sup>27</sup> and were duly sent home with their mothers. All were eventually doomed, of course. During the same period, the deaths of 61 Jews were recorded,<sup>28</sup> of which 37 were natural. The rest were suicides and (mainly plausible) accidents. The causes of death given were detailed, varied, and apparently honest, in contrast to the stereotypical “general weakness of heart and body” claimed at Stutthof.

### How Complete Was the Census?

As noted earlier, the census gave a pre-Holocaust population of 5,470, compared to the estimated figure of 6,550. The ratio of these numbers implies 84% completeness, but as the denominator is an *estimate*, we must look for independent confirmation. One method, used in fields as diverse as astronomy and wildlife studies, is to count the number of *new* names in an independent sample, such as Stutthof prisoners. There would be no new names at all if the census had been 100% complete, and the more new names, the less complete the census. We found 59 new names among the 343 Stutthof

prisoners, implying a completeness of  $(343 - 59)/343 = 83 \pm 14\%$ . Three such calculations and their mean are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2**  
**Completeness of 1941 Census**

Source	Names		Completeness, %
	New	Total	
Metals Collection	14	174	92 ± 28
Stutthof	59	343	83 ± 14
House Books	185	1,399	87 ± 8
<i>Weighted Mean</i>			<b>86.2 ± 8.0</b>

The mean completeness provides an independent value for the pre-Holocaust population:  $5,470/0.862 = 6,360 \pm 510$ . Within its large error limits this *objective* value agrees with the *subjective* estimate of 6,550 from Table 1.

### Losses of June 1941: Deportees, Refugees, and Soldiers

For a complete accounting, we must also consider the above three groups who were gone by the time the German forces occupied Liepāja on 29 June 1941. Only the latter two are regarded as Holocaust victims by Yad Vashem, but all three lost their homes and often their lives during the war. Being listed very incompletely in the August 1941 census, they must be sought in other sources.

#### The 14 June 1941 Deportees to the USSR

One hundred eighty-three Jews were deported from the Liepāja district according to the official book published by the Latvian State Archives.<sup>29</sup> To these must be added 21 reported by survivors and 5 listed in the census (none contained in ref. 10). House books show that most deportees were stricken from the rolls by Soviet authorities in the seven days remaining before the German attack. At least 79 of the deportees died in Soviet exile or the Gulag, corresponding to a mortality of 38%.

#### Jews Who Fled to the USSR

The number of Jews who fled to the USSR is very poorly known. Einsatzgruppe A figures<sup>30</sup> for the number of Latvian Jews killed by early 1942 (63,238) or still alive (3,750) total only 67,000, considerably fewer than the 22 June 1941 population of about 88,600. Actually, the Germans had seriously underestimated the numbers alive, giving for Liepāja 300 (p. 59 of the report) rather than the actual 1,050, and for Riga 2,500 rather than 4,500–5,000. Some historians have tried to balance the numbers by assuming that about 20,000 Latvian Jews fled to the USSR. That is clearly too high. The total number remaining in Latvia in February 1943 was 4,904;<sup>31</sup> and in July 1944—many *Aktionen* and *Selektionen* later—some 3,000 Latvian Jews were still left for deportation to Stutthof, so the number in early 1942 (including 350+ Jews in Daugavpils) probably was 6,500–7,000. That would allow for 15,000 refugees, or even fewer if the

Einsatzgruppe total is too low. Indeed, in early 1946, long after most refugees had been free to return to Latvia, only 8,000 Jews lived in Latvia, of whom 3,400 were in Riga.<sup>32</sup> As these included thousands of Soviet Jews, the number of returnees can hardly have exceeded 6,000. The mortality rate for refugees surely was no higher than that for deportees ( $25 \pm 4\%$  during 1941–45), so it is unlikely that appreciably more than 10,000–12,000 had fled in 1941.

Whatever the refugee figures for the rest of Latvia, those for Liepāja must have been much smaller, at most a few hundred. The town, on the west coast of Latvia, was cut off quickly by the German assault, and many Kurzeme Jews, having grown up in the German cultural sphere and recalling the benign German occupation in WWI, were less afraid of the Nazis than they should have been. Quite generally men (other than communist functionaries) were prevented from boarding evacuation trains, though their wives and children were allowed to. Moreover, the August 1941 census was based on police registration lists that had been updated only haphazardly since 22 June 1941, and thus a substantial fraction of the refugees might still be on the rolls in late August. Indeed, the census recorded 116 Jews who had fled, of whom 10 were Soviet Jews.

The true numbers must have been higher, as the apartments left by refugees were quickly taken over by Germans or by bombed-out Latvians, and when police records were updated, the previous tenants were deleted. All together, we have found 219 people who definitely or probably fled. In our opinion, the total number of refugees from Liepāja probably was only ~250, at most 300. The Latvian State Archives have an unpublished card file of 60,000 refugees,<sup>33</sup> from which it may be possible to retrieve the names of the dead and the survivors.

### Soldiers, Workers' Guards

Soldiers on active duty normally were signed out from residential records and therefore did not appear in the 1941 census. (A minor exception are a few Soviet officers and their families who were quartered in private apartments). Members of the Workers' Guards (a militia formed by the Soviets on the eve of their withdrawal), on the other hand, would maintain their registration. Some were killed in the defense of Liepāja; others were taken prisoner by the Germans, and as Jews were quickly executed. Still others retreated with the Red Army, and many were killed in action. A memorial book for Latvian-Jewish soldiers and workers' guards killed in the war lists 39 from Liepāja.<sup>34</sup> Our total from all sources is 72, of whom 6 survived. Of ~5,000 Latvian-Jewish soldiers more than 2,000 were killed;<sup>35</sup> applying the same casualty ratio, we estimate that the total number of regular soldiers and workers' guards from Liepāja was ~160. Of these, ~90 are unknown.

### Finding Survivors

Our preliminary figure for the *pre-Holocaust* Jewish population of Liepāja (without deportees and refugees) is 6,589. Nearly all were killed, but even after checking more

than a dozen sources, we have *direct* evidence for the death of only 3,534. For the remaining 3,000+ people, we will have to use an *indirect* method: given a *complete* list of Holocaust survivors, we would be able to infer that anyone not on this list had perished.

Alas, the available survivors' lists are *not* complete. The Survivors' Registry at the USHMM<sup>36</sup> lists only 27 Holocaust survivors from Liepāja, plus 3 refugees or deportees. The 1982 and 1992 lists of the Libauers' Committee of Israel<sup>37</sup> together comprise 746 people, but do not distinguish Holocaust survivors from the more numerous pre-war emigrants, or from refugees or deportees who survived the war years in the USSR. Many are hard to identify, as no ages are given and first names often differ from the official ones in the census. We distributed copies of the combined list to several dozen survivors, who helped us identify 124 Holocaust survivors from these two lists.

The ITS provided 41 survivors' names. Another 18 came from the witness list in the Grauel trial in Hannover, Germany,<sup>38</sup> and most of the remainder from survivor reports. We then compiled a preliminary list of nearly 6,800 names, distributed it to about 140 survivors, and posted the entire database on the World-Wide Web <<http://www.ej-anders.com>>. A modest number of responses came in, but their numbers increased greatly when Ella Barkan of Tel Aviv systematically phoned survivors, obtaining information on 360 people. After extensive checks of our data, we published a memorial book.<sup>39</sup>

With these data, we have attempted to reconstruct the remnant population in early 1942 (i.e., after the big massacres of 1941). The Metals Collection list gave 424 names, to which we add 343 Stutthof prisoners, 538 people who were killed 1942–45, and 208 Holocaust survivors. Eliminating duplicates, we obtain 958 people, fewer than the ~1,050 who were alive at the beginning of 1942 (Table 1). Some of the difference reflects true incompleteness of our database, but much of it is attributable to poorly defined death dates. When no death dates at all were given in the source (Yad Vashem, 648 people; Extraordinary Commission, >700 people) we usually assigned “ca. 1941” as the default date, and counted it as “exactly 1941” in the above analysis. Presumably some of these deaths occurred after 1941.

### **What Else Can We Learn from the Database?**

Various other questions can be investigated from the information in the database. We shall discuss 3 examples:

- Executions in summer 1941
- Demographic profiles, 1941 vs. 1935
- Age distribution of survivors, 1942, 1944, and 1945

#### Executions in Summer 1941

The dates and death tolls of the Liepāja murders are fairly well known from 20 September 1941 on, when the newly arrived SS and Police Chief Emil Dietrich began to record them in his diary.<sup>40</sup> But for the first twelve weeks of the German occupation,

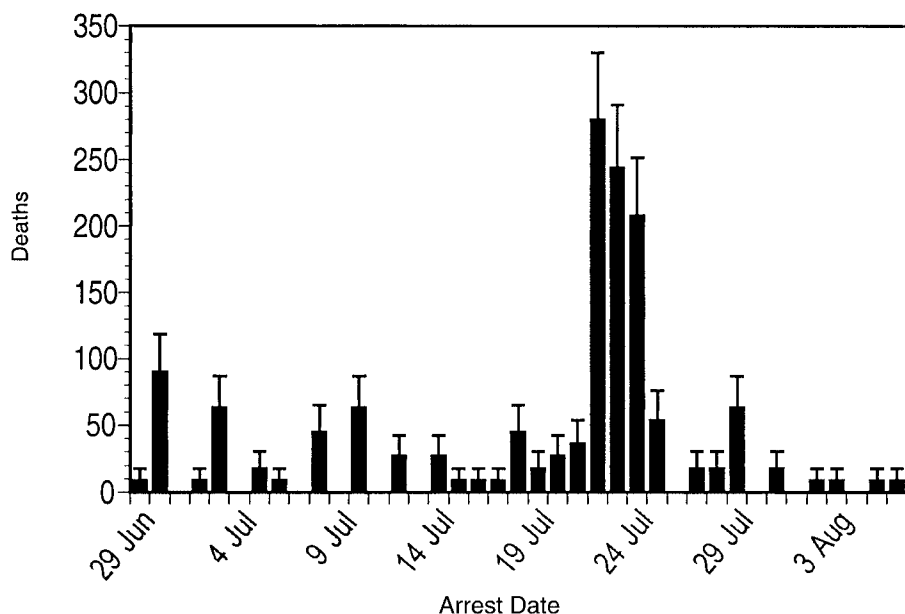


Figure 1. Executions of Liepāja Jews in the first six weeks of the German occupation (summer, 1941). The mass executions 24–25 July were carried out by the Arājs Commando from Riga; the remaining ones, by the German Army and Navy, SS-Einsatzkommando 1a and 2, and Police Battalion 13.

there exist only approximate data, reconstructed nearly thirty years later in the 1968–71 Grauel Trial in Hannover.<sup>41</sup> In principle, we can get more precise information from our data, which give exact arrest dates for 161 of 1,054 victims. Most of these dates come from a few census takers who consistently recorded them, some from additional survivors, or from Yad Vashem. However, especially in the first weeks victims often were kept in jail for several days before execution, and thus arrest dates may not match execution dates. Figure 1 shows a histogram of these dates.

The data were recalculated as follows for the total number of victims. On the plausible assumption that the unknown dates are distributed as were the known dates, we have scaled the Y axis by the ratio of  $1454/161 = 9.03$ , so that the numbers correspond to the actual number of arrests on each date. (The figure of 1454 represents the 1054 known July–August deaths plus a correction for an estimated 400 men missed in the census). Thus corrected, the diagram gives reasonably accurate figures for the arrests on each date. However, as the underlying numbers are small, the statistical errors are large, and we have therefore scaled their standard deviations by the same factor of 9.03.

The most prominent feature is the large peak from 22 to 25 July. This is due to an Aktion by the Arājs Commando, a Latvian SD unit commanded by Viktors Arājs that came from Riga to Liepāja to execute Jews.<sup>42</sup> Remarkably, H. L. Borgert has recently found that this Aktion was initiated not by the German or Latvian SD but by the navy commandant of Liepāja, *Fregattenkapitän* Dr. Hans Kawelmacher.<sup>43</sup> On 22 July Kawelmacher telegraphed the Navy’s Baltic Command in Kiel requesting 100 SS and

fifty Schutzpolizei men “for quick implementation Jewish problem. . . . Here about 8,000 Jews . . . with present SS personnel this would take about 1 year, which is untenable for pacification of Libau.” On 27 July he followed up with the message: “Jewish problem Libau largely solved by execution of about 1,100 male Jews by Riga SS Commando on 24. and 25.7. SS Commando has left.”<sup>44</sup>

With the execution dates precisely fixed on 24 and 25 July, we clearly see the time lag between arrest and execution. Mass arrests started on 22 July, the day of Kawelmacher’s message, and had nearly stopped on 25 July, the last day of the massacre. The number of victims in the peak,  $910 \pm 90$ , is slightly smaller than Kawelmacher’s figure of  $\sim 1,100$ , but within the uncertainties of both figures.

The Extraordinary Commission gives the correct dates, 22–25 July, but—consistent with its usual practice—an inflated total of 3,500 victims, much greater than either Kawelmacher’s or our figure. (Indeed, the Commission gives a grand total of 29,800 civilian victims in Liepāja for 1941–43, approaching the total population of barely 50,000. This is a nearly five-fold exaggeration, as only  $\sim 6,600$  Jews were in Liepāja at the beginning of the German occupation and no more than a few hundred non-Jews were executed. Also in the bizarre Soviet tradition of Holocaust denial, the Commission speaks only of “peaceful Soviet citizens,” never once using the word “Jew.”<sup>45</sup>

There are also several smaller peaks, involving a few dozen people. Table 3 compares the data with those reconstructed in the Grauel trial thirty years later. Only rough agreement may be expected because of the variable time lag between arrest and execution, as well as the large statistical errors.

**Table 3**  
**Liepāja Executions, Summer 1941**

This work		Grauel Trial <sup>46, 47, 48, 49, 50</sup>		
Arrest Date	Victims	Execution Date	Victims	Comments
29.–30.6.	$99 \pm 30$	29.–30.6.	$>>10$	Sporadic killings by soldiers
2.–3.7.	$72 \pm 26$	4.7.	47 <sup>47</sup>	Rainis Park
5.–7.7.	$27 \pm 16$	7.7.	30	Hostages
8.–10.7.	$108 \pm 31$	8.–10.7.	$>100$ <sup>46</sup>	
12.–17.7.	$81 \pm 27$	“Every evening mid-July”	?	“Often killed in small groups”
18.–25.7.	$910 \pm 90$	20.–25.7.	1,100 <sup>50</sup>	First Arājs Aktion
27.–30.7.	$99 \pm 30$	End of July	25–30 <sup>49</sup>	Ulleweit Aktion, incl. 1–2 women
31.7–2.8.	$27 \pm 16$	2–3 days later	$>20$	
3.–5.8.	$18 \pm 13$	2–3 days later	15–20	
15.8.	$9 \pm 9$	August	4–5	

The sporadic killings on the first two days of the occupation were carried out mainly by the conquering troops and were not investigated in later trials, as the perpetrators were not known. A few examples<sup>47</sup> will illustrate the nature of these events. The first soldiers arriving at 17 h on 29 June at the north end of Uliča Street seized 7 Jews and 22 Latvians and shot them at a bomb crater in the middle of the street. (The victims presumably included the three brothers Solomon, Abraham, and Elias Feldhun).

At 21 h soldiers arrived at 12 Hika Street, lined up all residents in the yard, and asked whether any of them were refugees from the Reich. The Viennese conductor Walter Hahn stepped forward and was shot on the spot. On 30 June the musician Aron Fränkel, cousin of one of the authors (EA), reported to work at the Hotel St. Petersburg, where Einsatzkommando 1a had just taken up quarters. He was recognized as a Jew and shot on the spot. On 30 June soldiers also entered the City Hospital, located several Jewish physicians and patients (including ten-year-old Masha Blumenau), and shot them, despite the pleading of the Latvian staff. Elchonon Jakobi was shot on the street on his way to a doctor. There were an additional 9 known arrests or shootings on 30 June, and as there must have been similar unreported or undated incidents elsewhere in town, the total of  $99 \pm 30$  killings on these two days is not implausible.

The first documented massacre was carried out by EK1a under SS Obersturmführer Reichert in Rainis Park in the evening of 3 or 4 July. The number of victims has been variously estimated as 30–300, but Mārgers Vestermanis gives an exact figure of 47 Jews and 5 (non-Jewish) communists, as well as an exact date of 4 July. There were  $72 \pm 30$  arrests on the 2nd and 3rd, and none on the 4th, supporting Vestermanis' figure but consistent with either date.

Our number of  $108 \pm 31$  may fall somewhat short of accounting for the  $>100$  victims of the 8–10 July executions. The Hannover court estimated “at least 100 victims” on the first day, but was not able to come up with figures for the next two days. The victims for the first day were selected from a list of prison inmates by Reichert before his departure. We can think of several *ad hoc* explanations for the discrepancy: Reichert's list may have included a number of Latvians, the pace of executions may have slackened under the less sanguinary Grauel, and few arrestees may have lived in census tracts covered by diligent census takers who recorded arrest dates.

There are no figures for mid-July executions, which took place every evening. But Ezergailis notes that the new SD chief, Wolfgang Kügler, who arrived on 14 July, carried out many small-scale executions at frequent intervals, often of fewer than 10 victims.

Dates and death tolls of the last four executions are mostly consistent with the rather imprecise information in the Grauel trial records.

### Demographic Profiles at Successive Stages of the Holocaust

Our data provide “snapshots” of the Liepāja Jewish population on 14 June 1941 and three later stages.

*June 14, 1941.* Although we have recovered 7,049 names, only 90 fewer than the estimated initial number of 7,140, at least 273 of these are possible duplicates. Thus the actual shortfall may be as high as 300. For an indication of the age and sex of the missing people, we compare our data with the closest available peacetime distribution, the 12 February 1935 census. That census tabulated the age and sex distribution of minorities, including Jews, but only down to the level of provinces and the capital Riga.<sup>51</sup>



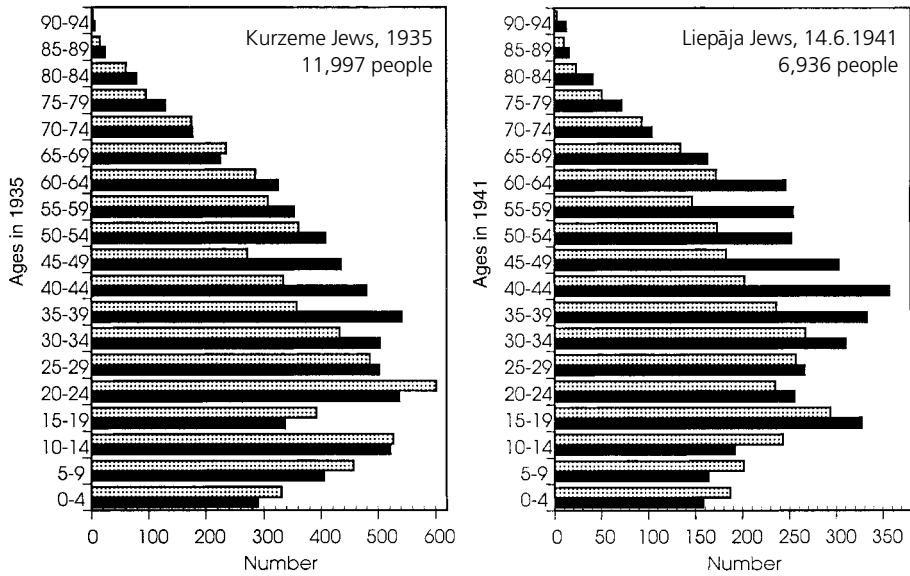


Figure 2. Age and sex distribution of Kurzeme and Liepāja Jews. Textured bars, men; filled bars, women. The 1935 distribution shows fewer men than women between ages 30 and 64, due to WWI. These deficits ought to be shifted upward by six years in the (reconstructed) 1941 distribution, but they actually extend downward to fifteen years and are considerably greater for each age interval. Apparently several hundred men are missing from the 1941 distribution. Up to 100 may be soldiers who retreated with the Red Army, but the majority are anonymous victims killed early in the German occupation.

The most relevant data are those for Kurzeme province, 61% of whose Jews lived in Liepāja. Thus the Kurzeme distribution can serve as a rough reference for our reconstructed pre-deportation population (Fig. 2). We have omitted people of unknown age from both distributions.

The 1935 distribution shows two major effects of WWI: a deep notch in the 15–19-year interval (birth years 1915–1920), and a deficit of men between ages 30 and 64 (birth years 1871–1905). The first reflects the low birthrate during the fighting (which in Latvia lasted until 1920), and the second, losses of men of military age. These losses were greater in Latvia than in any other European country: the female/male ratio for the entire population was 1.139 in 1935, compared to 1.086 in the UK, 1.058 in Germany, and 1.023 in Sweden.<sup>52</sup> Both effects also show up in the 1941 distribution, where they appear in the next higher interval. The notch in the birth rate now occurs at ages 20–24, but the deficit of men begins at age 15, and is greater in most intervals than in the 1935 distribution. This supports our earlier conclusion that some 300 to 400 men are missing.

*January 1, 1942.* Figure 3 compares the remnant population on 1 January 1942, after the big massacres of 1941, with the initial distribution on 14 June 1941.

We can identify only 958 of the estimated ~1,050 Jews remaining in early 1942. Another ~200 were shot in early 1942, leaving a remnant of 832 who moved into the

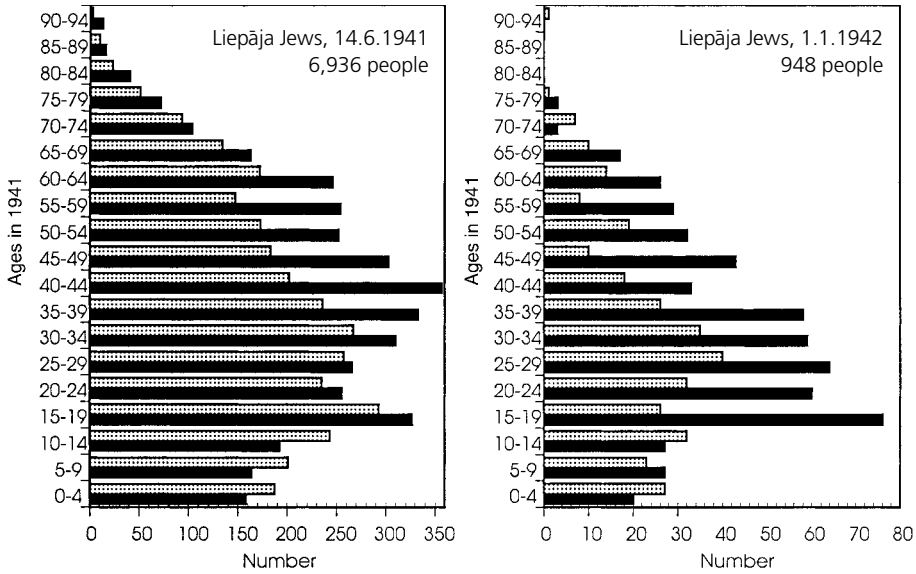


Figure 3. Age and sex distribution of Liepāja Jews. Textured bars, men; filled bars, women. By early 1942, the massacres of 1941 had decimated old people, children, women with minor children, and especially men from 15 years upward.

ghetto on 1 July 1942. The killings in 1942 were not very selective by age or sex, and thus the 1 January 1942 panel closely approximates the ghetto population. In contrast to Riga, where women were only 10% of the 4,500–5,000 survivors after the Rumbula massacres in late 1941, in Liepāja 66% of the survivors were women. Young women age 16–29 had the best chance of survival, whereas men, old people, and women with children had the poorest.

The commandant of the Liepāja ghetto, *Schutzpolizei-Meister* Franz Kerschner, was relatively humane, and although the *Sicherheitspolizei* killed a few people from time to time, about 800 of the initial 832 Jews were still alive when the ghetto was liquidated on October 8, 1943, and the survivors were taken to the Kaiserwald concentration camp in Riga. Three weeks later, women with children and most older people were sent to Auschwitz for gassing. No records have been found of this and later selections, but the results are seen in Fig. 4.

*Stutthof, 1944.* As the Red Army approached Riga, the survivors of the Kaiserwald selections were evacuated by sea in two transports to the notorious concentration camp Stutthof near Danzig, arriving there on August 9, 1944 and October 1, 1944. Our data (Fig. 4), assembled from many sources, cover 343 people, and presumably are at least 90% complete. To avoid selection, many prisoners claimed to be younger (or older) than they actually were, but we have generally obtained their true ages from Latvian records.

The percentage of women has risen slightly, to 69%. The very young (<9 yr in

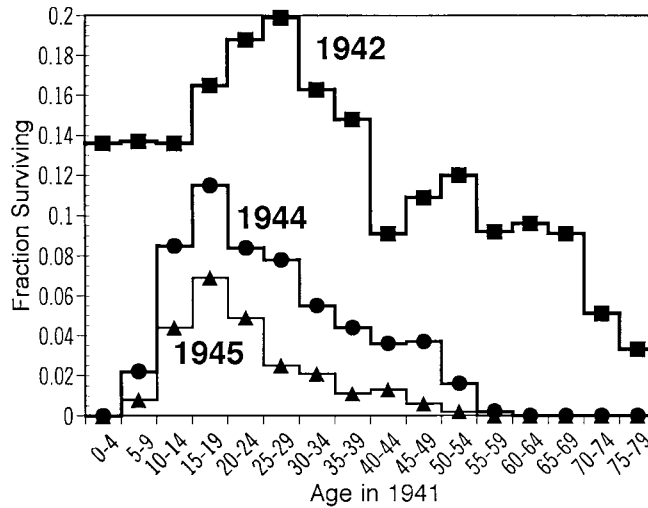


Figure 4. Murders had nearly stopped after the Liepāja ghetto was established on July 1, 1942, but resumed after the ~800 inhabitants were transported to Riga on October 8, 1943. Old and young were eliminated in several ruthless selections, and the remnant of ~350 who were transported to Stutthof in 1944 included hardly anybody outside the age range 13–50. Only half of them survived the eight months remaining until the end of the war. People in their early 20s, especially women, had the best chance of survival.

1941) and the very old (>59 yr in 1941) have vanished. There still were five girls aged eight to eleven, but they perished within months. Once again, women between fifteen and twenty-nine had survived preferentially.

*Survivors, 1945.* Only 49% of those who reached Stutthof survived the war, and several died soon after liberation. The age distribution has shrunk further, especially for men. The proportion of women has reached 73%, and young women between fifteen and twenty-four dominate. What helped them survive, in addition to their youthful stamina, was that many of them worked at outlying sites (Reichsbahn, AEG), where conditions were less onerous than in Stutthof itself and where liberation by the Red Army occurred four months sooner.

### Survival of the Fittest?

There are striking parallels between the Holocaust and the asteroid impact 65 million years ago that killed about 80% of all species on Earth. In both cases the rules for survival changed totally. Suddenly it no longer helped to have good genes, good health, and standard survival skills. The new rules 65 million years ago required new skills: ability to cope successively with a dozen plagues such as darkness, heat, cold, toxic gases, global fires, acid rain, mutagens, and tsunamis.<sup>53</sup> The new rules in the Holocaust also changed drastically and erratically. In Liepāja in the summer of 1941 the Y chromosome suddenly became lethal, and men were killed regardless of personal qualities and skills. By fall it was equally dangerous to be old. By winter, it was fatal to be a Jew

of either sex and any age, unless one had certain occupational skills. In Riga in 1943/44 it was fatal to be old, or a mother with a young child.

But with the increasingly harsh treatment, youth and physical endurance—factors in classical natural selection—began to dominate, especially in Stutthof. Two other Darwinian factors—resourcefulness and intelligence—had been important all along, while other formerly positive factors turned into liabilities: beautiful women attracted the attention of Nazi rapist-murderers, and strong, proud men provoked murderous sadists. Yet the Nazis were determined to prevent survival of the fittest. A 1942 German document, recommending that Jews be worked to death, warned of the hardy remnant that would remain and might serve as the nucleus of a resurgent Jewish race. All in all, one's survival required not one but several miracles.

#### Application to Other Cities and Countries

The methodology developed here is applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the rest of Latvia and to other East European countries. All (unlike the U.S.) kept accurate peacetime records of the whereabouts of their residents, and all would need to turn to the same “global” Holocaust records (Yad Vashem, ITS, concentration camps) for confirmation on victims. We have nothing more to say about these *global* sources, where our previous comments are fully applicable. However, as a guide to future research, we offer some comments on *local* sources that vary among or even within countries, sources such as censuses and Extraordinary Commission reports.

#### “Baseline” Data

If time is no object, then the best baseline source is Latvia's peacetime census. This was taken under unhurried circumstances by well-trained personnel, and was thoroughly checked and analyzed. However, it would need to be updated to the eve of the Holocaust by corrections for all outflows (death, emigration, moves within the country, military service); inflows (births, immigration, moves, return from military service); and name changes (marriage). If all relevant vital records have been preserved, this task is feasible, though daunting where the time span is long. In Latvia, the last five-year census was conducted in 1935 (the 1940 census never materialized, due to the Soviet occupation), and thus a six-year period would have to be covered. Even if the rate of demographic changes is only 5%/year, 30% of the records would be affected. In Lithuania, the last census was taken in 1930, so the task would be larger still.

A good alternative is police registration records, which, in principle, were kept fully up-to-date. Unfortunately some such locally stored records were destroyed during the war.

Consequently there are advantages to using an early wartime census, such as was taken in Latvia—provided the records have been preserved. We do not know whether similar censuses were taken in other occupied countries. The German authorities certainly had a strong incentive to get accurate population records, in order to establish

control, allocate ration cards and housing, decide who would be killed, etc., but they may have been less diligent in areas with a Slavic population that was to be decimated by starvation. Also, by the time the census was conducted in Latvia (late August 1941), all Jews had been killed in many of the small towns, and hence were omitted from the census. When another census was conducted in Latvia in February 1943, Jews were omitted entirely, although 13,085 Jews were still living in Latvia, according to German police authorities (4,904 Latvian, 7,905 German, and 276 Lithuanian Jews).<sup>54</sup>

#### Pre-Holocaust Persecutions, Flight, Evacuation

Any persecutions (arrests, deportations, executions, disappearances) prior to the German occupation must be factored in. So must flight across the border, whether from the German army or local persecutors, whether to the USSR or some other country, and whether organized (evacuation) or solo. In Latvia, detailed records for persecutees and for refugees/evacuees exist, but only those for persecutees have been published.<sup>55</sup> There are no such plans for refugees, implying that empathy for refugees is more subdued. Although some refugees were listed in the 1941 census (with ambiguous notations such as *unknown*, *disappeared*, *gone to Riga*, *left town*, and other euphemisms), most of our information on refugees came from survivors.

#### Extraordinary Commission

Local Soviet commissions differed considerably in their practices and thoroughness, but all seem to have had little time to complete their work (two months in Liepāja), and gave low priority to the recovery of victims' names. (They hardly needed these names, as their final reports always gave grossly inflated numbers, typically two to five times the prewar Jewish population). The list for Liepāja comprises 1,205 names, of whom 767 were Jews (744 after correction for duplicates and erroneous reports). The data for non-Jews, which came from relatives or from the Vital Records Office (ZAGS), always are complete and precise, giving the full name, exact dates of birth and death, last address, and the reporting relative. But most data for Jews are incomplete and inaccurate—no wonder, as four people supplied 92% of the names, over 100 each, and could not possibly have known much about most of them. It is instructive to find out who these four were.

Matilde Ozoliņa (272 names) was a Latvian woman who apparently was motivated by pure altruism. Michael Libauer (162 names) was a goldsmith who, along with ten other Jews, was hidden by the Latvian Roberts Sedols for the last nineteen months of the occupation. Gerda Cirinsky (145 names) was an ethnic German married to a Jew. Her motivation was obvious, as her husband and nearly all his relatives had perished. But several other Gentiles married to Jews reported only the name of their spouse or none at all. Anna Lurje (129 names) was a Jewish woman who had fled to the USSR and returned very soon after the end of the war. Although she had not been in town during the killings, she managed to collect an impressive number of names.

Two other women (one Latvian, one a Jewish refugee) together reported thirty-one names, and two city offices contributed another eighteen. The yield from all other sources was woefully small: five people reported a total of eight names.

It is remarkable that in a town of 50,000, the burden of compiling and reporting Jewish victims' names was borne mainly by four persons. True, people tormented by war, who had just traded one brutal foreign occupation for another, surely had other worries. Only people of particularly strong motivation would go to the trouble of compiling names of dead Jews. Thus one may expect extreme variations in the number of names collected in various towns, depending on whether they had an Ozoliņa, a Li-bauer, a Cirinsky, or a Lurje.

### Execution, Work, and Other Wartime Lists

Most execution lists have disappeared. However, in at least one Lithuanian town the Soviets found the list and placed it—in the NKVD archives, from which a Jewish survivor got a copy by bribing an NKVD man.<sup>56</sup> Evidently, Soviet Holocaust denial took precedence even over exposure of Nazi crimes. If all the KGB archives ever become fully accessible to Holocaust research, they may prove to be an important source of data.

A more accessible source is lists of Jewish workers. In Latvia, many Jews during 1942–44 were forced to work in peat bogs of the Kūdra company, whose voluminous records, including many Jewish workers' lists, are preserved in the Latvian State Historical Archives. The Nazis had little reason to destroy these and similar innocuous lists, and they are worth seeking.

Even the Schutzpolizei and municipal police kept files that often contain information on individual Jews. In contrast to the SD and Sicherheitspolizei, their dealings with Jews generally were not fatal, and the files are more likely to have escaped destruction. Such destruction apparently was selective. A memo in the Liepāja Schutzpolizei files in the LVVA bears a handwritten note to file a copy in the “Exekutionen” file, but just that file is missing from the voluminous records.

### Survivors

A complete list of survivors is essential for the “indirect” method of finding victims' names. Survivors are an irreplaceable, and rapidly dwindling, resource for this work. They are the main source of other survivors' names, and can help reconcile conflicting data. No survivors remain from many small towns, where the killing was early and total, but returned refugees and deportees can be of help. For larger towns, provinces, or countries, there exist *Landmannschaften* that at one time or another kept lists of people from their part of the world. But many of these organizations now are dormant or defunct, and at best provide outdated information.

A second difficulty has been to get responses from survivors. The most important help they can provide is to review critically a preliminary list, giving the names and fate of the pre-deportation population. For Liepāja, this list was 106 pages long and con-

tained ~6,800 names. The response was disappointing; fewer than a third of the recipients responded, and most of these gave corrections only for their own families. For a larger community, the length of the list, and therefore the effort of checking, rises as the first power, but the cost of preparing and mailing the list rises with the second power, as bigger copies will have to be sent to more people. Putting the data on the Web is much cheaper, but most survivors do not use computers. A solution may be to ask for volunteers who promise to check the list carefully and show it to others.

## Conclusion

Evidently, official records are of great value in reconstructing a vanished community. The 1941 census alone accounts for 80% of the pre-deportation Jewish population. We have picked up another 15+% from other sources and could go further. But the effort will be much greater—true to the rule of thumb that the last 10% of anything requires 90% of the effort. Because of our limited resources, we have stopped short of 100%, but we have at least outlined the directions that further work might take.

## Acknowledgments

Major assistance to the project was provided by: Ella Barkan (Tel Aviv), Solomon Feigerson (Rishon le Zion), Paul Berkay (Long Beach), Morris Halle (Cambridge, MA), and Mārgers Vestermanis (Riga). We gratefully acknowledge valuable advice by Andrew Ezergailis (Ithaca College), Kārlis Kangeris (Stockholm University), and Cheryl Sawyer (US Bureau of the Census). We are very indebted to the following people for providing data: Gunta Minde and Ira Zanerība (Latvian State Historical Archives, Riga, Latvia); Danuta Drywa (Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, Sztutowo, Poland); C. C. Biedermann and U. Jost (International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany); Alex Avraham and Zvi Bernhardt (Hall of Names, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem); and Vadim Altskan, Aaron T. Kornblum, and Arnold Kramer (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC). Yves Sandoz of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva kindly made the gigantic database of the International Tracing Service available to us. German Levin recorded data in the early stages of the project.

## Notes

1. Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944* (Riga and Washington: The Historical Institute of Latvia, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996).
2. Mārgers Vestermanis, “Ortskommandantur Libau: Zwei Monate deutscher Besatzung im Sommer 1941” in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), pp. 241–61.
3. Heinz-Ludger Borgert, “Die Kriegsmarine und das Unternehmen «Barbarossa»,” *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* 1 (1999), pp. 52–66.

4. Personal communication by Alexander Avraham, director of the Hall of Names at Yad Vashem, 15 January 2002. The key question is how thoroughly duplicates will be eliminated. In our experience with only 7,000 names such a task is extraordinarily difficult and labor-intensive, due to great variability in name spellings, age estimates, and errors or gaps in other information. It would be harder still with millions of names.
5. Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, "Recovering Victims' Names From Latvian Census Records," Second Conference "Recording the Names," Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 7–8 March, 2000. Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, "Fate of Latvian Jews 1941–1945: Recovering Names From Official Records," *The Issues of the Holocaust Research in Latvia (Reports of an International Conference, 16–17 October 2000, Riga)*. (Riga: Latvian History Institute Press, 2001), pp. 49–59.
6. Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepāja, Latvia 1941–45* (Burlingame: Anders Press, 2001). More detailed data are available at <<http://www.ej-anders.com>>.
7. V. Sahnītis and M. Skujenieks, *Quatrième Recensement de la Population en Lettonie en 1935. IV. Nationalité Ethnique* (Riga: State Statistical Office, 1937).
8. *Represēto saraksts 1941* [List of Persecutees, 1941] (Riga: Latvijas Valsts Arhīvs, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 90–98. There are 183 names listed for the city of Liepāja, to which we have added 26 additional deportees found during this study.
9. Ezergailis (see n. 1), p. 288.
10. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1998).
11. "*Iedzīvotāju saraksts*" [List of Residents], Liepāja, 30.8.1941, Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhīvs (LVVA, Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga, Fond 2110, Apraksts 9 and 10. 200,000 forms were printed in Riga in July 1941, enough for the entire country.
12. It is unlikely that they were arrested and then released weeks later after the census, as (in contrast to Riga) arrestees in Liepāja usually were held for no more than a few days before being released or shot. More likely their families reported these men as missing, to keep the manhunters off their trail. My (EA) mother did just that.
13. Sahnītis and Skujenieks, *Quatrième Recensement*.
14. Extraordinary Commission for the Investigation of Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Collaborators. *Report of the Crimes of German-Fascist Invaders Committed on Peaceful Citizens and Soviet Prisoners of War in the Town of Liepāja, Latvian SSR*. Liepāja: 19.7.1945. LVVA, Riga, P-132–26–17.
15. Schutzpolizei Libau, "*Metallsammlung*," 10.4.1942, LVVA, Riga, P-83–1-206, pp. 103–106.
16. Schutzpolizei Libau, Reports. LVVA, Riga P-83–1-204, P-83–1-206, P-83–1-207.
17. Einlieferungsbuch KL Stutthof, 9.8.44 to 1.10.44. Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, Sztutowo, Poland. File 1–11E-12 to 1–11E-15.
18. Personal Records of Prisoners, Stutthof Concentration Camp, 1944, Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, Sztutowo, Poland.



19. Transport List: Riga-Stutthof, 9.8.44 (I-IIB-10); Riga-Stutthof, 1.10.44 (I-IIB-11); Stutthof-Dachau, 13.8.44 (Z-VI-4/7); Stutthof-Natzweiler, 29.9.44 (I-IIC-3); Stutthof-Buchenwald and Stutthof to Polte-Magdeburg, 3.11.44 (Z-VI-2/9), Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie.
20. "List of Jews killed at Neustadt by German Army 2.5.45," May 1945 (Z-V-36), Państwowe Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie.
21. List of Holocaust Survivors from Liepāja, provided by Survivors' Registry, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 17 February 1999. Thanks to Mr. Vadim Altskan.
22. U. Jost, International Tracing Service: Letters to EA, 21.2.2000, 26.4.2000, and 28.11.2001.
23. *Latvijas 1940 g. telefona abonentu saraksts* [Latvian Phone Directory, 1940] (Riga: 1940).
24. M. Krēgers, K. Jansons, *Firmenregister der Handels- und Gewerbe-Unternehmungen der Stadt Libau, 1925*; M. Krēgers, K. Jansons, *Firmenregister der Handels- und Gewerbe-Unternehmungen der Stadt Libau, 1927*; M. Krēgers, *Liepājas Pilsētas Firmu un Tirdzniec.-Rūpniecības Uzņēmumu Saraksts par 1930. gadu* [Directory of Liepāja Businesses and Commercial-Industrial Enterprises] (Liepāja: M. Krēgers, 1925, 1927, 1930).
25. *Liepājas latviešu kalendārs 1939. gadam*, 3 [Liepāja Latvian Calendar for 1939, vol. 3] (Liepāja: E. Ābelīte, 1938).
26. Record Book of Liepāja Jewish Cemetery 1909–1941. Original in Liepājas Kapsētu Pārvalde, Liepāja; a transcript is available at <<http://www.ej-anders.com/cem/>>.
27. Persons born in the second half of 1941, LVVA, Riga, 1308–15–166.
28. Persons who died in Liepāja in the second half of 1941, LVVA, Riga, 1308–15–173.
29. *Represēto saraksts 1941* (see n. 8 above).
30. Franz Walter Stahlecker, *Einsatzgruppe A: Bericht vom 31.1.1942*. Document PS 2273 in *Nuremberg International Military Tribunal—Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 42 (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1949).
31. Alfreds Darbiņš and Verners Vītiņš, *Latvija, statistisks pārskats* [Latvia: Statistical Overview] (Stockholm: P. Mantnieks, 1947), p. 14.
32. An early 1946 report by Mr. Goldberg (editor of the New York paper "The Day"), who had just returned from Latvia. Cited in a 15.5.46 letter by the World Jewish Congress in Stockholm (Yad Vashem Central Archives, O-37).
33. Ainars Bambals, Personal communication, June 1999.
34. Semjon Arolovich, *Latviiskie evrei-voiny, pogibshchie v borbe s natsizmom, 1941–1945. Kniga pamiati* [Latvian Jewish Soldiers Who Fell in the Fight with Nazism: A Memorial Book] (Riga: 1997).
35. Bregmanis, Hona. *Ebreji Latvijas vēsturē. Latvijas likteņgadi. IV* [Jews in Latvian history. Fateful years of Latvia. IV] (Riga: Avots, 1990), p. 141.
36. List provided by Survivors Registry, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, op. cit.

37. Libauers' Committee of Israel, *A Town Named Libau* (Yizkor Book) (Tel Aviv: 1982). <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/libau.html>>. Libauers' Committee of Israel, *The Jews of Libau, 1992* (Tel Aviv, 1993).
38. Landgericht Hannover, *Strafurteil gegen Grauel und andere*, 1970. 2 Js 291/60; Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen, Ludwigsburg.
39. Anders and Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepāja*.
40. Dr. Emil Dietrich, *Kriegstagebuch, SS und Polizeiführer Libau*, 20 September 1941–30 November 1943 (handwritten). 159 pp. LVVA P83–1–21.
41. Landgericht Hannover, *Strafurteil gegen Grauel und andere*.
42. Ezergailis (see n. 1 above), p. 307, n. 80.
43. Borgert (see n. 3 above).
44. Borgert, (n. 3).
45. Extraordinary Commission (n. 14 above).
46. Ezergailis (n. 1 above), pp. 290–93.
47. See n. 2 above.
48. Ezergailis, p. 290. The court in the Grauel trial could not decide whether this massacre occurred on 3 or 4 July, but Vestermanis (n. 2) favors 4 July.
49. Landgericht Hannover, *Strafurteil gegen Grauel und andere*.
50. Borgert (n. 3).
51. Salnītis and Skujenieks, *Quatrième Recensement de la Population en Lettonie en 1935. III. État Civil*, pp. 231–63.
52. Darbiņš and Vītiņš, *Latvija, statistisks pārskats*, p. 10.
53. W. S. Wolbach, I. Gilmour, and E. Anders, “Major Wildfires at the Cretaceous-Tertiary Boundary” in V. L. Sharpton and P. Ward, eds., *Global Catastrophes in Earth History. Geol. Soc. Am. Special Paper 247* (1990), pp. 391–400.
54. See n. 52 above.
55. See n. 8 above.
56. Dr. Saul Issroff, personal communication.