The Dachau subcamp complex was a gradually evolving camp system comprising numerous different types of camps. Chiefly in 1944 and 1945, its network spread out into the surrounding areas, both near and far.

The number of subcamps varies between 169 and 187, depending on whether separate camps for male and female prisoners in one location are counted separately and whether subdetachments of the subcamps are included in the count. The International Tracing Service (ITS) list fixes the date for the first subcamp as 1937. Beginning as early as 1933, however, there were already labor detachments deployed for “public tasks” outside the main camp. Between 1938 and 1941, 13 subcamps were established. In 1942, the number doubled, and in the following year, it grew by an additional 18. The number increased dramatically in 1944, 84 new subcamps being established in that year alone. In the first four months of 1945, another 44 subcamps were added to the system. [Note: Not all of these sites met the criteria to be included as subcamps in this volume.—ed.]

Initially, the private interests of high-ranking SS members played a major role in the establishment of the subcamps. In the 1940s, the decision-making process was based increasingly on economic and war-related considerations. Until 1942, the Dachau camp commandant had the authority to assign concentration camp prisoners to private industry or farms. Beginning in the spring of 1942, private industry had to apply to Office D II of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Oranienburg for prisoners. It was from here that the deployment of prisoners was ordered after the applications had been reviewed.

With regard to administration, all of the subcamps were directly subordinate to the Dachau main camp. Depending on the size of the subcamp, each had its own camp or detachment leader. At some subcamps where there were only a few prisoners, no camp commander was stationed on-site. The close organizational ties between the subcamps and the main camp were evident in various aspects: all legal mail had to be sent by way of the censorship office at Dachau; provisions for the smaller subcamps were supplied by Dachau, as were tools and other objects of daily use. Reports on prisoner infractions were relayed to the main camp, and the prisoners themselves were sent there for punishment, although whippings and hangings were also carried out in the larger subcamps.

There was no strict administrative system for all subcamps. The form of administration varied, depending on the date the camp was established, its size, and the respective individual camp commandant or detachment leader. The freedom of action enjoyed by the commandant or detachment leader became apparent when, for example, penal reports were not forwarded to the main camp or the prisoners’ provisions were improved or when cruel despotism reigned.

The prisoner populations of the subcamps varied substantially in number. There were camps with only a few prisoners and large camp complexes in which thousands of prisoners performed labor. The camps with the largest prisoner populations were those in the service of the armaments industry located in and around Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf.

In principle, all prisoner groups from Dachau were allocated to perform labor in the subcamps. In certain subcamps, however, the prisoner populations consisted solely or to a disproportionate degree of a particular category. The early subcamps had mostly “political prisoners,” reflecting the composition of the inmates in the main Dachau camp at the time. It was not until the outbreak of war that the number of foreign prisoners increased.

There were Jews in the subcamps until 1942. Following the order to make the Reich “free of Jews,” all Jewish prisoners were deported from Dachau. It was not until 1944–1945 that Jews, chiefly of Eastern European origin, were sent to the Landsberg-Kaufering and Mühldorf subcamps either directly or by way of the main camp. Jehovah’s Witnesses, on the other hand, were regarded as diligent and unproblematic prisoners who—because of their religious convictions—would not engage in any resistance. They were purposely sent to subcamps in remote locations where escape was easy, and in many cases, they even worked without being guarded.

One group of prisoners was excluded from deployment to the subcamps. Evidence of these protective detention prisoners of all nationalities is found on lists of January 1944 designating them as “NAL” (for nicht aus dem Lager), which meant that they were “not to leave the camp” for the performance of labor. They were presumably classified in this manner because they were prone to escape or faced proceedings by the Political Department or the Gestapo.

In the first Dachau subcamps, the prisoners were assigned to labor chiefly to satisfy the personal interests of those in power. The prisoners had to perform garden or household work for the members of the SS and their families in the direct vicinity of the concentration camp or to build or renovate holiday homes for the higher SS officials. In contrast, the prisoners assigned to SS enterprises such as the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Works, DAW) or the porcelain manufacturer Allach constituted a more significant economic factor.

It was only with the outbreak of war and the increasingly grave lack of labor that the concentration camp prisoners took on significance as an economic factor. On the one hand, smaller prisoner detachments were deployed to private firms in and around Munich, for example, a jam factory, horticultural nursery, or shoe store. The numerically larger detachments integrated from 1942 onward into the armaments industry were of greater significance.
In the last year of the war, within the framework of the so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) Program, thousands of prisoners were put to work relocating armaments production plants to underground sites, performing heavy labor under inhuman conditions.

As is already implied by the various sites of deployment, the working conditions in the subcamps varied greatly. In several smaller detachments garden work was carried out or houses built; in other detachments the prisoners had to work in factories or perform heavy manual labor on construction sites. To no small extent, the respective conditions reflected the attitudes of the master craftsmen or company managers, many of them civilians. The SS guards were not involved in the work process but were responsible solely for guarding the prisoners. This did not, however, prevent many guards—or, many civilian foremen—from brutally goading the prisoners to work. In many locations, however, either at the workplace or in the vicinity of the camp, some civilians stood up for the prisoners, either easing their work or supplying them with food.

Often, the decision as to whether a prisoner worked in the open air or indoors was a question of life or death, as the prisoners usually did not receive warm clothing or gloves in winter.

The employers paid the prisoners’ wages directly to the Dachau concentration camp. In adherence to strict instructions issued from Berlin, the hourly wages for skilled and unskilled workers were recorded monthly on so-called fördernachweise (claim vouchers), then to be transferred to a Dachau concentration camp bank account.

There are no details concerning the total number of prisoner deaths in the subcamps. The mortality rate in the early subcamps was relatively low. It later climbed exponentially in the camps connected with the armaments industry. The most disturbing accounts testify to the construction projects of the Jägerstab Program, where many thousands of prisoners died of malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion.

Subcamps of that type contrast with those described positively by the prisoners because there was no mistreatment, and the food was better. Especially in the final months in the Dachau main camp, when particularly grim conditions prevailed there due to overcrowding, poor food, and illnesses, transfer to one of the better subcamps could mean survival.

The living conditions of prisoners outside their workplace were decisively influenced by their living quarters. In many subcamps, barracks with sanitary installations were built for the prisoners; in others the prisoners slept in cellars, garages, or factory buildings. The prisoners did not always have beds and blankets at their disposal. In many cases, the lack of washing facilities resulted in the spread of fleas, lice, and disease to which the prisoners—weakened by malnutrition—had no resistance. Only a few subcamps had a prisoner infirmary. Prisoners who were unable to work were sent back to Dachau.

The overwhelming majority of the subcamps was supervised and guarded by the SS. The SS were universally feared by the prisoners due to their cruelty and unpredictability. The prisoners were ruthlessly driven by the guards, and anyone who did not work quickly enough was brutally beaten.

At the Organisation Todt (OT) construction sites, OT men who equaled the SS guards in brutality stood guard. Particularly in the last months of the war, Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe personnel who were no longer fit for front-line service replaced the SS men who were still fit.

Among all the tormenters, there were also guards who treated the prisoners better. The latter, for example, would consciously overlook a prisoner picking up a cigarette butt from the ground or a civilian giving a prisoner some bread. It is reported of some guards that they smuggled letters for the prisoners or arranged contact with family members outside the camp. Such examples, however, remained the exception.

A number of subcamps were only temporary and were closed before the end of the war. The majority of the Dachau subcamps in existence until the end of the war were dissolved in mid- or late April 1945. The prisoners were forced to march on foot back to the Dachau main camp or were taken there by rail or truck. The concentration camp was already overfilled at the time, and the majority of these prisoners were then sent on evacuation marches. Other subcamps were closed and the prisoners driven in a southerly direction for days without food. Many subcamps, on the other hand, were not dissolved or evacuated. Here the camp officers had either fled or the camp commandant disobeyed the orders from Dachau. In these cases the prisoners were spared an evacuation march and were liberated by Allied troops.

**SOURCES** Scholarly publications on the subcamps are rare, although general works about the main camp do contain some information. More recently, a number of interesting monographs have been published, some of which were summarized in vol. 15 (1999) of *DaHe* under the title “KZ-Aussenlager—Geschichte und Erinnerung.” For a systematic overview of the Dachau subcamp complex, see this author’s “Organisation und Struktur der Aussenlager des KZ Dachau” (Ph.D. diss., TU-Berlin, 2004).

Sources on the Dachau subcamp complex are scattered throughout a number of archives. The BA-B holds, among other sources, the administrative files of the Reichsführer-SS and the IKL as well the Collection NS4 on concentration camps. The AG-D contains extensive material on individual subcamps. The original transcripts and documentary evidence from the Dachau Trials of 1948–1949 are located in NARA and comprise not only original concentration camp files but also numerous testimonies concerning the subcamps. The investigation files of ZdL (now held at BA-L) and the Munich Sta. are in BHSaA-M) and provide substantial material on German postwar trials. YVA also holds documents on the Dachau subcamps. There is, moreover, a large abundance of memoir literature, much of which is held in the library of AG-D.

Sabine Schalm

trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VOLUME I: PART A
NOTES

1. In Hausham the camp commandant visited the farm only once a month to see if everything was in order; see Biographie Frieda Hopp, geb. Gross, GAZJ.

2. See Belehrung für Übersetzung, dated June 4, 1942, BA-B, NS 4/Da 2; and letter from WVHA, Amtsgruppenchef D to the Camp Commandants, Oranienburg, dated December 11, 1943, BA-B, NS 3/426; Lebensbericht von Gerhard Oltmanns, 1975, GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Wolfgangsee), and Lebensbericht von Paul Wauer, n.d., GAZJ (St. Gilgen); testimony by Pawel Respondek, Chorzow, dated October 22, 1949, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34434; statement under oath by Karl Röder, Vienna, 1949, BHStA-(M), SpkA Karton 75/vol. 1 (Eleonore Baur).

3. See testimony by Herbert Slawinski, Augsburg, dated October 17, 1956, BHStA-(M) Sta. 34588/2 (Subcamp Augsburg), and statement by Michael Kulig, Ratibor, dated August 14, 1968, BHStA-(M), Sta. 34817/1 (Subcamp Allach).

4. See letter from the RSHA, dated November 5, 1942, IfZ, MA-444/5.

5. See DaA Hängeordner Schutzhaftvorgänge/NAL (Nicht aus dem Lager)/Häftlingslisten.

6. See letter from Johannes Van Loo, dated October 17, 1984; AG-D, A412/Hängeordner Aussenkommando Unterfahlheim/Nachkriegsermittlungen (Post-War Investigations) and Lebensbericht Willi Lehmbecker, n.d., GAZJ, Selters (Subcamp Obersudelfeld).

7. The instructions from Berlin concerning the hourly wages of concentration camp prisoners were changed several times, here just one example: letter from WVHA, Chef d. Amtes C VI, to Reichsrüstungskommissar für die Preisbildung, Berlin, dated October 13, 1944, BA-B, R 13 VIII/243; see also Förderungsnachweise über den Häftlingseinsatz des SS-Berghaus Sudelfeld von Dezember 1944 bis März 1945, BA-B, NS 33/177.


“Sometime after 1944 around five hundred Hungarian Jewish women came to Augsburg, where they were housed and put to work in the collection camps of the Michelwerke (Industriebau) Keller & Knappich. The appearance of these people, who were clothed in a kind of sack and shorn of their hair, was terrible.” This is the wording of a not-quite-error-free report by the Augsburg police directorate from the period after the war. It makes reference to the Michelwerke subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp, within which all 500 women were housed in the North Building (Nordbau) and not at Keller & Knappich. However, some of these Jewish women worked at this firm.

The Michelwerke women’s camp existed in the Kriegshaber district of Augsburg from September 7, 1944, through April 1945.2

The 500 women arrived in Augsburg in freight cars on September 7 from Hungary as well as from Hungarian areas of Slovakia at that time, the Carpatho-Ukraine and Transylvania. Their path of suffering had led them through Auschwitz II-Birkenau to the concentration camp Krakau-Plaszow, located near Cracow, then back again to Auschwitz, and from there to Augsburg.3

After the war, some of the women told about their journey along the way to Augsburg. Katarina Szolar stated, “After a six week stay, we left Płaszów, on August 6 and were transported to Auschwitz. . . . Here our hair was cut off and numbers were tattooed on our upper arms. My number was A17356. We slept twelve to a bed. Often the topmost bed collapsed under the weight. . . . We seldom had the opportunity to wash ourselves. We were often scared, because we didn’t know whether we were coming into shower rooms or gas chambers. It often happened that we came from the shower naked and our clothing was gone. When we asked the supervisor we got a kick in the backside.”

Szolar continues: “After six weeks in Auschwitz, five hundred stark-naked women were selected in the pouring rain and transported to a camp in Augsburg. First we had to clear the way to the Michelwerke was easy to supervise. The women reached the workrooms through a corridor. Therefore, the building was not fenced in with barbed wire. Food was prepared in a kitchen strictly responsible for feeding the Jewish women; they ate in the dining hall of the canteen building.

The majority of the women worked in the Michelwerke, as well as at Keller & Knappich, which was not far away. The Michelwerke produced electrical parts for airplanes—plugs and relays, for example. Keller & Knappich produced small mortars and cartridges for 2cm guns. After air raids the women were also used to clear debris in a branch facility of the factory. Smaller groups of women also worked in the neighboring town of Neusäss. There, the Lobwald factory produced camouflage paint. Apparently some of the Hungarian women in Neusäss were also deployed in a supply camp for Messerschmitt.7

In at least one of the firms, the women of the concentration camp were not allowed to use the same toilets as the other male and female workers. Three labels were placed on the bathrooms: “Only for Germans,” “Only for Russians,” “Only for Jews.” The members of the workforce from other nations were allowed to use the toilets of the Germans.8

Former soldiers of the Wehrmacht, who no longer could be sent to the front because of injuries or sicknesses, guarded the Michelwerke subcamp. Some were apparently replaced by the SS in September 1944. In addition, female SS personnel belonged to the 10- to 12-person-strong camp personnel. These women were also in uniform.

The commandant of Michelwerke could not be identified. Some women stated that the commandant did not belong to the SS but rather to the Wehrmacht. He behaved decently, and the same went for most of the guard staff. He died later, supposedly during an air raid while prisoners were being evacuated to Mühldorf.9

Aliza Javor reported after the war that one female guard in the factory of Keller & Knappich once slapped a Jewish girl. As a result, the guard was surrounded by foreign civilian workers who demanded that she treat the concentration camp women in a decent way if she valued her life. The Hungarian woman praised especially the French workers. From time to time, they gave the women from the concentration camp food and bread. She also confirmed that the German workers were civilized. Because she could speak German, she received a German newspaper daily from them. Another Hungarian woman reported that an SS man kicked her in the stomach during the distribution of food. Otherwise, the testimonies agree that there was no mistreatment or even crimes in the Michelwerke camp. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) arrived at the same result after completing its investigation in 1975.

Nevertheless, the Jewish women were under intense psychological pressure. According to Javor: “Every evening there was roll call, after we had arrived from work. The Oberscharführer, our camp commandant, never missed the opportunity to say, if we don’t work well, we would have to go back to Auschwitz.” Around 10 women could not get through the work, meaning they were labeled “unable to work” and sent to Dachau. Two pregnant women, who had married shortly before
their deportation, were transferred to Landsberg am Lech. They gave birth to their children in the hospital there.10

At the beginning of April 1945, the Michelwerke camp was dissolved. The women were taken by train to a different Dachau subcamp, located at Mühldorf am Inn. Although the traveling distance was not all that far, the trip took several days. The women remained in Mühldorf until the end of the war.

While in transit, the Hungarian women feared for their lives again. The train taking them to Mühldorf was attacked by Allied airplanes. In vain, the women waved their striped concentration camp shirts in order to signal to the pilots that there were concentration camp prisoners in the train. This attempt was futile, however, for military personnel were also being transported in this same train. Lea Vegh reported later during a court hearing that she and a couple of other women fled to a small forest during an air raid. An SS man, whom the Hungarian women in the Augsburg camp apparently called “the crazy soldier,” killed one of those who fled with a shot in the head.11 The women and men were liberated by U.S. troops at Lake Starnberg.

SOURCES In YVA there are many statements of the Hungarian women on the Michelwerke camp. Further statements were taken from the ZdL’s Schlussvermerk. In addition to this, the author spoke with contemporary witnesses in Kriegshaber and Neusäß.


NOTES
2. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, July 15, 1975, in BA-L, IV 410
3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Statement of Katarina Szolar, YVA, 572/27-0 L.
5. Aliza Javor statement, YVA, 83/1028.
7. Inquiries of the author.

AUGSBURG-HORGAU
For only one month, from March to April 1945, a concentration camp existed in the forest near Horgau.1 The villagers of Horgau in particular have expressed doubts about this period of time, claiming it is too brief. This claim could be correct.
were decent guards. One SS man had even begged for potatoes for the prisoners while in the forest café.”

From his café, Langenmeier was able to observe the arrival and departure times of the freight trains carrying the prisoners from the camp at Pfersee between Augsburg and Horgau. In the morning the men were forced to sing while marching to work. When they returned in the evening, they were mistreated as they climbed down from the wagons: “No one climbed down without being beaten.” Langenmeier also stated that “eventually the transports were stopped between Augsburg and Horgau and the prisoners then had to live in tents near the factory.”

In March 1945, a transport of 307 prisoners of various nationalities from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp arrived at Horgau. This transport had traveled many days through Swabia with insufficient rations. There were men and women in the transport. A number were dead when the transport finally arrived in the Swabian towns of Lauingen, Burgau, and finally the station at Horgau, or they died soon after their arrival.

Former railway station master Joef Mayr told Langenmeier that there were 2 dead when the train arrived at Horgau. The concentration camp prisoner Baruch Ginzberg stated that one-half of the 50 men of that transport did not survive. The journey of suffering of the then-16-year-old Pole from Łódz, Ginzberg, was via the forced labor camp at Auschwitz-Krenau (where he worked in an oil refinery), to the concentration camps at Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, and finally Bergen-Belsen. Here the prisoners’ muscles were examined as if they were cattle at a meat market. Those capable of work were put on a new transport—in open freight wagons. After an air raid, the train stopped for days at Würzburg. They survived by drinking water from the Main River and by eating snow. Many prisoners died. To warm themselves, they lay on the warm corpses and covered themselves with the dead. Ginzburg claims that in Horgau the dead were unloaded. He does not know the day they arrived in Horgau.

Ginzburg is clear that he finally got something to eat in Horgau. Otherwise, all that remains in his memory are a few barracks in a forest, barbed wire, wooden beds for sleeping, dogs, and SS guards. He did not have to work, and he was not mistreated. His respite in the forest camp was not long. He was transferred to a subcamp at the Pfersee air intelligence barracks and liberated, together with his father David, by the American soldiers in Klimmach, Swabia, on April 27, 1945. It must have been unusual for both father and son to have traveled the same path and have survived together. In 1946, Baruch Ginzberg was in Italy. It was there that he learned that his mother and sister had survived. In 1947 he made his new home in Israel.

The Horgau camp was closed on April 4, 1945, at which point there were 274 prisoners still there. They were taken to Augsburg-Pfersee. A few weeks earlier, 27 had been taken to the Dachau main camp. Investigations have revealed no evidence to suggest that prisoners were killed at Horgau. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) stated after questioning witnesses, including David Ginzberg, “that conditions in the camp were quiet. Further investigation is not recommended as it is unlikely that there will be evidence to contradict existing statements that there were no homicides in the camp.”

The judicial authorities have not been able to determine who the commander was of the Horgau camp. The men were guarded by Luftwaffe soldiers who were no longer capable of serving at the front. They were transferred to the SS for this purpose. Many of the inhabitants in Horgau appeared not to have noticed that about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the Horgau railway station that there was a Messerschmitt factory in the forest and a subcamp for concentration camp prisoners.

A Messerschmitt employee said after the war that Horgau was a “model camp in a forest, a place for recuperation for deserving prisoners, which should be expanded.” Whether there were such plans can no longer be determined.


The ZdL investigation files in BA-L provide information on the Horgau subcamp. Footnotes in the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey’s Messerschmitt Report at NARA provide information on the factory. When the author prepared a chapter on the Horgau camp in 1984, conversations with Baruch Ginzberg and Josef Langenmeier in Tel Aviv and villagers in Horgau were most helpful.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES
2. OT, R 50 I/24 fol. 1, BA-P (a copy is held by Horgau village).
7. Written statement by former Messerschmitt employee Ludwig Wiede from September 14, 1945, for OMGUS in Augsburg, author’s archive.

AUGSBURG-PFERSEE

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was known as “SS-Labor Camp Augsburg-Pfersee.” This camp replaced the Messerschmitt AG subcamps Haunstetten and Gablingen Airport, which were destroyed by bombing raids on April 13, 1944, and April 25, 1944, respectively.
The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was constructed on April 27, 1944, in the long lorry hall of the former air intelligence barracks at Augsburg. The hall, which still existed in 2005, had 10 large gates. The prisoner's block was located behind the gates. The men slept in bunk beds, which took up almost all the space. There was only space at the back of the block for a separate room for the prisoner-functionaries, such as the block elder or the barracks orderly.

In the camp there was an infirmary (Revier) in the westernmost part of the hall. The camp elder, camp secretary, and other prisoner-functionaries were housed in the eastern part of the block. Punishment was administered in front of this area. Here the prisoners were whipped on the so-called fastening stand (Bock) or hanged from the gallows.

A square in front of the hall was used for roll call. It was fenced in with barbed wire. The camp gate was on the eastern side of the camp. The SS guards were quartered near the fenced in with barbed wire. The camp gate was on the east-

Augsburg-Pfersee also exchanged prisoners with other Messerschmitt camps in southern Bavaria and Württemberg. The Augsburg Kommando was also responsible for camps near southern Swabia, such as Burgau, Horgau, Lauingen, or Bäumenheim. As a result, there were numerous prisoner transfers. As the front line neared, prisoners evacuated from the west also arrived in southern Germany, including Augsburg; thus prisoner numbers continued to grow before the end of the war.

The prisoners worked almost exclusively for Messerschmitt AG. A few prisoners were given special tasks. Some were used by the city of Augsburg and the German Railways to clean up and rebuild after bombing raids; others just worked in the camp.

The majority of the prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts in the Messerschmitt factory, which was about six kilometers (four miles) away in Haunstetten. The Me 410 and Me 210 airplanes were built here, and parts for other airplanes, including the jet fighter Me 262, were also produced in Pfersee. The prisoners worked at the production machines, transport within the firm, the supply depots, construction, and rubble clearing.

At the beginning of 1945, a large number of prisoners from Pfersee worked on the construction of a replacement factory for Messerschmitt in a forest near the Horgau railway station. There, in primitive conditions, wings were made for the Me 262 jet fighter. At the beginning of March 1945, a separate subcamp was erected for this purpose.

The prisoners received assistance from individual workers and inhabitants of Augsburg who gave them food. Help was sporadic and certainly not the rule. International Red Cross packages only reached the prisoners toward the end of the war. However, prisoners from the Soviet Union (who were in the overwhelming majority) did not receive any packages. The packages improved the food supply and offered the opportunity to barter for additional food.

At least 81 men died in Pfersee and were either buried or cremated at the Augsburg West Cemetery. The number who died is probably higher because until the autumn of 1944 the sick and dying prisoners were sent back to Dachau. The most prisoners died in February and March 1945 as the result of an epidemic of spotted or typhus fever.

In addition to those who died from exhaustion and illness were those murdered by the SS. Typically, prisoners who were to be punished were taken to the main camp. However, executions also took place in the camp at Pfersee because of escape attempts, alleged sabotage, looting, stealing, and disobedience. The prisoners were sometimes hanged. In addition to formal executions, there also were a number of instances when prisoners died as a result of mistreatment by the guards.

The camp was guarded by SS units. The officers and noncommissioned officers were long-serving SS personnel, while among the lower ranks were a few former Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer suitable for service at the front. One of the camp leaders was SS-Untersturmführer Horst Volkmar. The last camp leader was SS-Oberscharführer Jakob Bosch, who prior to this posting had been in command of the subcamp at Lauingen.

The Augsburg-Pfersee subcamp was evacuated on April 25, 1945. A small number of the sick and men unable to march were transported by the SS to Dachau, while the remainder of the 1,600 men marched in a southerly direction, guarded by the SS. When the American troops arrived a few days later, they found an empty camp. After a few days marching along the edge of the Wertach River, the prisoners reached the village of Klimmach. Here they were freed by American troops. Two men died in Klimmach as a result of the exertions of the march. During the march at least 1 prisoner died. He was buried in Bergheim near Augsburg. Whether other prisoners died during the march is unknown.

During the Dachau Trial in 1947, charges were filed against SS members who were stationed in the Pfersee camp. However, there was not a separate trial for Pfersee personnel. Investigations in the 1970s by the Central Office of State Deaths in Pfersee.
Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg did not result in any charges being filed.6


In BA-L (formerly ZdL) there are investigation files into the Augsburg camp and in fact for almost all subcamps. The files contain detailed statements by former prisoners and members of the SS. The AG-D has collections on individual Dachau subcamps and prisoner reports, which also deal with the subcamps. There is a prisoners’ data bank and lists of documents relating to the subcamp. The Augsburg Cemetery has a few old files that state the burial sites of the prisoners. There are copies of the official death lists. The ITS at Bad Arolsen also has data on Augsburg-Pfersee. For a survivor’s memoir, see Dimitrijus Gelpernas, “Landsberg-Kaufering-Augsburg: Städte wie alle anderen? Bericht eines aus Litauen Deportierten,” DaHe 12 (1996): 255–277. This essay describes the conditions in the named camps as well as transfers within the concentration camp system.

Wolfgang Kucera
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES
1. Prisoners lists from AG-D.
3. Augsburg Cemetery Files.
5. Augsburg Cemetery Files

BAD ISCHL [AKA BAD ISCHL, UMSIEDLERLAGER]

A Dachau subcamp existed in Bad Ischl in the Upper Austrian Salzkammergut, approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) east of Salzburg. It was attached to the local resettlement camp, which existed from February 9, 1942, until December 19, 1942. The resettlement camp was erected in the Rotth district of Bad Ischl, on the road to Ebensee. It held “Volksdeutsche” self-styled Donauschwabos, ethnic Germans who had come to Germany from their earlier settlement areas in Hungary and Romania. The camp was run by the Oberdonau branch of the Ethnic German Liaison Office (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle) in Linz, which also employed the roughly 60 male inmates who worked in the camp.

The prisoners were used for erecting and furnishing the barracks of the resettlement camp and were housed in the first barracks built on the camp grounds. Forty of them—37 Germans and 3 Poles—had arrived in a first transport from Dachau on February 9, 1942. Almost all of them were categorized as “protective custody” prisoners (Schnutzhaftlinge). Some 24 inmates—10 Poles, 9 Germans, and 5 Czechs and Slovaks—arrived on June 17 in the subcamp. Among them were a plumber and an electrician; all others were unskilled workers.

The camp Kapo was Ludwig Geiber, a German originally from Saarbrücken. Not many details are known about the living and working conditions in the subcamp, but no inmate died there. Between June and the end of August 1942, several small groups of inmates were returned to the Dachau main camp. This could indicate that their work was no longer needed, that they did not possess the required skills, or that they had become incapable of working. From the end of August on, about 45 prisoners remained in the camp until it was dissolved in December 1942.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) did not reveal many details about the camp, but apparently there was no severe mistreatment or violent deaths in the camp. Therefore, the investigations were called off in 1972.


The reference for the ZdL investigations is located in the BA-L, IV 410 AR 1627/72. Some archival material on the sub-camp can be found in AG-D; see Überstellungslisten (transport lists) from May and June 1942 under signature DaA 55673.

Evelyn Ziegenhagen
trans. Lynn Wolff

BAD OBERDORF

There could not have been a smaller subcamp than the one that existed in Bad Oberdorf. It was composed of one Dachau prisoner and existed for a month: from March 20 to April 25, 1945. Despite these circumstances, it is registered as one of the subcamps attached to the Dachau concentration camp.1

This sole prisoner was assigned to Ilse Hess, the wife of Rudolf Hess. Rudolf Hess, a longtime comrade of Adolf Hitler, was Hitler’s deputy from 1933 to 1941 in the leadership of the Nazi Party, and in 1939 he stood second in the line of succession to Hitler as head of state. In May 1941, secretly and apparently without Hitler’s knowledge, Hess flew from Augsburg to Great Britain in a self-piloted plane to attempt peace negotiations; as a result, he lost all of his offices. Until 1945, Hess was held in British custody, and in 1946 at the Nuremberg Trials of leading Nazi war criminals, he was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment for crimes against peace. He died in
1987 in the Allied war criminals prison in Berlin-Spandau, where he had been the only prisoner since 1966. Ilse Hess was forced to flee Munich due to the Allied bombing campaign and spent the last years of World War II living in Bad Oberdorf in Allgäu. There she managed a small farm of cows, sheep, and horses. The horses provided express service between Bad Oberdorf and Hindelang, as per a local government contract. Several foreign workers, reportedly two Frenchmen and an Austrian, assisted Hess with the farming work. In March 1945, a concentration camp prisoner was assigned to her as a laborer. Hess later recalled that this man was only employed with her for a short amount of time. During that time, she received an order that the man was not allowed to eat at her table. “I only laughed scornfully. We all ate together. He was treated like everyone else,” she said. The man slept in the house and did not wear prisoner clothing. “At any rate,” she said, “no concentration camp subcamp existed in Bad Oberdorf.”

The camp prisoner sent to Bad Oberdorf was a Jehovah’s Witness who had been detained in Dachau since 1937 due to his religious beliefs. His name was Friedrich Frey, and following World War II, he claimed to have been dreadfully mistreated in Dachau, resulting in lifelong physical damage. The SS especially hated Jehovah’s Witnesses because of their inflexibility. Frey reported that one time the “protective custody” camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer) came to him and said, “You will never again see your pretty Black Forest; you’ll march back there through the chimney, but not through the gate!” He responded: “Our God Jehovah, in whom we believe, can and will save us!” Thereupon the SS man screamed at him, “Your Jehovah won’t come over the barbed wire and free you.” Frey concluded one account of his imprisonment with the words: “When I walked home from Hindelang in May 1945, I was fully able to sense Jehovah’s protection.”

After World War II, the judiciary investigated the subcamp of Bad Oberdorf; however, the inquiry was discontinued in 1973 as “unnecessary and no longer useful.” In conclusion, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) pointed out that in such small labor details the only prisoners used were those “who were generally worthy of preferential treatment.”

**SOURCES** This entry is based on the author’s conversations with Ilse Hess and her son Wolf-Rüdiger Hess. The conversations about the Bad Oberdorf detail took place in 1983. The name of the Jehovah’s Witness and his report are derived from GAZJ. See also ZdL, Schlussvermerk, in BA-L (IV-410 AR 171/73).


**NOTES**


2. The author’s conversation with Ilse Hess on May 17, 1984.

3. Friedrich Frey’s account about his imprisonment, located in GAZJ.

**BAD TÖLZ**

The subcamp of Bad Tölz existed from the summer of 1940 (May 1, 1940, according to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations [ZdL] in Ludwigsburg and was mentioned for the last time on April 18, 1945. It was attached to the local SS-Junkerschule (Leadership School), which provided officers for service in the SS-Verfügungstruppen und- Totenkopfverbände (Special Assignment Troops and Death’s Head Units).

In summer 1940, 172 prisoners arrived from Dachau. They were kept in five rooms in the basement of the eastern wing of the Junkerschule. Most of the inmates were Poles; many were Germans; and a few were Czechs, French, Italians, and Hungarians. Only very few of the inmates were Jewish. Over the following years, the number of inmates remained mostly stable.

The Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS (ZBL) employed the inmates. It used the workers for a wide variety of tasks: One group of the prisoners was to renovate the barracks, prepare roads and pathways at the grounds of the Junkerschule, and build stables. Additional prisoners worked as orderlies in the barracks block of the SS-Junkerschule at Bad Tölz. Another labor group worked approximately 8 kilometers (5 miles) outside of Bad Tölz, constructing a shooting range and clearing a forest, while others were employed working in the market garden, the swimming pool, the Angora rabbit breeding farm, the kitchen, and the bodyshop attached to the Junkerschule. From 1942 on, inmates were also put to work for the city of Bad Tölz, where they had to unload potatoes and coal. During the last months of the war, a group was taken daily to Dürrnhausen-Habach, approximately 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Bad Tölz, where they had to build barracks.

The working conditions of the inmates varied according to their work detachments. While most inmates considered the conditions better than in the main camp, the inmates working on erecting the shooting range and clearing the forest suffered from their daily long marches to their job sites, the strenuous physical labor, and the brutality of their guards. At least two inmates died in the camp: The Pole Florian Glowinski died from falling off a scaffolding, and the German Hans Schading committed suicide. At least three inmates tried to escape but were caught by the SS.

SS guards from Dachau were in charge of the camp. Their first commander was Ludwig Frisch, who treated the inmates comparatively mildly but turned wild when he got drunk at night and threatened to shoot prisoners. From the beginning of the camp, German inmate Christian Rank was Oberkapo and Wilhelm Wimmer his deputy. Accused by the SS of theft, both prisoners and two other inmates were
returned to the main camp on September 1, 1942, and German inmate Franz Vinzenz from Munich became the new Oberkapo.

At the end of the war, when the SS drove the inmates from Dachau to the south, the Bad Tölz prisoners were forced, on May 1, 1945, to join this death march. That night, all the prisoners were driven into a gorge in the mountains and were afraid they would be shot. Due to the interference of a Wehrmacht general, however, the SS troops were dissuaded from killing the inmates. Apparently, the general also insisted that the inmates be returned to the Junkerschule, where they were liberated within a few days by U.S. troops.

**SOURCES** This description of the Bad Tölz subcamp is based upon the article by Dirk Riedel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 293–296.


In 1976 the ZdL conducted an inquiry under the reference number BA-L IV 410 AR-Z 79/76. The files contain numerous testimonies in German, as well as in Polish and Hebrew. In AG-D, there are some records detailing the history of the Bad Tölz camp. They can mainly be found under the signatures DaA 16889 (letters by Kommandoführer Frisch), DaA 35672–34678 (various Überstellungslisten [transport lists]), and DaA H 959 (interview with Oberkapo Franz Vinzenz).

*Evelyn Zegenhagen trans. Hilary Menges*

**BÄUMENHEIM**

“In Bäumenheim, in the district of Donauwörth, a self-sufficient camp for men, with approximately five hundred prisoners, existed from August 1, 1944 to April 25, 1945. The prisoners were assigned to work at the Messerschmitt Augsburg factory and were housed within the factory premises in a partially constructed extension building.” So reads a comment from a report written in 1976 by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

The camp was located on the property of the farming machine manufacturer Dechentreiter. At the time, the company was very well known in Germany, especially for its production of threshing machines. Despite the protests of the company president, Dechentreiter had to cede a portion of its plant to the Messerschmitt airplane factory. The kitchen and storerooms were located on the ground floor of a walled, two-story house, and the prisoners’ quarters were located on the second story. A watchtower was located by the main street, and barbed wire surrounded the building. “We were not guarded very closely,” one prisoner recalled later.

A number of the men were skilled craftsmen. For example, a Polish man had already been employed at an airplane plant in his home country. The concentration camp prisoners were brought from the Augsburg-Pfersee camp to Bäumenheim in trucks. One of the men related later that airplane parts were produced in two 12-hour shifts, but another reported that there was only one shift. Every now and then, foremen would slip something to the prisoners: “sometimes a sandwich, sometimes cigarettes, sometimes tobacco for pipes.” However, a Polish man also testified that the prisoners were beaten by Kapos and overseers.

The SS and prisoner quarters are in order, we are working on continual improvements and the correction of existing deficiencies. The prisoners’ clothing is to some extent very ragged and the supply of underwear is exceedingly insufficient; consequently an effective battle against lice remains impossible. We lack reserve linen. I was shown linen which was practically in rags. The officer-in-charge requests that three hundred sets of linen and clothing be sent, since it is impossible to effectively perform de-lousing with the current laundry inventory. The bathing and laundry facilities are sufficient for current demands. Vermic extermination (using hot air apparatus) will be put into commission in approximately eight days. At this time approximately 50% of the prisoners are de-loused. I spoke with the manager regarding complaints about the prisoner toilets in the factory building, and discovered that the four toilets for civilian workers located next to the prisoner toilets would be allocated for prisoner use within a period of eight days (after the dividing partition was removed). Thus the number of prisoner toilets will be satisfactory. I found everything in order in the prisoners’ area, but sterilization equipment is needed. The officer-in-charge requests that the prison doctor be replaced, since he does not appear to exhibit surgical competency.

When it became known in 1944 that Messerschmitt wanted to produce airplane parts in Bäumenheim, the head of Dechentreiter, as well as the Ashbach-Bäumenheim mayor, attempted to prevent it. The mayor pointed out in particular...
that because of such an armaments factory the village could become the target of Allied air strikes. Only a few houses had underground cellars, and most, therefore, could not offer protection to residents; there were also no shelters. It would soon become apparent how legitimate the fear of air strikes actually was. A map with bombing targets was found in the possession of a downed British pilot officer; one of the targets was Bäumenheim.  

March 19, 1945, was a lovely spring day. It became the darkest in the history of the village. The catastrophe occurred shortly after two in the afternoon. Fighter planes attacked the village in droves, dropping 700 high explosive bombs and thousands of incendiary bombs. Most of them fell in open fields because the wind diverted the smoke markers that had been set for the pilots. Therefore, no bomb hit the actual target, the Messerschmitt factory, but half of all houses were destroyed, as well as the train station, and 93 Bäumenheim residents were killed, including the mayor.

Camp prisoners almost never appeared in public. Residents encountered them elsewhere, however, when the men or women marched through the town to work or when they were returning to their barracks from work. In Bäumenheim, the camp prisoners lived directly beside the Messerschmitt factory. When the air-raid sirens drove them into the foxholes around the town, residents saw the men in striped prisoner uniforms. Also, when the bombs rained down on March 19, the prisoners found themselves seeking cover in the foxholes. They panicked and ran into the open whenever bombs struck close by. They fled from the foxholes and ran directly into the middle of the carpet bombing. The exact number of men killed in this way was never determined, although the estimate is approximately 80. One Bäumenheimer said after the air-raid sirens drove them into the foxholes around the town, residents saw the men in striped prisoner uniforms. Also, when the bombs rained down on March 19, the prisoners found themselves seeking cover in the foxholes. They panicked and ran into the open whenever bombs struck close by. They fled from the foxholes and ran directly into the middle of the carpet bombing. The exact number of men killed in this way was never determined, although the estimate is approximately 80. One Bäumenheimer said after an attack, “I saw a dead camp prisoner with an incendiary bomb sticking out of his skull.”

The victims of the Bäumenheim air raid, or what remained of their bodies, were buried in the new community cemetery. At the funeral service, Catholic priest Josef Dunau eulogized all of the bombing victims: the city residents, prisoners of war, foreign forced laborers, and also the camp prisoners. Among other things, he said, “Oh God and Lord, we have now gathered in your holy house, in the devotional remembrance of this hour, to consecrate the loved ones whose lives were brought to a terrible end on March 19, 1945. Many of them are well known, because they lived with us for years on end; many of them are virtual strangers, especially those who had to tarry here as prisoners of war, Dachau concentration camp prisoners, or forcefully displaced persons. We who are here as prisoners of war, foreign forced laborers, and also the camp prisoners. Among other things, he said, “Oh God and Lord, we have now gathered in your holy house, in the devotional remembrance of this hour, to consecrate the loved ones whose lives were brought to a terrible end on March 19, 1945. Many of them are well known, because they lived with us for years on end; many of them are virtual strangers, especially those who had to tarry here as prisoners of war, Dachau concentration camp prisoners, or forcefully displaced persons. We who are left over feel beholden to act with love toward all of the dead—to provide sheltering hands to the souls, whose bodies searched in vain for protection, to save for Heaven those who were lost from this Earth.”

The Bäumenheim camp was closed at the end of April. Former camp prisoners’ accounts regarding this event vary. Josef Pilawski that the platoon was marched by foot to Dachau and that he escaped shortly before reaching Fürstenfeldbruck. Max Wittmann had a different account of the camp’s dissolution:

Everything was just left lying and standing around. The prisoners gobbled up what was still edible and whatever else came their way. Then there was a forced march to the train station, where we were crammed into cattle cars. The overfilled train took off in the direction of Landsberg. We got off at Landsberg and continued to march by foot under strict surveillance. We had to sleep in the forest. Most of us had brought our blankets along, so we were protected from cold and the outdoors to a certain extent. We were en route approximately eight days. We arrived in Dachau on an April morning. We had to stand for a long time in the pouring rain until we were all assigned to various blocks. I ended up in Block 22. The beginning of the end had come.

SOURCES This entry is based upon Gernot Römer’s book Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwäben in Konzentrationslagern (Augsburg, 1984). In the volume Unsere Heimat Asbach Bäumenheim, edited and published in 1987 by the Asbach-Bäumenheim community, the subcamp is addressed on pp. 44–46. Additionally, in 1995 Gisela Blank wrote a term paper about the subcamp in the history honors course at the Augsburg Holbein high school.

Research for Für die Vergessenen was based upon the records of Sta. Mue I as well as the records from ZdL (now BA-L), in addition to testimony by Asbach-Bäumenheim community members and some statements or documents in AGe-A-B, YVA, and LA-B. Max Wittmann’s book Weltreise nach Dachau: Ein Tatsachenbericht nach den Erlebnissen des Weltreisenden und ehemaligen politischen Häftlings, ed. Erich Kunter (Stuttgart-Botnang: Kulturaufbau-Verlag, 1946) depicts the time Wittmann spent as kitchen Kapo in the Bäumenheim subcamp.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

NOTES

3. The former camp prisoner Fritz Kessler in conversation with the author on May 23, 1946.
4. Ibid.
5. Sta-Mue I, 120 Js/1885/74 a-c, record Pfcersee, testimony of former prisoner Ostapiak.
6. YVA, records of the Donauwörth district office from May 23, 1946.
7. LA-B, citation illegible.
BAYRISCHZELL

The Dachau subcamp of Bayrischzell was located 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) to the southeast of Munich. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), it operated from November 1943 to April 5, 1945. Ten male prisoners of unknown nationality worked in the camp for Office W VIII/2 Rest and Recuperation Facilities (Genesungs- und Erholungsheime) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which was based in Oranienburg. The prisoners were detailed to work in an SS hospital. The Bayrischzell subcamp was not the subject of investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.


General information on the main Dachau camp can be obtained from BA, NS4, KL Da.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BLAICHACH

Blaichach im Allgäu, a subcamp of Dachau, consisting of some 700 prisoners, existed from July 21, 1944, to May 1, 1945. The men worked 12-hour shifts in the Allgäu Baumwollspinn- und Weberei AG (Allgäu Cotton Mill, Inc. and Weaving Mill), producing parts for BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) that were of importance to the war effort. One detailed eyewitness report of this work has survived. This was written by Karl Läufl e who was at that time a schoolboy and who many years later became the mayor of Blaichach. His parents’ house was directly opposite the camp. The boy closely observed what happened and later recorded what was imprinted in his memory.

Läufl e recalled:

Already by the summer the machines and weaving tables were taken from the mill and machines producing armaments were put in place for assembling aircraft and submarine engines. Also, in the spinning mill there was militarily important machinery which constructed instruments for range finding and targeting devices. The factory site was surrounded by a 3m [10-foot-] high barbed wire fence with guard towers and search lights. The front and back of the spinning mill was similarly fenced-in. There was speculation whether this was supposed to be a prison camp or an armaments factory. For a long time this remained unclear. One day about eight hundred prisoners arrived from Dachau to work in the new factory. Along with the concentration camp prisoners came a company of guards. They were mostly older and some had been wounded. The commander was an SS officer named Stutz. He was a tall, slim, and typically athletic German, who surely would have been considered a prime Aryan if Germany had won the war. . . . In addition to the concentration camp prisoners there was a large number of foreign and forced laborers, mostly Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles, but also French, Belgians, and Dutch, all brought to Blaichach as a workforce for the armaments industry.

Former prisoners have confirmed the statements of the mayor. Their sleeping quarters were on the first and third floors of the factory. The guards were accommodated in the cellar. The shifts began at six in the morning and at six in the evening. While the men who slept on the first floor were working, the men on the third floor were sleeping, and vice versa. Behind the building there was an open square for roll call. Escape was impossible: the barbed-wire fence was electrified. The prisoners were guarded by elderly former Wehrmacht soldiers who had been wounded and could no longer be sent to the front. They only got SS uniforms after a prolonged delay, according to former prisoner Karl Rüstl.

Rüstl, an Austrian, came from Graz. He had been sent to a concentration camp because during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 he had fought with the “red” Republican troops against the army of later dictator and Hitler ally General Francisco Franco. Rüstl was transferred from Dachau to Blaichach in the middle of 1944. He was placed in charge of prisoner supplies there. With the ration cards allocated by the Food Office of the camp, he purchased food in the village and the surrounding area while accompanied by an SS guard. Although he was always able to get more food than was officially allocated to the prisoners, shortages were the order of the day. Karl Pold, like Rüstl an Austrian, and before World War II a combatant for the Spanish Republic, reported that daily they were given “one hundred fifty to two hundred grams [5.3 to 7.0 ounces] of bread, stew for lunch, and also watered down coffee.” He weighed only 42 kilograms (93 pounds) when liberated in 1945.

Pold was one of the lucky ones. He was part of a detachment that did construction work outside the camp. They replaced windows destroyed by Allied bombings, and they helped farmers in the fields. He stated that while doing such work he met some “very good people” in Blaichach. Pold was not very complimentary about his guards—he had praise only for the unit leader (Kommandoführer). Often he acted as if he
saw nothing—for example, when Pold disappeared into a house whose inhabitants gave him food. Pold reassured the Kommandoführer after the war when the latter said: “Hopefully you prisoners will not kill me.” Pold answered: “You don’t have to worry.”

Life was difficult for Pold and his companions in Blaichach. However, in comparison to the main camp, it was bearable. According to Pold: “Every Blaichach prisoner was afraid of being sent back to Dachau. Everyone said: don’t fall sick and don’t end up in the sick bay. If you don’t get well you will be sent back to Dachau and it is possible you will go up the chimney.”

Rüstl obtained a portion of supplies for the prisoners in nearby villages. He stated that he, the paymaster of the Gebirgsjäger (Mountain Infantry), and his deputy told anti-Nazi jokes in Sonthofen—if there was a decent foreman with them, he joined in. Rüstl recalls the son of a baker from whom they got bread. The young man had been a member of the Hitler Youth. Rüstl did not take any cigarettes from him until he said one day, “I am concerned that you don’t take any cigarettes from me. Everyone in our house is Anti-Nazi.” Rüstl reported: “We then listened to English radio together.” He also tells of a question from a local veterinarian who with the words “What are the criminals doing there?” asked if the rumors about Dachau were true.

Five prisoners died of illness in the Blaichach camp. They were buried on the banks of the Ill River, and after the war they were reinterred in the village cemetery. According to Rüstl, there were instances when the prisoners were beaten; for example, when defective parts were produced, there were such punishments as “25 blows to the back side.” Serious crimes were not committed by the guards.

When in April 1945 the end of the Third Reich finally approached, the prisoners in Blaichach, according to Rüstl, established an illegal military committee. This committee even possessed a few weapons. The factory security guards who were in charge of the BMW production site had exchanged weapons for sausages. Läufl described in his memoirs the final days and hours: “The camp was evacuated during the night of 25/26 April. The prisoners and the guards marched in the direction of the Hindelang-Tannheimer Valley. The majority returned two days later, either alone or in groups. They were wet and frozen. They were no longer accompanied by the guards. The Volksturm [German Home Guard] took over guard duty.” By April 30, 1945, continued Läufl:

The concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers were already moving freely about the village. People were afraid that there would be looting after the village was captured. . . . Around 5:30 p.m., when three tanks drove through the village, they [were] cheered by the concentration camp prisoners and the forced laborers. White flags were hanging from just about every house. . . . The villagers returned to their homes in the evening or the next day. Aside from a few isolated instances there was no looting. The foreigners and concentration camp prisoners, armed with rifles, patrolled the village and the local roads. They stopped dispersed soldiers and held them as prisoners.

According to Läufl’s published memoirs: “Apart from a few isolated instances, the looting and atrocities that had been feared by the villagers did not take place. The former political prisoners made every effort to stop the criminal elements. The ‘politicals,’ including doctors, lawyers, engineers, and academics, and Austrian ‘politicals’ from Mauthausen and Dachau told the villagers details of the concentration camps. A committee of ‘politicals’ took over the administration of the former camp. In the first few weeks after the war the majority of the prisoners tried to return home.”

There was in those days a tragic case of mistaken identity: A civilian was arrested in Blaichach. The concentration camp prisoners and the foreign laborers believed the man was an SS thug. The man had to dig a grave and was shot. He was the victim of a mistake! It was later discovered that he had never been a member of the SS or the concentration camp. He was reinterred in the winter of 1945–1946 next to the bodies of dead prisoners from the Blaichach camp.

NOTES
1. Sonthofen Council August 19, 1945, in a questionnaire to the Historical Commission at the Central Committee in Munich, YVA, MIIL/1/128.
5. Läufl, ObEr (1975).
7. Ibid.

BÜRGAU

According to a communiqué from the Günzburg City Council dated June 15, 1946, “A ‘labor camp’ was to be found in the city of Bürgau. In the middle of February 1945 about 120 Jews arrived in the city; during the night of March 3 to 4,
1945, another transport with about 500 Jewish women from Fürstenberg on the Oder arrived; and around midday on March 4, 1945, a third transport from Lauingen arrived. This camp was only to be a transit camp and therefore existed from the middle of February 1945 to about the 4th or 5th of April 1945.\footnote{3}

In early 1944, the aircraft manufacturer Messerschmitt transferred part of its personnel department to Burgau. The wooden barracks erected for the department were confiscated at the beginning of February 1945; guard towers were erected and the land fenced in with barbed wire and wire mesh; and defensive obstacles were put in place. Soon thereafter 120 Jewish prisoners from Dachau arrived. At least some of these men had previously been in the horrific camp of Riederloh II. One of them was Izhak Tennenbaum. He said the following about the Burgau camp: “The conditions in the camp were very poor. We received almost no food. We worked nights in a factory that made airplanes. I worked in Department 2, checking brakes and tightening screws.”\footnote{2}

The factory of which Tennenbaum spoke was the so-called Messerschmitt Kuno I factory. It was a well-camouflaged camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Burgau, in the Scheppach Forest. It was located close to the Augsburg-Ulm autobahn. Me 262 jet fighters are said to have been built in a hall on the grounds of the factory; 200 of these fighters were constructed there. The factory was in production before the concentration camp prisoners arrived. Among others, numerous foreign workers from countries occupied by German troops worked there. Shortly before the end of the war in 1945, American planes bombed the site.\footnote{4}

The two transports with about 500 women and girls drew the attention of the citizens of Burgau. The Jewish women from Poland and Hungary were closer to death than life when they arrived. Many had died on the journey. The first transport, with Hungarian women, arrived on the night of March 3 to 4, 1945; the second with Polish women arrived around noon on the following day. It came from the north German concentration camp Bergen-Belsen and had been traveling for a fortnight. Local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele wrote the following about their arrival: “Half-frozen, emaciated, and starving they climbed down from the cold cattle trucks. Urged on by female guards, they marched, ill and exhausted to the not-so-distant camp on Jahn Square.”\footnote{5}

Ruth Deutscher was part of this transport. The Polish women were taken in January 1945 from Tschenstochau (Częstochowa) via Buchenwald to Bergen-Belsen. The women stayed there for a few days, after which they had to parade naked before a German commission. The healthy-looking women were loaded onto a train, which, after a stopover at Lauingen, arrived in Burgau. On the way there, the train stood in Würzburg for nine days on a branch line. The city had been bombed, and the rail lines had been hit. Deutscher said the following: “At the beginning we got nothing to eat. Then, to keep us alive, we got a spoon of a soup each day. Women died every day. The wagon doors were opened and the corpses were just thrown out. There were many dead.”\footnote{6}

Only a small number of the women had to work with the men in the Kuno forest factory. Most were kept busy in the camp, and for many, there was no work at all. Buses or trucks took those who worked in the Kuno factory to their work; sometimes the men and women had to go by foot. “Those who could not walk were dragged between those who could,” recalls Paula Brekau, a German woman who worked in the factory at the time.

German civilians in Burgau attempted to give the starving prisoners some food. Brekau reports that in her village, Großhausen, she collected milk, potatoes, and bread from the farmers; her friend Gusti Schäffler brought food from Hafenhofen. She especially bought food for a prisoner’s child. She thinks the child was about 12 years old.\footnote{7} It was not the only child among the prisoners. The twins Rachel and Sarah Herzfeld, born in 1929, were also there.\footnote{8}

On the day that the transports arrived, 3 Jewish female prisoners died from exhaustion and malnutrition. Another woman died the following day. The Burgau Registry of Deaths has the names of 18 prisoners who died in the subcamp: 13 women, 5 men, all Jews and all from Hungary. The youngest to die was 17 years old.

The graves of these 18 victims are not located in Burgau where they died. A note in the Registry explains why:

A place had to be found to bury the dead. In a discussion held around midday on March 4, it was decided to establish a cemetery for the prisoners. The cemetery was about 1 kilometer from the subcamp. The local publican, Anton Schäffler, had leased a field from the city in the area known as Hagenmühlen (on the border with the community Burgau-Scheppach). The field was about four acres in size. This project was abandoned on March 6th because beneath the surface there was ground water. The Mayor’s representative then suggested a newly forested area near the autobahn by-pass. This was particularly suited for a cemetery but Obersturmführer Volkmann in Augsburg, following a telephone enquiry, rejected the idea as regulations did not permit the establishment of a cemetery for concentration camp prisoners. According to Volkmann they had to be buried in the general cemetery. There was to be no trace of the burial plot.\footnote{8}

The dead concentration camp prisoners found their final resting place at the Jewish Cemetery at Ichhausen, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Gravestones recall these victims of the Third Reich.

The Burgau subcamp did not exist for even two months. It was dissolved on March 24, 1945. The men and women were taken by train to the subcamp at Kaufering. Some of them did not stay there for very long. Before they were liberated by American troops, they were marched to Allach near Munich.\footnote{9}

After the war, judicial authorities investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Burgau camp. A former
prisoner said the camp commander, SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kresse, threatened during a roll call to shoot those who were found to have shoelaces made from electrical wire (he probably was referring to the cables from the airplanes). However, this witness did not see any crimes.\(^\text{30}\) The investigations were not pursued.\(^\text{11}\) In proceedings against Kresse before a U.S. military tribunal in 1947 in Dachau, Burgau local doctor Dr. Karl Schäffer as well as city councillor Albert Gutmann spoke out in favor of the camp leader. Schäffer had looked after the men and women in the concentration camp. Kresse, who immediately after the war assumed the name Johannes Kulik, was sentenced to five years in prison. However, because of the period he had been held in custody while the case was investigated, his sentence was reduced to two years.\(^\text{12}\)

In a letter written to Dr. Fred Frankl, head of the Translation Department during the Dachau Trials, Dr. Schäffer wrote the following: “The sentence is the lightest which has been delivered to date in Dachau for a former camp leader. . . . When one considers the criminal character of the entire concentration camp system and the shocking conditions in most of the camps, then one must recognize in particular when a man in a leadership role has acted in a humane manner and eased the burden, to the extent he could, on the prisoners.”\(^\text{13}\)

**Sources** Several chapters are devoted to Burgau in Gernot Römer’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwäben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Further published sources are not known, but local Burgau historian Xaver Schiefele prepared an unpublished report titled “Die Stadt Burgau und ihre Verwaltung” in 1982. The author found information in the ZdL files at BA-L, AG-D, YVA, and the ASt-Bur. While working on *Für die Vergessenen*, the author found numerous witnesses in Israel and in Burgau who were able to give information on the camp.

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**Notes**

1. YVA, Letter of the Günzburg Council to the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone in Munich, M-L/L 359/56.
2. Statement by Izhak Tennenbaum, AG-D, 15.872.
3. Research by the author.
5. YVA, Report Ruth Deutscher 033287; and 1984 in a conversation with the author.
6. Paula Brekau in a conversation with the author.
10. Ibid.

**Dachau (Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS)**

During a telephone conversation in January 1942, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler ordered Wolfram Sievers, the chief of the SS-Research and Training Cooperative “Das Ahnenerbe,” to establish a new research institute, the Entomologisches Institut der Waffen-SS (Entomological Institute of the Waffen-SS). Its purpose was to research and develop substances for fighting vermin, such as lice, fleas, mosquitoes, and gadflies, that afflicted human beings.\(^\text{1}\) Dr. Eduard May took charge of the Institute on February 10, 1942. This hitherto unknown scientist was neither a Nazi Party nor SS member but a trained zoologist who had studied widely in related scientific disciplines such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, geology, and paleontology.\(^\text{2}\) In May 1942 he qualified for a professorship in Munich at the Faculty for Natural Philosophy and the History of the Natural Sciences.

The decision to transfer the Entomological Institute to Dachau was made in April 1942. It was made because there were already medical establishments based in the Dachau concentration camp and because Professor Carl Schilling was already conducting experiments on prisoners with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin hoped that there would be close cooperation between Schilling and May.\(^\text{3}\)

The Institute was given a parcel of land close to the Dachau concentration camp. The parcel was on the Alten Römerstrasse (later 4 Würmmühle). Two wooden barracks were planned. The larger of these was to house the laboratories and offices, while the smaller barracks would accommodate the scientists. However, the shortage of building materials in the fourth year of the war meant that construction did not proceed quickly. Dr. Philipp Luetzelburg mentioned in a letter dated October 5, 1943, one and a half years after Himmler’s directive, that only water and electricity had been connected.\(^\text{4}\) The concentration camp made available a 30-man-strong work detachment for construction of the Institute. Luetzelburg exercised strict control over it and made sure that the prisoners worked their utmost from morning to evening. Despite his efforts, the Institute could only begin its laboratory work in 1944. Until then, May had a temporary office in the Dachau concentration camp.

Dr. Rudolf Schütrumpf, a prehistorian (*Prähistoriker*) who had worked for the “Ahnenerbe” from 1938, had worked closely with May since March 1943. In addition to him there were few scientists at the Institute. There were eight assistants and “amateur biologists” (*Hobby-Biologen*) who had been made available for work at the Entomological Institute by their SS and police units. Sievers planned, but did not carry out, experiments on the prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp.\(^\text{5}\)

In addition to the prisoners who constructed the two barracks on Römerstrasse, there were four female prisoners who were permanently available for work at the Institute. They
were transferred to Dachau on September 21, 1944, from the concentration camp at Ravensbrück. The four female Jehova’s Witnesses were locked for two days in a bunker at Dachau before they were marched to the nearby Institute. They were housed in a room in the research barracks. In the Institute, they were made responsible for cleaning. They were allowed to wear civilian clothes, did not have to work Sundays, and were free to move around. They also ran errands in Dachau for the scientists. The women appear to have been treated well. There was neither a leader of the work detachment nor guards to supervise or guard the women.

The staff at the Entomological subcamp remained the same until the end of the war. The four female prisoners were not evacuated to the concentration camp and were freed by American troops.

There were no investigations into Dr. May after the war for his activities at the “Ahnenere.” By the end of 1945, he was lecturing again at the University of Munich. In 1951, he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Free University in Berlin. After the war, Dr. Schüttrumpf received his qualification for a professorship in Köln and was appointed a professor in 1970.

**Sources**


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**Notes**

2. Resume Eduard May, November 10, 1941, BA-NS 21/910.
3. Notes of a conversation between Wolfram Sievers and Dr. Eduard May, April 3, 1942, IIZ, NO-721.
6. 

**DACHAU (FLEISCHWARENFABRIK WÜLFERT)**

The Fleischwarenfabrik Wulfert (Wulfert Meat Products Factory) was established in 1889, and from that date it was located at 19 Schleissheim Strasse in Dachau. The owner of the factory in 1930 was Hans Wulfert, a founding member of the local Dachau chapter of the National Socialist Party and a man notable in the 1930s for donations he made to the local party and to other National Socialist organizations. In the years following 1930, Wulfert operated his factory strictly in accordance with National Socialist principles. From 1933 on, the factory bore a sign that read “The Oldest National Socialist Business in Dachau,” and for the most part, the firm was run by loyal party members. In 1935, Bernhard Huber became a part owner and manager of Wulfert GmbH. Beginning in August 1941, 16 prisoners with the Wulfert GmbH worked in the cellar of the Schlossberg in the old town of Dachau. In the following year, the size of the work detachment grew to 60. They worked in all areas of the factory—slaughtering the cattle, writing correspondence in the office, loading tins of meat at the Dachau Railway Station, or cleaning tins. The prisoners wore work clothes and had to work 11 or 12 hours daily and, as required, the night shift. Hans Wulfert also used the prisoners outside the factory to maintain the gardens at his home in Rothschwaige.

Until February 1943, the prisoners were sent daily from the concentration camp to the factory, but their accommodations remained at the concentration camp. After a typhus epidemic at the Dachau main camp in January 1943, a subcamp was established on the factory grounds on Schleissheim Strasse. The typhus epidemic meant for the factory management that production was stopped, as the prisoners were confined to the camp. With the establishment of the camp on the factory grounds, Wulfert GmbH was now responsible for the hygiene and care of the prisoners. When the subcamp opened, the number of prisoners working in the meat goods factory increased to 320.

SS-Oberscharführer Franz Weinberger was the detachment leader until September 1943. There were 15 SS guards under him who watched the prisoners while they were working and who escorted them to workplaces outside the factory grounds. The guard detachment was withdrawn at the end of September 1943, after it had become involved in the illegal acquisition of tins of meat. SS-Hauptscharführer August Müller was then appointed commander of the labor detachment, and Heinrich Palme was named commander of the guards. An additional 15 SS guards were brought in as well to the Wulfert GmbH. One year later in September to October 1944, Unterscharführer Palme replaced Müller as leader of the camp.

The Dachau concentration camp provided the prisoners’ food, which was supplemented with meat and sausage from...
the factory. Being in the Wülfert detachment was much sought after, as it was possible for the prisoners to obtain supplementary meat and sausage while they were working. The main camp also profited from food stolen by members of the Wülfert detachment, as this was smuggled into the concentration camp, and especially weakened prisoners could be furnished with food. On one occasion, a wagon bearing the laundry of prisoners from Wülfert was searched at the gate as it arrived at Dachau, and large quantities of meat and sausage were discovered. The company management and the SS guards tried in vain to stop the thefts. However, stealing continued throughout the entire existence of the camp. Those who were caught had to reckon with receiving severe punishment. In most cases the thief was reported to the administration of the main camp, and the prisoner was withdrawn from the detachment. The frequency with which this happened is demonstrated by the high fluctuation in the number of prisoners in the detachment that was reported in the shift reports of the Dachau Labor Detachment Office. Back in the main camp, the prisoner received either 25 blows with a cane or three days in the “standing bunker.” In extreme cases, both sets of punishment were applied.

There are no reports of prisoner deaths in this detachment. Witnesses report, however, that punitive beatings were carried out at the factory. Wülfert was very unpopular with the prisoners because he worked hand in hand with the camp carried out at the factory. Wülfert also cultivated close relations with different SS members of the camp. Among the employees of the factory, the barbecues held several times each month were particularly well known. At these, Wülfert and his clerk Emil Kempter entertained party bosses and SS functionaries with generous amounts of alcohol and sweets. In the mail-order office, Redwitz, the leader of the protective custody camp, Rapportführer Trenkle, and the detachment leaders Müller and Palme, as well as Sister Pia, regularly got packets of meat and sausage. A female civilian worker stated after the war that each Saturday she delivered by bicycle a package of sausages to the house of camp commandant Weiter. At the beginning of the war, the Wülfert GmbH was able to increase its business rapidly, in particular because of the large contracts it had with the German Wehrmacht. Most of the profits were used to expand the factory, the expansion being carried out by prisoner labor. On March 19, 1945, three prisoners managed to escape from the factory barracks. SS-Oberscharführer Degelow then searched the site. The three prisoners managed during the night to escape over the roof, and they disappeared into a neighboring lot.

From the middle of April 1945, the production of sausage and tinned meat was limited because of transport and delivery difficulties, and therefore the detachment was reduced to 54 prisoners. The last prisoners returned to the Dachau main camp on April 26, 1945. Wülfert and his business partner Huber were convicted by a U.S. military court in the Dachau Trials in March 1947 of crimes against humanity and of supporting the National Socialist regime. They were sentenced to between two and five years in jail, respectively. During the appeal process that followed, they were acquitted. In 1948, they were investigated as part of the denazification proceedings and classified in Group I, the main offenders. They were rehabilitated in 1949 during the appeal process and classified in Group V, the lowest category.

In 1950, the Munich State Court investigated the connection between the prisoner detachment and the Wülfert GmbH. The investigations ceased in the same year. Wülfert and Huber returned to Dachau in 1950 as respectable citizens. They were welcomed back enthusiastically with banners reading “Finally they have returned” hung from the factory gates.

SOURCES
There are relatively good records on this subcamp. In the AG-D there are a few change reports (Veränderungmeldungen). Details about the camp were made clear in survivors' statements given as part of the Dachau Trials and the denazification proceedings against Hans Wülfert and Bernhard Huber. The Dachau Trials references are NARA, RG-153 (Records of the U.S. Army War Crimes Trials), Boxes 202 and 210, and RG-338 (U.S. Army Commands), Boxes 310–311. Karl A. Gross mentions the Wülfert detachment in Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen: Bericht und Tagebücher des Haftlings Nr. 16921 (Munich: Neubau Verlag, [1946]).

NOTES
The prisoners were escorted daily by the SS guards from the meters (1 mile) away. Here the prisoners worked the farm, either in a large group or in several smaller groups. Horses needed tending to, fields had to be ploughed or sown, or the prisoners were deployed there from 1942 when about 50 prisoners were deployed there. The few reports that do exist suggest severe prisoner mistreatment. If a prisoner was caught stealing a carrot or a potato lying on a field, he was severely beaten on the spot and removed from the work detachment. Additional punishment awaited the prisoner when he returned to the Dachau concentration camp.

For a period of about four weeks in March 1945 there was, in addition to the daily work detachment, a permanent Dachau subcamp at the Pollnhof manor. A former prisoner recalls that he, together with six other Polish prisoners of war and a Kapo, were accommodated in a small room adjacent to the stables. March 1, 1945, is given as the date the subcamp was opened. The prisoners were accommodated at Pollnhof because of a typhus epidemic that was raging in the main camp. During their stay, the eight prisoners looked after the horses at the manor. After the four weeks had passed, the prisoners continued to work at the manor but were housed in the concentration camp once again.

The survivors reported that they went out each day to Pollnhof until April 25, 1945. The prisoners’ card index contains the name of a Polish prisoner beside whose name are the words: “Liberated Pollnhof.” This is the only indication that after April 25, 1945, one or more prisoners were still working at the manor.

**SOURCES**


Sources on the subcamp are limited. There are no contemporary documents available. The ZdL investigation files in BA-L hold only two survivor statements.

**NOTES**

1. BA-L, ZdL IV 410 AR 1587/72.

**DACHAU (PRÄZIFIX GMBH)**

In 1933, Ludwig Nachtmann established a factory for the manufacture of screws, the Präzifix GmbH, on Munich Strasse in Dachau. From the beginning of the war, special screws for aircraft engines were produced at the factory. In 1940, Gustav Adolf Heyer from Berlin took over the firm. The next year, he relocated production to a new factory that had been constructed at 2–3 Johann-Ziegler Strasse (Factory I). At the end of 1941, Präzifix GmbH, an important supplier for the Messerschmitt factories and Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW), received permission to establish Factory II
on the Flosslände at the SS camp site. The existing munitions bunkers were connected by one-story barracks, in which only Dachau concentration camp prisoners and a few civilian workers could be found working. Even before a Dachau sub-camp was constructed on the factory grounds at the Flosslände, 12 prisoners had worked in 1940 for the Präzifix GmbH on Munich Strasse. However, these prisoners returned each evening to the Dachau concentration camp. A prisoner work detachment was based at the Flosslände from the autumn of 1942. It included Edgar Kupfer. He and 36 other prisoners were brought to Factory II, and for the next two years they worked in the office of the supply camp. He kept a secret diary that has survived and that precisely details the events that occurred in the work detachment at Präzifix.

Initially, the prisoners marched daily the 1.5 kilometers (about 1 mile) from the concentration camp at Dachau to Factory II. But several wooden barracks were constructed on the factory grounds following a typhus epidemic at the main camp at the beginning of 1943. These barracks became the permanent subcamp. Kupfer wrote in his diary that he and approximately 130 other prisoners slept in the barracks for the first time on February 7, 1943. Additional barracks were then built, and the detachment increased in size to 400 prisoners. There was a kitchen barracks with an annex for food storage, a room for storing clothes, and a detention barracks. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire and a fence.

Sanitary facilities at the Flosslände were inadequate, so from May 1943 on, the prisoners, under SS supervision, were escorted on Sundays to the “protective custody” camp to bathe and to wash their clothes. A prisoner doctor from the main camp visited the prisoners in the Präzifix camp once a week.

Director Heyer and 5 to 10 civilian employees from the firm organized labor assignments and supervision. Heyer did not regularly visit Factory II. The civilian foreman Oberskirchner was always present. He was responsible for production. Also constantly present were the foreman Seifert in the tool shop, deputy foreman Goldap, and an electrician. The relationship between the foremen and the prisoners varied, as many tried to help the prisoners, whereas others participated in bullying them.

There were skilled tradesmen among the prisoners, such as turners and locksmiths. There were also unskilled laborers from all parts of Europe. Prisoners from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were the most strongly represented. The prisoners worked in 12-hour day and night shifts at the lathes, boring and milling machines, and the grinding machines, making precision parts and replacement parts for aircraft. Most of the civilian workers left the Flosslände in 1943 because they were either called up for military service or transferred to Factory I on Johann-Ziegler Strasse. The prisoners then took over the administration of Factory II.

There were at least three Kapos in the camp, so-called day and night Kapos, for each shift. Walter Ohldorfer, Christian Weber, Josef Straka, Karl Weber, and August Madriz were only a few of the Kapos at Präzifix.

Supervision of the camp and guarding of the prisoners were the responsibility of the SS. The guard detachments, among whom elderly Luftwaffe members could be found above all, changed often. Only the commanding officers were stationed for longer periods at the Präzifix subcamp. These officers took the morning and evening roll call. The names of several commanders are known: Scharführer Ernst Angerer (the end of 1939 to June 1942), Unterscharführer Josef Heller, Obersturmführer Arno Lippmann (January to August 1944), and Hauptscharführer Johannes Berndt. The 10 or 12 SS guards were accommodated in a barracks outside the camp fence.

Rations at the Präzifix camp were relatively good, certainly better than in the Dachau main camp. Prisoner Karl Weller was in charge of the kitchen and the food store. He and another four prisoners prepared the meals for the detachment. Prisoner-functionaries in Dachau’s main camp tried to get their friends into the camp at Präzifix precisely because it was known as one of the better subcamps.

An unusual feature at Präzifix was the recreation barracks where the prisoners could spend their free time. On Sundays and public holidays, entertainment was provided here. Each nationality put on sketches and national dances. A small prisoner orchestra played. Director Heyer arranged for musical instruments and took his wife to the performances. There was a choir of 14 Polish prisoners and a soccer team, which played on Sundays against other teams from the main camp.

In July 1944, Dr. Otto Eifl er, a convinced National Socialist, took over control of operations at Präzifix. Director Heyer had come into conflict with the Gestapo and at the beginning of 1945 was sent to the front. A number of statements by different people indicate that he was removed because he had given favors to the prisoners. Conditions for the prisoners deteriorated with Eifl er’s arrival at Präzifix. While Director Heyer protested against the brutal actions of the SS and organized additional rations, Dr. Eifl er did not act to assist the prisoners. The free Sundays introduced by Heyer were stopped. In August 1944, Dr. Eifl er stored furniture in the recreation barracks, which he had 20 prisoners bring to the camp from his bombed-out apartment in Munich. With that, recreational performances at Präzifix came to an end.

Two weeks after the recreational barracks was closed, it was discovered that toothpaste, soap, and a pair of old men’s shoes were missing from a box. During the ensuing search of the camp, the missing items were found in the possession of three Russian prisoners. Hauptscharführer Berndt severely beat the prisoners, and they were sent back the next day to the main camp for interrogation. Only one of the three was returned to Präzifix, to be hanged to death in front of the other prisoners. He had been convicted of looting. The two other prisoners were hanged at the Mauthausen concentration camp and at the Allach subcamp.

Altogether there are several known cases of hangings and mistreatment at the Präzifix subcamp. For example, a Russian
prisoner who tried to escape at the end of 1943 was transferred back to the main camp after he had been brutally beaten at Präzif"x. A fight broke out among the prisoners at the end of May 1944 during the construction of an electrical substation. The incident was reported to the leader of the detachment, who reported the three prisoners to the Dachau camp administration. The prisoners, two Russians and a Pole, were hanged for sabotage at the Dachau concentration camp crematorium on December 17, 1944. As a deterrent, all the prisoners at Präzif"x were forced to attend the hangings.

An air raid at the end of October 1944 hit a nearby munitions depot, and as a result, part of the factory at Präzif"x was destroyed. Thirteen wounded and a few dead prisoners were taken to the Dachau concentration camp. Once the damage had been repaired, production recommenced in Factory II.

The Präzif"x subcamp was dissolved on April 26, 1945, and the detachment was led back to the Dachau main camp. About half the prisoners, Austrians, Germans, and Russians, had to join the evacuation march. This group stayed together until it was freed by the Americans in the vicinity of Wolfratshausen. A photo taken on May 1, 1945, documents their liberation. Director Heyer died in action at the front during the last few days of the war. His operations manager, Dr. Otto Eifler, was charged in connection with a prisoner execution and tried in the U.S. Army’s 1947 Dachau Trials but was acquitted. Proceedings against Eifler on suspicion of murder by the Munich II state prosecutor at the Präzif"x subcamp ceased in 1977.

**Sources**
The source base for this camp is unusually good. The AG-D hold the lists of names and transfer lists as well as a number of unpublished reports by and interviews with survivors of the detachment. There is also a photograph of some of the Präzif"x prisoners after their liberation. The material for this essay was supplemented by information from the ZdL investigation files at BA-L, the Sta. Mü and a compensation file (Sta. Mü). The Eifler proceeding is found in NARA, RG-338 (Records of U.S. Army Commands), Box 314, Case 000-50-2-88. Edgar Kupfer-Koberwitz, a former prisoner, was able to keep a diary during his imprisonment; see his *Die Mächtigen und die Hilflosen. Als Haftling in Dachau* (Stuttgart, 1960) and *Dachauer Tagebücher: Die Aufzeichnungen des Haftlings 24814* (Munich, 1997). The memoirs of August J., October 11, 1973, Sta. Mü, StanW 34802/1.

**Air襲 Aktion OT, NEUFAHRN**
Eching is located in the district of Freising, Upper Bavaria, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Dachau. The Eching subcamp existed from April 10, 1945, to April 24, 1945, under the designation OT (Organisation Todt), about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town of Eching. The camp was located at the outskirts of Eching, at Dietersheimer Strasse between Dietersheim and Neufahrn. It was composed of two to five wooden barracks, a kitchen, wash barracks, and an infirmary, and these were hidden away in a gravel pit. It was surrounded by a wire fence but had no watchtowers. At night, searchlights hindered escape attempts.

On April 10, 1945, 500 male inmates arrived by train from Dachau. Among them were Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Italians, French, and Germans. At the Eching camp, they were to erect an airport under the direction of the SS and OT. The airport was to be erected in the Garchinger Heide (Garching Meadows), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of the camp. In
ELLWANGEN

The Dachau subcamp of Ellwangen was located in Württemberg, 69 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Stuttgart. It was established on July 3, 1941, and existed until October 17, 1942. It was located in the SS garrison at Ellwangen, where a motorcycle replacement battalion was stationed. Members of this battalion, mainly from its convalescent company, were also in charge of guarding the inmates of the camp. Apparently also the first camp commander, an SS-Oberscharführer, came from the battalion. Inmates described him as decent and humane. In July 1942, he was replaced by an SS-Oberscharführer from Dachau who treated the inmates much more brutally.

There were about 35 inmates in the camp, 25 of whom had arrived early in July 1941. Later, about 10 more inmates followed. Except for a Czech and a Pole, all others were Germans; none were Jews. The prisoners were kept in the basement of the administrative building, which contained three bedrooms, a day room, and a toilet. Inmates worked for the needs of the battalion: 10 of them as tailors and shoemakers; others as gardeners and construction workers. Apparently, a few of them also worked outside the garrison in a local stove fitting company. The International Tracing Service (ITS) catalog states that some also worked on the construction of a shooting range about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the barracks.

There were no reported deaths of prisoners in the camp. Two inmates were shot after being returned to the main camp, but it is unclear if this was connected in any way to incidents at the subcamp. In October 1942, the subcamp commander dissolved the camp and had the inmates transferred back to Dachau, since he considered the subcamp in Ellwangen not important to the war effort.

SOURCES


The ZdL ceased its investigations in 1973 without results; its files are listed as BA-L, IV 410 AR 6/ 73. They contain witness statements and two sketches of the camp. The Ellwangen subcamp is also mentioned in some documents kept at AG-D.

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ESCHELBACH

[AKA, ERRONEOUSLY, ECHELSBACH]

Eschelbach is close to Wolnzach, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the north of Dachau. In 1944–1945, a Dachau subcamp was located there; it was established on the site of a religious order, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern, in Eschelbach, which during the war was also the site for a resettlement camp (Umsiedlungs- lager) for Germans. Pursuant to an order from the Nazi Party Reichskanzlei, the Don-Bosco-Schwestern evacuated their buildings for “vital war purposes” on July 24, 1944: in the internal courtyard of the Don-Bosco home a barracks was erected and fenced in with barbed wire. It held around 40 male prisoners from Dachau. It is known that the prisoners were in the camp from at least December 12, 1944. They came from Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Serbia, and the Netherlands. They were to lay underground cables in the direction of the nearby district city of Pfaffenhofen and were guarded by a detachment leader and four SS men.

According to survivors’ statements, the hygienic conditions and prisoners’ food were completely inadequate. Local women are said to have secretly supplied the prisoners with food. One prisoner probably was shot by the SS while earthworks were being done.

The camp was dissolved on April 4, 1945, with the prisoners being returned to Dachau. There were no postwar investigations into the camp.
The prisoners' barracks, about 20–25 × 4 meters (66–82 × 13 feet), based on estimates from the surviving walls, have been described as follows: they had two rooms in which there were three-tiered bunks. Numbers of prisoners fluctuated a great deal. The lowest number, mentioned by a witness, is 30 (this appears to relate to a work detachment and possibly one of the rooms); the highest number is 100. A witness (J. Brzezinski) stated that “later when the number of prisoners grew to about three hundred . . . two barracks were made available for the prisoners.” The rooms also functioned as eating and living rooms. In addition, there was a washroom and a built-in toilet (it is not known if the toilets were per barracks or per room). Some witnesses’ statements are accompanied by sketches, but these do not give a uniform picture and in any event are accompanied by statements that have not been translated from Polish. According to one witness (T. Etter), the prisoners had contact with the “free” laborers.8

The prisoners, all of whom appear to have been from Dachau, were used in earthworks and grading works for construction on the site, as well as in road building, in the construction of air-raid shelters (the latter probably outside the grounds of the Reichsschule), and toward the end of the war, tunnel construction and work in the Dornier Factory in nearby Tutzing. This work involved improvement of a diving board on the lake (B. Misztal), cleaning rooms (J. Brzezinski), and transport of food from Feldafing to Tutzing (T. Etter). Finally, Hugo Lausterer, a guard, has claimed that from November 1944 the prisoners were used to construct in Feldafing an underground factory for the Messerschmitt factory (Augsburg).9 The company responsible for the construction at the Reichsschule in Feldafing was Hoch-Tief AG, based in Munich.10

The conditions under which the prisoners had to live and work were terrible. The working day began between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. and ended around 6:30 or 7:00 P.M. While suffering from hunger, the prisoners had the heaviest labor to perform under the brutal pressure of the SS and the Kapos. Food was “sent from Dachau every ten days . . . a prison cook with assistants cooked daily for the SS as well as the prisoners.”11 A few prisoners have claimed that the food in Feldafing was better than in Dachau; others say the opposite; one (T. Etter) admits: “We prisoners were only saved from death by starvation because we had the chance to get packages.”12 When working, the prisoners were exposed to the elements. The heat caused them more problems than the cold. From this can be concluded that they were at least equipped with a minimum of warm clothing.

From 1969 there were around 40 prisoners identified in investigations. Of these, 15 were questioned, and at least 3 stated they were in the camp from 1942 to 1945—the whole period of its existence. The occupants in the camp apparently changed a great deal—possibly because many prisoners could not stand the heavy physical labor and were returned to the infirmary at Dachau. What is also notable is that of the questioned witnesses 4 were Polish Catholic priests, 1 of whom stated that in Dachau they were retrained as bricklayers.13 One (Z. Franczewski) stated that he was in a group of “about ten priests” who were sent to Feldafing.14 There were also Germans (Jews and “Gypsies”) in the camp, Italians, some French, and Greeks. But mostly the prisoners were Eastern Europeans. It is not possible to work out the number of Jewish prisoners.

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As for the question of whether—and if so, how many—prisoners were murdered, there is no definitive answer. The Ludwigsburg investigators have listed a number of different types of homicide. However, in most instances they suspect that the victims died later—on the transports to Dachau or in the Dachau infirmary.

The camp commandants were SS-Oberscharführer Engelbert Niedermayer (born in March 1912 and executed on October 31, 1946, in Heidelberg); an SS member (rank unknown) Jakob Scheck (born on January 8, 1907, questioned on December 14, 1971, by the Mannheim Criminal Police); an SS member (rank unknown) known as “bloody Peter” who could not be further identified. An additional 14 people could be identified as “SS members in the camp,” among them Lausterer and Weydemann. The spellings of the names Niedermayer and Seuss must be considered with some reservation because there are no surviving written documents from or about the camp leadership, and the witnesses’ statements show only a phoney knowledge of the names. Both Niedermayer and Seuss were sentenced to death in the U.S. military trials against Weiss, Jarolin, and others (000-50-2) for homicides committed in the Dachau infirmary.

Investigations were made into the Feldafing actions of Kapo Alfred Minik (born on September 7, 1907, in Zoppot). In 1978 he could not be located, but unconfirmed reports suggested that he lived in Danzig-Ohra (see below). Another prisoner-functionary was the Heidelberg medical doctor Fritz Barth, who is described as the prison doctor. He died on October 14, 1946, in Heidelberg.

Heinrich Göbel was the Hoch-Tief engineer in charge of construction at Feldafing. He was mayor of Feldafing from 1960 to 1970. He died on April 17, 1973, and as far as is known, he was never questioned. On the other hand, there is a written statement by his brother Georg who worked as a draftsman on the construction site in Feldafing.

In March 1969 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdJl) began to investigate homicides committed in the Feldafing subcamp. Preliminary investigations in 1976 by the state prosecutor at the State Court Munich I were conducted against Alfred Minik and others suspected of committing murder. The investigations were stopped on July 28, 1978.

SOURCES

Primary sources for this essay begin with Sta-Mü, File “Sta. 34800,” which contains statements of former prisoners who refer to the Feldafing camp: Jozef Brzezinski (pp. 157–159), Mikolaj Chwedorowycz (pp. 181–182), Stanislaus Ciok (p. 47), Tadeusz Etter (pp. 193–195), Zygmunt Franczowski (pp. 149–150), Bronislaw Misztal (pp. 135–139), Andreas Müller (pp. 44–45), Zygmunt Pisarski (pp. 119–120), Ignacy Przybyski (pp. 201–203), Ferdinand Rose (pp. 29–30), Ludwig Rosenberg (pp. 52–53), Anton Schneider (p. 39), Stefan Sowiak (pp. 166–167), Josef Szmataowicz (pp. 102–103), Stanislaw Zys (p. 232); the file also contains interrogation records of SS members, including a copy of the statement by Hugo Lausterer (p. 223), questioned by the American investigating authorities in 1945, as well as interrogations by the Bavarian State Criminal Office in 1977 and 1978 by Josef Harbeith (p. 284), Johann Remlinger (pp. 278–280), Friedrich Schassberger (p. 275), Johann Schöpp (pp. 266–267), Christoph Weydemann (p. 271), finally, a 1978 written record of an interview with Georg Göbel, from Fa. Hoch-Tief AG (pp. 281–282). In addition, the author has analyzed the oral statements by amateur historians of Feldafing (in particular, Karl Holzwarth) who have researched the history of the Reichsschule and the DP camp in Feldafing as well as people who after the war were accommodated on the grounds of the former Reichsschule. In AGFe there are no records, including no entries in the Register of Deaths, as the Reichsschule was outside the jurisdiction of the community. There is a dearth of sources on the Reichsschule. There are few files, as indicated in Harald Scholtz, NS-Auslesebäken: Internatsbäken als Herrschaftsmittel des Führerstaates (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), p. 299. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the sources on the DP camp in Feldafing held at YIVO (microfilm available at ZfA) hold details on the subcamp.

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NOTES
2. ITS, Verzeichnis (Closure—23.4.1945 [transfer to Dachau]); also Sta. 34800, pp. 18, 243 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).
4. On the little guard’s house at the entrance, the most probable version, see the statements by the SS men Schöpp and Remlinger, ibid., pp. 267, 279.
5. Statement G. Göbel (Building Draftsmen at Fa. Hoch-Tief), ibid., p. 282, who admittedly, probably in error, speaks of five prisoner barracks; also K. Holzwarth in a discussion with the author.
7. Ibid., pp. 97, 101, 147, 151, 198.
8. Ibid., p. 193.
9. Ibid., p. 223.
10. See also ITS, *Verzeichnis*, p. 68.
11. Statement by Oberscharführer and Kommandoführer Chr. Weydemann, who was in the camp from the end of 1942 to the autumn of 1944, Sta. 34800, p. 271.
12. Ibid., p. 194.
13. Priest J. Brzezinski, the monks M. Chwedorowicz, the priest Z. Franczewski, without a statement on retraining, as well as T. Etter, who, when questioned in 1969, was bishop in Poznan.
15. Ibid., pp. 251–254 (Note by State Prosecutor Dressen).
16. All details in this paragraph come from notes by the State Prosecutor Dressen, ibid., pp. 243–248.
17. Ibid., pp. 285–286, 290 (Final Note by Senior Criminal Commissioner Gulder).
18. Details on Dr. F. Barthare also contained in the notes by Gulder, ibid., p. 286.

**FELDMOCHING**

The Dachau subcamp of Feldmoching was located 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) northwest of Munich. The only reference to the camp is in the files of the Dachau concentration camp for October 2, 1944. Male prisoners were held in the camp.


The Feldmoching subcamp is mentioned in a document held in AG-D.

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**FISCHBACHAU**

Fischbachau is located in the Miesbach district in Upper Bavaria, about 56 kilometers (34.8 miles) to the southeast of Munich.

The Dachau subcamp in Fischbach existed from September 9, 1944, to January 21, 1945. It consisted of about 20 to 25 male prisoners, most of them Germans, Austrians, Italians, French, and Poles; some were Jehovah’s Witnesses. Most of the inmates had been chosen for their professional qualifications in fields related to construction work.

Under the control of the Waffen-SS and Police Construction Administration, the inmates were to construct wooden temporary quarters, which apparently were meant for higher-ranking SS officers from Munich and their families. During the existence of the camp, two houses, for four families in total, were erected.

The inmates were guarded by six SS men who, according to survivor testimonies, never mistreated the prisoners. During the existence of the camp, the inmates received special food rations—according to investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), one inmate therefore described the Fischbachau camp as the best camp that he ever experienced. Like the guards, the inmates were housed in “OT-huts,” little dwellings made of pressed cardboard, with an interior height of about 160 centimeters (63 inches). The huts were placed on a local farmer’s cow pasture.

On January 21, 1945, due to harsh winter conditions that made further construction work impossible, the camp was dissolved, and the inmates were returned by truck to the Dachau main camp.

**SOURCES** Barbara Hutzelmann described the Fischbachau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 321–322. Investigations conducted by the ZdL can be found at BA-L under the signature ZStL IV 410 AT 1211/69.


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**FISCHHORN**

The Fischhorn subcamp of Dachau was located on the western edge of the village of Bruck on Grossglockner Strasse, in the district of Zell am See, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Salzburg. The camp probably was located on the grounds of Castle Fischhorn in Bruck, since the SS officers who were in charge of the inmates were located there. Albert Knoll states that there were two subcamps in Fischhorn: one with the Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS, under Office Group C of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), and the other one with the SS-Remount Office, which was in charge of finding horses for military use and which held about 100 horses in the Bruck stables. However, there was no separation between these two camps as far as personnel and space were concerned; the two camps only show up separately in accounting documents regarding the fees to be charged for the employment of the inmates. Both camps existed from September 9, 1944, until their liberation in May 1945.

A first transport of 50 male inmates arrived on September 9, 1944, followed by a second one of 100 inmates on September 18. Many inmates were Soviets; the others, French, Poles, and Italians. According to Knoll, the inmates were between 18 and 35 years old; their apparent Kapo, Karl Herkert from Hamburg, was 44.

The Remount Office was located at Bruck Castle, which was the confiscated property of the former German ambassador to Peru. Also, the headquarters of an SS division was located there. The prisoners were guarded by Volksdeutsche (ethnic German) SS men, probably from Bessarabia.
number cannot be established anymore. The first camp commander was Hans Hahn, who had been a guard in Flossenbürg and Dachau since 1939. On February 10, 1945, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Ristek, who had been the commander of the Radolfzell subcamp.

The prisoners worked in the construction of stables for the Remount Office and in the fields around the castle. Here, they probably worked next to foreign forced laborers. According to one survivor statement, some inmates of the camp also worked in the Sandkommando (sand detachment), where they had to extract sand from a local creek.

There are differing opinions as to where the inmates were accommodated. One inmate states that the prisoners were kept on the loft of the administrative building of the castle. Another inmate describes barracks where the prisoners were kept: simple walls, plain sand floor, no insulation, and only one tiny stove to heat the whole building. The only chance for the inmates to wash themselves was the horse troughs, and there was only one latrine. Even a report of the SS camp physician, dated March 27, 1945, stated that the inmates’ quarters were primitive, the latrines insufficient and unhygienic, and the kitchen dirty. Those conditions, in combination with exhausting working conditions, led to many inmates becoming unable to work very quickly. Already 20 days after the erection of the camp, 15 sick inmates were returned to Dachau and replaced by new ones. Another replacement took place in the fall of 1944 when 15 new inmates, all of them from the Neustift subcamp, arrived in Fischhorn, along with their guards. Apparently, 1 inmate died in the camp, and next to the Dachau subcamp in Weissee, Fischhorn had the worst living conditions among all Dachau subcamps in Austria.

**SOURCES**

This description of the Fischhorn subcamp is based in part on the article by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager; Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 324–326.


The ZdL investigations in 1969 are found under the file reference BA-L IV 410 AR 708/69. Survivor and witness statements can also be found at NARA, RG 153, B 191 F09, and B 210, F01. Material available at AG-D includes Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise (signature DaA 37154), Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35674), Belegstärken (strength reports, DaA 404), and the report of the SS camp doctor (DaA 32769).

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**FRIEDRICHSHAFEN**

The Dachau subcamp in Friedrichshafen was established on June 22, 1943, and was dissolved on September 26, 1944. It was formed as part of the program for the planned revenge weapon, the so-called *Aggregat 4* (A4), later known as the V-2 rocket. Technical problems involving the testing area at Use- dom on the Baltic had caused delays. As a result, in September 1941, Oberst Walter Dornberger, chief of Department 11 of the Office for Development and Testing of the Army Armaments Office (Heereswaffenamt), and Dr. Wernher von Braun, technical director, made contact with Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH (Zeppelin Airship Construction Company) and on April 7, 1942, established a branch of the military testing unit, HVA-P (Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde), in Friedrichshafen. Undertaken there were the production of engine mountings, rear sections, and middle sections, and the series assembly of the A4/V-2. At the beginning of May 1942, construction began at the testing area at Oberraderach near Friedrichshafen. Skilled German construction workers, prisoners of war (POWs), and Russian forced laborers (later also concentration camp detainees) built an oxygen plant, three testing units with measuring devices, their own electrical generator, and a water piping system from Immenstaad on Lake Constance for their large reservoirs. The plant was connected by a rail line to the 'Teuring Talbahn (valley railway).

In August 1943, Hitler granted Heinrich Himmler the responsibility for the A4 program. SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Hans Kammler then deployed workers from the camps/subcamps. The Army Armaments Office stated the following: “In principle the assembly in all four production series will be done by detainees . . . 1,500 in Friedrichshafen.” All of the detainees questioned during the course of postwar investigations were concentration camp veterans who had been in the following camps: Flossenbrück, Ravensbrück, Mauthausen, Gusen, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and others. The female German cook, who cooked for a few weeks for the advanced detachment until the SS arrived, stated to the author that there was a German Jewish prisoner from Stuttgart.
The detainees worked exclusively for the Luftschiffbau. In Friedrichshafen they worked on construction projects, built a bunker for the SS, and in 1944, together with forced laborers of diverse nationalities, excavated an underground tunnel. After air raids, the detainees removed the rubble and disarmed unexploded bombs. Whether this work was done exclusively for the Luftschiffbau or also for the city of Friedrichshafen is not known. So far as is known, at the testing grounds in Raderach, they were used for construction work, the production of oxygen, and the engine testing, as stated above.

The planned capacity of detainees, 1,500, was not reached. The majority of detainees who testified against SS member Grün in postwar investigations mentioned housing of between 500 and 800 detainees. If one takes into account deaths and replacements, there could have been between 1,000 and 1,200 detainees who were in Friedrichshafen.

The guards were SS from Germany, ethnic Germans from Hungary, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Sudeten Germans. The camp leader was SS-Untersturmführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg. His deputy was a Sudeten German, Beck, known as “Dziadek” (grandfather). He is said to have treated the detainees decently. Grünberg was born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg an der Elbe. He was a member of the SS-Death’s Head Division during the Polish and Western campaigns and arrived in April 1941 at Oranienburg. He was at first platoon leader of a training company for recruits. In September 1942, he was put in charge of a training unit in Auschwitz. From November 1942 to March 1943, he attended the Junker School in Braunschweig, returning to Auschwitz as SS-Untersturmführer in command of the training company. From May to July 1943, he was hospitalized with diphtheria; afterward, he remained in Auschwitz until September 1943. He then was sent to Friedrichshafen as company and subcamp commandant. He remained there until he was transferred to the Überlingen subcamp in September 1944.

Several detainees of the advanced detachment have stated that they were housed well, that they had good food, and that during the first weeks security was not as tight. That changed that they were housed well, that they had good food, and that the Überlingen subcamp in September 1944.

In 1943, he was sent to Friedrichshafen as company and subcamp commandant. He remained there until he was transferred to the Überlingen subcamp in September 1944.

The chief medical officer in the Surgery Department of the Karl-Olga Municipal Hospital operated on two injured detainees, one French man with the number 68748 and a Pole with the number 49417.

There is little information about the number of detainees who died. On the basis of various lists of the dead, it is known that among the dead there were people from Albania, Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, the Netherlands, Poland, and Russia. In the Register of Deaths kept by the Standesamt Friedrichshafen, the causes of death are noted—they include contusion of the upper body and stomach, liver ruptures, tuberculosis, fractures to the base of the skull, burst intestines, heart and circulation failure, and death during air raids. However, only a few of the deaths are recorded by the Friedrichshafen Registry. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that 89 people died during the air raid on April 27 and 28, 1944, and 72 died during the air raid on July 20, 1944. The dead are said to have been cremated in the Lindau crematorium. There are records of 26 detainees being cremated here between December 21, 1943, and August 28, 1944, 3 of whom came from the subcamp in Saulgau. Altogether there are records of 40 Friedrichshafen detainees being sent to the crematorium, 31 as a result of air-raid attacks; 13 were Germans. There are no graves in Friedrichshafen for the detainees.

There were 11 air raids on Friedrichshafen, of which 7 hit the subcamp. On April 27 and 28, 1944, the city and a large part of the subcamp were destroyed, and the population of 16,000 was evacuated. The air raid of July 20, 1944, destroyed most of the industrial facilities. About 300 detainees from the subcamp were sent to the Raderach subcamp, which had been partially evacuated by construction workers and POWS. From here, 100 detainees had to return each day to Friedrichshafen to defuse unexploded bombs, remove rubble, and build underground tunnels for the remaining German and foreign
workforce in the city. Raderach was bombed on August 16, 1944. On September 25, 1944, the Friedrichshafen subcamp was dissolved. The detainees were sent to Buchenwald and from there to Kohnstein near Nordhausen, Saulgau, and Überlingen.

SOURCES The basis for this entry on the Friedrichshafen subcamp is the book by Christa Tholander, Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945: Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in der Zeppelin-Stadt Friedrichshafen (Essen, 2000). There have been no independent publications on the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Sources are hard to find, and there was little interest in examining them. The few publications that exist on Friedrichshafen deal with the planning, development, and technical aspects of the A4 and V-2. Included in these publications is Raimund Hug-Biegelmann’s “Friedrichshafen und die Wunderwaffe V2: Das Werrachtsgelände bei Raderach und die Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH,” JBL S 11(1994): 302–316. Oswald Burger in “Liebe im KZ: Aktenspuren der Unmenschlichkeit,” JBL S 4 (1985): 270–272, presents insights into the punishment regime in the Friedrichshafen subcamp. Oswald Burger’s Der Stollen (Überlingen, 2001) contains the protocols of the orders to place the armaments industry underground after the air raids of April 27 and 28, 1944. Chapter 6 of this book contains a biography of the camp commandant, Georg Grünberg, “Georg Grünberg: Eine SS-Karriere.” The book by Georg Metzler, Gebeine Kommandoasche: Raketenträger in Oberesbraun—Das Ausenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945) (Bergatreute, 1997), deals with the Saulgau subcamp and only touches on Friedrichshafen. A purely technical book that scarcely deals with Maybach’s use of foreign workers but that refers to the spreading typhus epidemic is Wilhelm Treue and Stefan Zima’s Hochleistungsmotoren Karl Maybach und sein Werk (Düsseldorf, 1992).

There are few archival sources dealing with Friedrichshafen. It was only in September 2003 that the transfer lists from Friedrichshafen to Buchenwald dated September 25, 1944, were found in AG-D. The BA-L holds the investigation files of the SS man Grün, who was a guard in Friedrichshafen, and the statements by the detainees. The same are also held in Sta-L and by the Sta. Stuttgart. The results of the investigations against Grün, IV 410 AR-Z 25/71, were handed to the Sta. Stuttgart on April 13, 1973, with file reference Az 86 Js 559/70. It was noted that proceedings could not commence against the accused Grün because he had died in 1947. The closed file is kept under the file reference BA-L: B 162 ARZ 7100025, Band IV, p. 935. As cited by Hug-Biegelmann, TARA-KU holds aerial photographs of the plant. In the Schlussvermerk of the investigation on p. 729, there is a list of the seven firms in Friedrichshafen that had used concentration camp detainees in day and night shifts. The investigation here mistakenly translated from the ITS Arolsen volume I (p. 187) and II (p. 27) the English reference “CWC.” CWCs were civilian workers camps—camps for forced laborers and not camps for concentration camp detainees. “CCKdo” means concentration camp Kommando. This error caused some consternation in the city as the references were referred to by Oswald Burger in “Zeppelin und die Rüstungsinustrie am Budensee,” 1999. Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts, part 1 in Heft 1/1987, pp. 8–49, part 2 in Heft 2/1987, pp. 52–87, when referring to Überlingen and inadvertently put in the Friedrichshafen city history and used by people in accordance with their politics. A correction was made in the author’s unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Konstanz. That it was only the Luftschiffbau Zeppelin GmbH that used concentration camp detainees was confirmed in the author’s published dissertation Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945.

NOTES
2. ASt-Fn, TARA-KU, HVP-subcamp Raderach dated May 27, 1944, with the construction as of autumn 1943.
3. For his article in BA-MA, Hug-Biegelmann used the files of HVA-P, Best. RH 8.
5. AG-D, Best. 36.247.
6. A detailed biography and photo of Grünberg in Oswald Burger, Der Stollen (Überlingen, 2001), pp. 40–45. Also the record of the interview on August 17, 1965, at the Amtsgericht Freiburg, 3 Ga 49/65. A short description of the investigation against SS man Grün, see endnote 4, Sta-L. His date of birth is stated as July 10, 1906.

8. See endnote 4. Statement by Wladislaw Hudy, December 9, 1969. He was successful in his escape to Poland.

GABLINGEN
It is unclear for how long the Gablingen subcamp existed. The List of Detainees of the Red Cross’s International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp existed from Febru-
ary 21, 1944, to April 25, 1945. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in its investigation files refers to a time perhaps commencing in the spring or summer of 1944. One of the depositions of the state prosecutor Munich I states: “The subcamp existed for between fourteen and sixteen months. It was most likely formed in January 1944... It was finally dissolved in the spring or summer of 1944.” Spring of 1945 is probably correct, as in April of this year an air raid destroyed the camp, although it is possible that it was then rebuilt. Two of the nearly 1,000 prisoners died in the bombing.

The Gablingen subcamp was located between the railway running from Augsburg to Nürnberg and the main road (later known as Bundesstrasse 2, Federal Highway 2), connecting these two large Bavarian cities. Four watchtowers and a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded the barracks that held the detainees. The men worked in a subsidiary factory of the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory). The site also had an airfield.

The subcamp was located in a heavily militarized area. It was, therefore, a prime target for bombing raids. Not far from the airfield and the Messerschmitt factory was a so-called Luftpark (air park) underground, hidden in a forest. This was a supply base that held everything from bicycles to airplane engines that were required by the German Luftwaffe. Not far from the airfield was a large factory belonging to IG Farben chemical concern, also a vital undertaking for the war effort. This was an area hit many times by bombs, as were the nearby villages of Gablingen and Stettenhofen.

Prisoners have stated that they were housed in four dark, gray wooden barracks. They slept in two-tier narrow bunk beds. Food is described as “satisfactory” by some. Others say it was inadequate. Ernst Rauter, a former detainee, stated the following: “I was constantly hungry. In the morning we had bread; at lunch, day after day, turnips and potatoes.” Rauter states that the camp was heavily guarded and that the SS used dogs. “There was no escape from them.”

There were 352 prisoners in the Gablingen subcamp on February 21, 1944. An additional 600 detainees were sent to the subcamp on April 14, 1944, following the destruction of the Haunstetten subcamp. At least some of the men spent the nights in a not-too-distant gravel pit. Shortly thereafter, many of the men were transported to other camps, at Augsburg-Pfersee, Lauingen, and Leonberg near Stuttgart. The largest prisoner group in the camp was Russian, but there were also Poles, French, Austrians, Norwegians, Dutch, and Greeks. Among the German detainees were political, social, and criminal inmates. The nationality of a few “Gypsies” is unknown.

In a few of the hangars at the Gablingen airfield, parts were produced for the Messerschmitt jet fighter Me 262 and starter motors for the jet bomber Me 410. Many of the detainees were skilled tradesmen in the metal industry. One of them has stated that they had to work 12 hours a day riveting. Later he was involved in distributing materials. Other detainees had to keep the site and the hangars clean. Others were taken each day by truck to Augsburg to work at the Messerschmitt factory at Haunstetten or to excavate unexploded bombs and disarm them. Some of the men evacuated from Haunstetten to Gablingen after the bombing raid have stated that they did not have to work. “We could recuperate. We did not have to work.” This welcome rest ended at the latest when the men were again transferred to other camps.

The detainees in Gablingen were guarded mostly by Wehrmacht soldiers who were no longer capable of service at the front. They had been transferred to the SS. At least two of the guards were Luftwaffe soldiers who had donned the SS uniform and served in Dachau subcamps. The guards lived in wooden barracks located on the outside of the barbed-wire fence. Their office was located inside the camp. The Munich state prosecutor determined that the first commandant of the Gablingen subcamp was SS-Hauptscharführer Anton Keller. He was born in 1910 in Rotenthal/Pegnitz. He stated that it was in the spring of 1944 that he was transferred from Dachau to the Leonberg subcamp. A note by the ZdL states: “He could have meant the Gablingen subcamp.” Proceedings against Keller were discontinued in 1976.

On the morning of April 24, 1944, soon after the attack on the Messerschmitt camp at Haunstetten, American airplanes attacked the airfield, the Messerschmitt facility, and the subcamp. Incendiary bombs set the camp on fire, and it was completely destroyed. A former detainee, Edmond Falkuss, a clerk in the Haunstetten, Gablingen, and Pfersee subcamps, wrote in a letter dated March 28, 1989, that the night shift prisoners and the administration staff were the first to be evacuated. An ill detainee was forgotten, and according to Falkuss, this man was the only victim. The Gablingen subcamp inmates were immediately transferred to the Air Intelligence Barracks (Luftnachrichten-Kaserne) at Augsburg-Pfersee. Other sources state that on April 24 two Italian prisoners who had fourth-degree burns were killed.

Several witnesses have stated that detainees were executed in the Gablingen camp. However, the reports differ as to the number of victims. According to Falkuss, “A few inmates were hanged in Gablingen and Pfersee. The RSHA (Reichssicherheitsamt) gave the orders on the recommendation of the protective custody camp leader (Schutzhaftlagerführer). He himself could not carry out hangings without approval. The hangings took place either for looting or something less, such as an escapee committing a crime, often minor, before being recaptured.”

In 1995, in another letter Falkuss sent to the Federal German Archive, he gives exact details of an execution that he says took place in the spring of 1944 in Gablingen. Two men arrived from Dachau for this execution “just to be there and give directions. One of the officers gave a speech, which was translated into the prisoners’ different languages. I was instructed to translate it into French.”

Investigation File IV 410 AR 144/65 of the ZdL states: “On a day sometime after April 13, 1944, four detainees from the Gablingen camp were executed in front of the assembled camp inmates for attempting to escape. A temporary
gallows was erected under which there was a table. The delinquents had to stand on the table. After the SS men had put a noose around their necks, the table was pulled from under their legs. There are no details as to who did the hangings." Former prisoner Franz Rehbein is referred to as the witness. According to one witness, Siegfried Rosenberg, six detainees were hanged in Gablingen because they intended to escape.

Other detainees claim to have witnessed the execution of more than 10 inmates, while still other prisoners report of the execution of numerous detainees in Haunstetten or in Augsburg-Pfersee. The grounds given for the death sentences were usually theft of food or escape attempts. The investigating lawyers came to the conclusion that the reason for so many reports of execution had to do with different locations and numbers and that after the bombings the detainees were repeatedly transferred from one camp to another. There can be no doubt that there were executions.

The detainees have also reported that they were mistreated in Gablingen. The guards as well as the camp elder (Lagerältester) are said to have kicked or otherwise mistreated prisoners so that at least 10 died; two SS men are said to have beaten a French professor, between the barracks, until he lay lifeless. Another former inmate has stated that the SS properly treated the detainees. The investigators were not able to check the veracity of these statements.

### SOURCES

The only published records on the subcamp Gablingen are the books by historian Wolfgang Kucera, *Fremdarbeiter und KZ-Häftlinge in der Augsburger Rüstungsindustrie* (Augsburg, 1996); and Gernot Römer's book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). In this latter book, there is a reference to the Gablingen subcamp in the section on the Swabian camps, pp. 80–83.

Most of the primary source information and several witness statements in this entry come from the investigating files of the Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75) and the ZdL (BA-L, IV 410 AR 144/65). Edmond Falkuss gave his information to the author in a letter dated March 28, 1989. Falkuss also sent the author a copy of his 1995 letter to BA. In addition, the author has spoken with a few former camp detainees.

### NOTES

1. Both entries in the final note of the ZdL, IV 410 AR 144/65, stored at BA-L.
3. Sta. Mü (120 Js 205 795/75), details from several former detainees.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
6. Ibid.
7. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, p. 4, in BA-L.
8. Ibid.
sellschaft für Montanindustrie (Mining Industry Reprocessing Company) in Berlin, which in turn was owned by the Wehrmacht. The Wehrmacht rented the factories to IG Farben, who operated them on behalf of the Wehrmacht. Constructed at the end of 1939 and beginning of 1940, the Anorgana factory produced a substitute for glycerine, the so-called diglycerol, which was necessary for the production of artillery ammunition but also served as an antifreeze. It also produced acetaldehyde, which was required as an ingredient for paints and varnishes but could also be used for the production of synthetic rubber (Buna).

Although the factory was established in Gendorf for the production of poison gas, no such gases were ever produced. Only from February 1943, mustard gas was produced there as a test for a couple of months. It was of so little interest for the conduct of the war that the production was soon ended. Actually, the Gendorf location was not ideal: industry complained about transport problems and poor energy supply. The Anorgana files reveal that the disposal of waste water was a particular problem. In 1945, a prominent member of IG Farben was in Gendorf: the chemist Dr. Otto Ambros, who had been active in Auschwitz and was later convicted in the IG Farben Trial. He came to Gendorf following the evacuation of Auschwitz and the relocation of the main Badische Anilin und Soda fabrik (BASF) laboratory to Gendorf. In April 1945, he still managed to convert the factory to the production of soap and detergents. After the war, the Gendorf factory manufactured brake fluids, antifreeze, and detergents.

Up to 3,000 people were working at the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in August 1943: German civilian workers, foreign laborers, Ostarbeiter (forced laborers from Eastern Europe), prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees. The Eastern European workers and other foreign laborers were housed in a camp outside the factory, which is said to have held 1,200 workers on average. The Gendorf subcamp, however, was located directly on the factory grounds from the autumn of 1943.

The number of imprisoned men in the camp varied between 200 and 250. On November 29, 1944, 249 prisoners are reported to have been in the camp; at the beginning of April 1945, there were still 200 prisoners in Gendorf. The prisoners came from numerous European countries, in particular, from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, and Germany. On May 19, 1944, the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eduard Weiter, inspected the camp. On this occasion, 60 young prisoners were requested by the Anorgana management to receive “apprenticeship training.” Already in April 1945, before the end of the war, the camp was evacuated. The prisoners were reported to have been taken on foot and by train to the various subcamps around Mühldorf, which were in turn evacuated at the end of April.

According to reports of former prisoners, the camp located on the Anorgana factory grounds consisted of two to four barracks for the prisoners, a barracks for the SS guards, and two operational buildings. Again, according to former prisoners, there were between 10 and 40 SS guards. The prisoners speak of the usual camp punishments. One prisoner, Janez Erbeznik from Ljubljana, found a small radio while doing some cleaning-up work and smuggled it into the camp, was discovered, and taken as punishment with other prisoners from his work detail to a camp of the Mühldorf group of camps, where conditions were particularly bad. He was later able to escape from the Mittergards camp.

The prisoners were used mostly at the Anorgana factory. According to the factory manager, Dr. Max Wittwer, the prisoners worked 55 hours per week, that is, 10 hours each weekday and 5 hours on Saturday. A few prisoners worked for the company Unic in Burgkirchen. Within the Anorgana factory the prisoners also did excavation work. They dug holes and lined them with cement so that pits were created to be used for the production of chemicals. A few prisoners worked as metalworkers, in particular, welders. A listing of the hours worked in February 1945 shows that relatively many hours were calculated with the rate for skilled laborers, as the proportion of qualified prisoners was quite high (2,063 skilled workers’ hours against 3,610 by laborers). The relatively high percentage of skilled laborers among the prisoners was confirmed by Wittwer, who stated that Otto Ambros and he had requisitioned skilled workers from the Dachau concentration camp. On the factory grounds, apprenticeships were planned for young prisoners including locksmiths and pipe makers, but they never came to fruition. According to other statements, many prisoners simply stated they were skilled so as to improve their work and ultimately their survival chances. After bombing raids the prisoners were used to clean up nearby Mühldorf as well as Munich.

While the nearby subcamps in Mühldorf and the center for the care of foreign children (where 150 children of mostly Soviet female foreign laborers died because of systematic neglect) were the subject of detailed American research (including the Mühldorf Trial before an American military tribunal in Dachau), the Gendorf subcamp was forgotten. Only after the establishment of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) Ludwigsburg did systematic research begin. When the investigations by the ZdL revealed no homicides—prisoners mentioned only that one or more prisoners died through methyl alcohol poisoning—the interest of the German state prosecutors weakened. The only officially recorded death is that of Polish prisoner Mitrofan Ganko, who died of alcohol poisoning on September 3, 1944. His death is recorded in the Emmerting Register of Deaths. Ill prisoners were transferred back to the Dachau concentration camp with the result that no further deaths were recorded in the relevant death registers in the local towns. Survivors have confirmed that there were no intentional homicides. Investigations by the ZdL ceased as a result. Legal proceedings were instituted for mistreatment of foreign laborers (as opposed to concentration camp prisoners)—an accused was charged that he had mistreated foreign laborers at Anorgana who either arrived late at work or did not show up for work.
Neuaubing, the Dornier airport in the west, and the fuel storage for the railway and only a few kilometers from the Dornier company. It was located in the Munich district of Neuaubing, at the road between Munich and Landsberg. It was in close proximity to the Germering subcamp, which was also known as Neuaubing, as it was permission from the village of Germering to erect a camp for about 1,600 of their employees.

There is disagreement over the date on which the subcamp was formed. The International Tracing Service (ITS) gives the date as January 1944, while statements made by witnesses to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg give a date of May 1944. Aerial photographs prove that as of July 1944, six barracks for inmates, three barracks for guards, and one other building had been erected. Another aerial photograph from September 1944 shows the completion of two more barracks.

Also, there are different estimates regarding the number of inmates in the camp. ITS claims that the camp held approximately 50 inmates, but survivor Anton Jez states that there were about 125 inmates at work daily. The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and watchtowers and guarded by SS.

Construction work appears to have ceased no later than September or October 1944. Apparently, the camp was never used as a production site and was not planned to be such. According to ITS, the last mention of the subcamp was October 1, 1944, but witnesses’ statements in the ZdL file mention May 1945 as the date the subcamp was dissolved. More likely, the camp never came to full use after the prisoners’ barracks were destroyed in a heavy bombing raid in July 1944. It is possible that from that time on the prisoners were transported daily to and from Dachau. According to the ZdL investigators, the truck that transported the prisoners was driven by a woman. Food supplies were also sent daily from Dachau.

Investigations by the ZdL confirmed survivors’ statements that the camp leader, SS-Hauptssturmführer Ludwig Geiss, treated the detainees humanely. Geiss took command of the Saulgau subcamp on December 1, 1944. The detainees of this subcamp also praised his humane treatment. Under Geiss’s command, there appears to have been no mistreatment or killing of prisoners.

Sources
There are several publications by Peter Jungblut on Gendorf, in particular, Tod in der Wiege. Gendorf 1939–45 (Altötting, 1989) and “Rein strategische Gesichtspunkte”. Gendorf 1939–1945: Eine Ortsgeschichte (Self-published, 2001).

As with many subcamps, there is little information in the archives. There are only remnants of files, which are held in AG-D.

Notes
1. The manager of the Anorgana factory, Dr. Max Wittwer, dates the establishment of the camp and the arrival of the first prisoners in October 1943; see Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).
2. According to investigation by ZdL (BA-L IV 410 AR 706/69), the first mention of the camp is dated May 26, 1944. The subcamp existed at this time. The AG-D holds a letter from a Gendorf prisoner dated March 12, 1944.
3. Investigations by ZdL reveal that the camp is last mentioned on April 5, 1945; in the ITS Catalog, April 14, 1945.
5. See the report on a visit to the Anorgana factory in Gendorf in October 1946, OMGUS, Nr. 25353, shipment 1, Box 188-2, Folder 13.
8. In the list of the Dachau Subcamps dated April 26, 1945, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 1667, the camp is noted as no longer holding prisoners; on the list of Dachau Subcamps, April 29, 1945, Signatur Nr. 1341, the camp is no longer mentioned.
9. The description by former prisoners is held in the AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34545 and 34751. There is also preserved a letter from Janez Erbeznik from the Gendorf subcamp to his father, dated March 12,1944, AG-D, Signatur Nr. 34.431/3.
10. Composition of labor demands for February 1945, AG-D, Nr. 37154; Aussage Wittwer, Mikrofilm Mühldorf-Prozess 123a/5, BHStA-(M).
11. Traunstein 1aJs 18/59, the statute of limitations for as-
HALFING [AKA BRÜNINGSAU]

In the Bavarian town of Halfing near Rosenheim (Upper Bavaria), Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), owned an estate, the “Villa Brüningsau.” Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, was friends with the Brünings family, whose daughter Elfriede had married Pohl in 1942. Even before the wedding, 10 Dachau inmates had been sent to Halfing to renovate the villa. Eight of these 10 inmates were craftsmen by profession: carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and painters. Seven of the 10 were Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 came from Czechoslovakia. The inmates remained only a very few days in Halfing, but the dates for their transfer back to the main camp differ: transfer lists from Dachau provide November 23, 1942, as the date for their return to the main camp, while the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the subcamp ceased to function on December 18, 1942.

Not later than in the fall of 1944, Dachau inmates were once more sent to Halfing to work on the grounds of Villa Brüningsau. Probably on September 7, 1944 (according to ITS), eight prisoners from Dachau—mostly Jehovah’s Witnesses and almost all of them craftsmen—were brought to Halfing and worked on renovating the estate. Pohl and his family at that time lived near the Ravensbrück concentration camp, and at least a part of Villa Brüningsau had been transformed into an orphanage. The prisoners were guarded by one to two SS men from Dachau and were kept in one of the rooms of the estate. On November 12, 1944, the inmates were again sent back to Dachau.

Early in April 1945, seven Dachau prisoners were taken to Halfing again: three Poles, one Russian, and three Germans. But apparently they were not put to work at the estate, since the front was rapidly approaching. The seven inmates were taken by bus to the Stephanskirchen subcamp, where they joined the evacuation march of the prisoners and were liberated near Nussdorf by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated this camp in 1976 but discontinued the work when the results were inconclusive.


The results of the investigations by the former ZdL (now BA-L) are found in File IV 410 AR-Z 40/76.

HALLEIN

Hallein is located in the Austrian state of Salzburg (until 1945 it was known as the Reichsgau Salzburg), about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of the city of Salzburg. A barracks for mountain troops (Gebirgsjäger-Kaserne) was located here, where the Mountain Troops Training and Replacement Battalion (Gebirgsjäger-Ausbildungs-Ersatzbataillon) No. 6 for wounded soldiers was established during the war.

Before September 1943 (probably from June), around 30 male prisoners were brought from Dachau to Hallein and accommodated in wooden barracks in the quarry on the road to Adnet. The prisoners were employed by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration). As the numbers of prisoners grew—the maximum number reached was 90—the camp was secured with barbed wire, and a second barracks was built. SS guarded the camp. The prisoners worked in the SS barracks; they constructed a shooting range and an area for close-quarter fighting within the barracks. They also worked in the city of Hallein, in the surrounding mountain pastures, and in the quarry where the camp was located.

Due to the difficult work conditions and the poor food rations, more and more prisoners became incapable of working; there is evidence of a constant rotation of prisoners with the main camp. The SS guards ruthlessly drove the prisoners while they were working. Inmate Josef Pleiseis stated that there were repeatedly random murders of the prisoners, including some “shot while trying to escape.” Pleiseis, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, was able to escape in August 1943 with the assistance of a local female, Agnes Primocic. It was one of three successful escapes from the camp. He then led a group of several hundred partisans in Salzkammergut.1 Primocic helped two other prisoners to escape in the autumn of 1944, Alfred Hammerl and Leo Jansa.

There were still 55 prisoners in the camp in April 1945, but they were no longer required to work. There were isolated attempts to escape, and the Hallein population—above all, Agnes Primocic—attempted in negotiations with the camp leader and the mayor to secure the release of the prisoners. The prisoners were able to leave the camp on April 5, 1945, and were accommodated in empty barracks in the town.

SOURCES Albert Knoll comprehensively describes the Hallein subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 2, Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 341–344. Another description of the camp is to be found in Barbara Distel, “KZ-Kommandos an idyllischen Orten. Dachauer Aussenlager in Österreich,” DaHe 15 (1999): 54–65, esp. 61. Wolfgang Wintersteller also refers to this Dachau subcamp in KZ Dachau—Aussenlager...

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Dachau. The majority of the detainees are said to have been from the Mauthausen concentration camp and the remainder from one of the largest in Germany. The first 200 men came from Dachau on January 1, 1943; a noncommissioned officer died during the fire. Reeds were fixed to the fences were reed mats and signs with the words for the site—a former gravel pit with a pond—was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and four guard towers. The camp is mentioned in ITS,

With about 2,700 detainees, the Haunstetten subcamp was one of the largest in Germany. The first 200 men came from the Mauthausen concentration camp and the remainder from Dachau. The majority of the detainees are said to have been Germans and Austrians, but there were many Russians, French, and Poles in the camp. Almost all of them worked in 12-hour day and night shifts for the Messerschmitt-Flugzeugwerke (aircraft factory). A few prisoners had to produce transport sleds in a carpenter’s shop. In addition to the SS, guard dogs were used as the detainees moved back and forth to the camp—this stopped escapes and prevented conversations with the local population. Polish detainee Nikolai Salwadnij was bitten by one of the animals. Salwadnij refused to be treated: “I feared a selection and being taken to the crematorium.”

Austrian Franz Olah was the senior orderly in the infirmary. He reported: “The infirmary had more than just basics; it also had medicines and such. The subcamp’s inmate doctor was a splendid Polish doctor, with whom I got on very well. The head of the infirmary was an old Sudeten German left-wing activist. I am not sure whether he was a communist or a social democrat, but we got on well.”

After liberation, Olah, who was Viennese, became one of the most well known Austrian politicians. As a member of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), the trained piano maker became minister of the interior and president of the Austrian Union Council.

Wilhelm Reitzmayr, an Austrian who was incarcerated in concentration camps because he fought with the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939, reported on hygienic conditions in the subcamp. He was told when he arrived at Haunstetten in the autumn of 1943, “You had to disinfect everything. The camp was full of lice and filthy.” In one of the rooms, underwear and clothes were exposed to the gas Zyklon B with little success: “The lice were just as before.” Reitzmayr did this work for three weeks. Then he was appointed block elder (Blockältester) in Block B, which had 600 Russians. Among them were young boys of 16 and 17. Russians and Poles were the worst off in the subcamp. “Germans and Austrians got packages from relatives. The Russians and Poles never got them.” Pole Jan Kosinski indicated how great the hunger must have been, when he described raiding the commandant’s pigs’ trough for a couple of cold potatoes and how good they tasted.

Former detainee Ernst Rauter recalls that the “Gypsies” continued to play music in this period of suffering. Pole Zygmunt Sucharski stated “that a music group was formed in the camp: On Saturday afternoons or Sundays when there was free time, the detainees played music and the French prisoners sang.” Apparently the group was so good that the villagers approached the camp to listen to the music.

The Messerschmitt Meister, who trained almost all the inexperienced men who constructed aircraft parts, “treated the men generally with consideration,” according to a Polish detainee. There were also excesses by Messerschmitt people, however. After the war the production foreman and plant manager at Messerschmitt AG was accused of “inhumane treatment of the concentration camp political prisoners,” which made him a top-level state criminal. “If roughly rebuked whoever made contact with the political inmates or spoke with them, with the result that they avoided any future

NOTE

1. Pliseis’s escape in June 1943 confirms the early establishment of the camp, which is officially mentioned for the first time on September 1, 1943. Details of his escape and the subsequent events are described in the memoirs of Agnes Primocic, Nicht stillhalten, wenn Unrecht geschieht: Die Lebenserinnerungen von Agnes Primocic (Salzburg: Akzente-Verlag, 2004), p. 58. Josef Pliseis has described his time as a prisoner in Dachau and Haunstetten in Vom Ebro zum Dachstein (Linz, 1946).

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HAUNSTETTEN

A subcamp for concentration camp detainees was erected within a few days in February 1943 in the community of Haunstetten (later part of Augsburg). It was located on the site of a former prisoner-of-war (POW) camp and comprised numerous wooden barracks holding between 150 and 200 people each.1 The site—a former gravel pit with a pond—was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and four guard towers. The rectangular subcamp was bordered on each side by a road. Affixed to the fences were reed mats and signs with the words “Standing Forbidden.” This was an attempt to stop passersby and villagers from finding out what was happening in the subcamp. At night searchlights illuminated the site. If they were turned off, the detainees, villagers, and foreign workers who were housed in the area knew that the air-raid alarm would sound. Opposite the camp were the barracks for housing the SS guards. These buildings burned down on December 1, 1943; a noncommissioned officer died during the fire.

With about 2,700 detainees, the Haunstetten subcamp was one of the largest in Germany. The first 200 men came from the Mauthausen concentration camp and the remainder from Dachau. The majority of the detainees are said to have been Germans and Austrians, but there were many Russians, French, and Poles in the camp.
contact with the detainees. ‘If I see that [happen] again, tomorrow it will be you who will be standing here wearing a striped suit,' according to one witness. The denazification proceedings sentenced the Messerschmitt man to four years' hard labor, and his property was confiscated. The detainees also accused the SS guards of excesses.7

Since 1945, judicial authorities have not been able to make a final determination of whether detainees were killed in the Haunstetten camp. A former prisoner stated in 1947 that he heard a shot during the night shift at Messerschmitt. Shortly thereafter, a young SS man appeared in an excited state. He said that he had just shot a young Russian trying to escape. The detainee himself did not see the shooting.8 Other inmates have stated that a Kapo beat two detainees to death; that six men were hanged for stealing food; and that four Russian prisoners who escaped after a bombing raid on the Messerschmitt factory were executed.9 Other witnesses contradicted the statements, stating: “In Haunstetten no inmates were killed.”10

What is without doubt is that many concentration camp detainees died during air attacks on the Haunstetten camp. A note by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg states that 430 men died, and 340 wounded were taken to the Dachau infirmary. Another source places the number of dead at 399.11

Blockältester Reitzmayr experienced the large attack on April 13, 1944, that completely destroyed the camp: “Large clouds of smoke, huge craters. The guard towers were gone. Only rubble remained where once the barracks stood.” Only 11 detainees survived the attack uninjured. The massive bombing completely destroyed the camp; it was not rebuilt. The surviving detainees were, in part, taken to the subcamp at Gablingen. Not long after that, a new subcamp for Messerschmitt was built at the Augsburg-Pflerssee Luftwaffe Intelligence Barracks (Luffnachrichtenkaserei).

After the war, the judicial authorities had difficulty in determining the names of the Haunstetten commandants. Former detainee Edmond Falkuss, in a letter to the author in 1989, named three people, about two of whom he stated: “At the beginning in Haunstetten: Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm: brutal and relaxed; Hauptscharführer Peter Betz: inhibited, sadistic.” Wilhelm is said to have been demoted and transferred following the fire in the guard barracks, the flight of six prisoners, and the murder of one detainee. Betz was sentenced to death in 1945 by a U.S. military court. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. During the trial, Betz admitted to being stationed in Haunstetten, between March 1943 and January 1944, and later at the infamous Mittelbau concentration camp. Betz joined the SS in 1933 as a means to avoid unemployment. His village in Franken petitioned for mercy. After the head of the prison at Landsberg praised the conduct of the prisoner, his sentence was reduced to 15 years, and he was released early, in 1955.

SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Welter was in command of the work details at Haunstetten. After the war he was sentenced to death by a U.S. military court and executed on May 29, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.12

**NOTES**

2. Ibid.
3. Nikolai Salivadnij in a conversation with the author.
5. Wilhelm Reitzmayr, on March 17, 1984, in a conversation with the author.
6. Ernst Rauter, on December 3, 1983, in a conversation with the author.
10. Ibid.
11. Private Archive, Hans Grimminger, chronicler of the air raids on Augsburg.

**HAUSHAM (MEN)**

Two subcamps of the concentration camp Dachau were located in Hausham, Upper Bavaria: one for male and one for female inmates. The male inmates from Dachau were employed at the estate Unter- und Vordereckart 23, which was used as a SS-Kameradschafts- und Erholungsheim (Kameradschaft and Rest Home). The building, originally a vacation home for the working class, had been taken over by the SA in 1933 and was later rented from its private owner by the Dachau concentration camp. From then on, it was used as SS-Kameradschaftsheim Vordereckart.

Between 4 and 14 male prisoners were held there, most of whom were craftsmen. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), inmates were employed at Hausham from...
HAUSHAM (WOMEN)

The history of the Hausham subcamp is not completely clear. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) catalogue, a subcamp of Ravensbrück at that location is first mentioned in a document dated October 27, 1943, and last mentioned on November 30, 1943. It next appears in the records as a subcamp of Dachau, beginning with a document dated October 5, 1944, and last mentioned on April 25, 1945. Since neither the number nor the composition of the prisoner population changed between its last mention as a Ravensbrück subcamp and its first as a Dachau subcamp, and since the work the prisoners did also remained the same, one may assume that this subcamp continued to exist between November 1943 and October 1944 and that it changed jurisdictions at that latter date, like so many other Ravensbrück subcamps—but that can only be an assumption without further documentary evidence.

The camp was located on a former farm at Ober- und Hintereckart 24, which the SS had acquired after the outbreak of the war. The camp held approximately 10 women, all of them Jehovah’s Witnesses: 1 woman came from Belgium, 2 from Poland, 3 from Germany, and 4 from the Netherlands.

The camp was created to supply workers for Amtsgruppe W V (Land-, Forst und Fischwirtschaft) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The “Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH” German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd., (DVA), which was in charge of agricultural enterprises undertaken at various concentration camps (such as Dachau and Ravensbrück), fell under the jurisdiction of Amtsgruppe W V. However, survivors of the camp report that the inmates were not employed working for the DVA’s specific tasks of testing new crops or breeding animals but did rather normal farm- and housework. In winter, they were also used for digging snow at the property. Survivors also report that in winter 1944–1945 they had to cut down a tree, using only the most primitive tools.

As Jehovah’s Witnesses, the women enjoyed a number of privileges: They were allowed to wear their own clothes, to read the Bible secretly, and to secretly meet local Jehovah’s Witnesses for services on Sundays. The farm manager also allowed secret visits of relatives and correspondence of the inmates with relatives and friends. Former Hausham inmate Frieda Hopp reported that there was at least one female SS guard (Aufseherin) who oversaw her work. But after the inmates complained that she treated them too harshly, she was replaced by an unnamed SS officer who was much more lenient, even working together with the inmates. Repeatedly, the officer and a male inmate who accompanied him brought food, clothes, and letters for the women from their friends incarcerated in Dachau.

The last report regarding the Hausham subcamp is listed in the Dachau files for April 26, 1945. Hausham and its 10 prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army on April 29. On May 8, the women returned to their homes; in a letter to the farm manager, they expressed gratitude for his treatment of them.

Sources

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HEIDENHEIM

The subcamp probably came into being on October 20, 1941, on the site of the Heidenheim Police School as a station for a 50-man-strong work detail from Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners were required by the commander of the Police School, Polizeimajor Erich Petrasch, to do work for the school that had already been delayed since the summer of 1939 due to the general labor shortage. This work entailed the completion of the so-called Schlosshau settlement nearby as well as its interior outfitting, which was to house police officers and their families (nine buildings with 33 apartments), and the installation of the required drainage connections (which because of the topography—the Police School was located on a hill—was rather complicated). After a winter with heavy snowfall when the prisoners were also deployed for weeks to clear the snow in the town, they were additionally required to build in the forest near the Police School a double-track, 330-meter-long (361-yard-long) shooting gallery suitable for machine-gun training.

During this time, the prisoners were under contract with the Ulm construction company Rapp & Schüle. They were housed in a wooden barrack behind one of the police officers' buildings at the school. The barrack and a small grass area in front, which served as the roll-call area, were surrounded by a simple barbed-wire fence. The prisoners were exclusively guarded by police trainees. There was only one SS man on location: he was the detachment leader and had been sent from Dachau. The windows of the barrack were barred with barbed wire. The barrack was divided into sleeping and living quarters, storage, and a toilet and washroom, which the prisoners in the first few weeks had to install themselves. At night it was forbidden to leave the barrack. There were no guard towers, search lights, and so on. However, there were also no escape attempts.

The detachment comprised men who were skilled in the work required: bricklayers, stove fitters, roof layers, electricians, tilers, painters, as well as gardeners. According to estimates of a former prisoner, there were about 15 to 20 skilled tradesmen, and the rest were deployed as laborers.

There were two Kapos (one for external and one for internal work) and an orderly. All the prisoner-functionaries were Germans and “political” (red triangle). In all, there were only 3 among the 50 male prisoners who were not “reds”: a “green” (PSV, or Police Security Custody); a “black” (AZR, Reich Forced Labor); and a pink triangle, the latter a hairdresser who was also the detachment leader’s (Kommandoführer’s) cleaner. There were no Jews (yellow triangle).

Except for six Poles and a Slovenian, the detachment consisted of Germans. On the one hand, this probably reflected the then-prisoner structure at Dachau and, on the other hand, that the Heidenheim detachment was seen as a “good” subcamp, the result of which was that prisoners who worked in the Dachau labor allocation office sent “their” people to the subcamp.

According to the aforementioned witness, there was only one change in the composition before the camp was closed. When the Kommandoführer went on leave in April 1942, he took with him back to Dachau three prisoners, two Germans and a Pole. The Pole was taken because he was to be released for unknown reasons. The Germans were taken because they had been involved in accidents and injured and were therefore no longer of use to the detachment. (One had broken his arm while working with a jackhammer, and the other had lost four fingers through a steel rope attached to a winch). The SS leader, appointed as deputy, brought with him three other Poles from Dachau as substitutes for these workers. The strength of the detachment thus did not alter. The two injured prisoners are said to have later died in Dachau, in the infirmary. There were no deaths in Heidenheim.

The SS detachment leader in charge was Oberscharführer Josef Ruder, who was promoted on May 1, 1942, while he was at Heidenheim, to Hauptscharführer. Born in 1910 in a Bavarian village, he came from a very impoverished family. During the Great Depression (1931), he joined the Nazi Party and SS because he saw the opportunity for a career. From April 1934 he was a guard at the Dachau concentration camp. Among others, he was in charge of Pfeffermühle (Pepper Mill) at the Plantage (Plantation) in Dachau; Heidenheim was his only self-supporting subcamp. He was married and had three children. His family, however, remained at Dachau. Called up in 1943, he was captured by the Americans in 1945 in Salzburg. He was not, however, recognized as a member of the SS and thus was able to escape. For a period he lived under an assumed name. He was merely fined following denazification proceedings. Two former Dachau prisoners had reportedly spoken up for him; this is perfectly believable because the hearings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg also heard almost solely positive statements about him.

In any case, at Heidenheim there were no instances of serious mistreatment, punishment roll calls, punishment reports being sent to Dachau, or the like. Definitely one of the reasons for this was that Ruder as an SS man was responsible to himself and that, likewise, the police students were not expected to act with brutality. In any event, any inhumane treatment of the prisoners would have made the work difficult, since daily work was routinely performed without...
difficulties; in addition, the school’s close proximity to the townspeople of Heidenheim made the camp’s goings-on clearly visible.

Besides Ruder, there was for a short time, in the first week or two, when the detachment was new, another Kommandoführer, Josef Remmele. He was born in 1903, also in Bavaria. He was a farmer’s son and joined the Nazi Party in 1929 and in command of a number of Auschwitz subcamps, for example, Freimann and Bad Tölz. From September 1942 to the end of 1944, he was the roll-call leader in Auschwitz III-Monowitz and in command of a number of Auschwitz subcamps (e.g., Jawischowitz). He was then transferred to the Personnel Department of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) in Berlin and was finally based at the SS-Camp Mysen in Norway, where he was arrested in July 1945 by British troops. Found guilty of several counts of murder committed in Dachau, he was sentenced to death on September 15, 1947, and executed in 1948 in Landesberg.

Viewed superficially, the life of the prisoners in Heidenheim was, of course, no different to life in Dachau. However, its great distance from the main camp, the small size of its detachment, and the supply of food from the Police School brought, indeed, a decided improvement in living standards. The morning roll call, for example, lasted a few minutes. There was none at lunchtime or in the evening. Ruder simply stood at the gate in the fence and counted the prisoners, as if he was counting sheep who were being herded back into a pen. When not working, the prisoners were left to themselves. Ruder had his quarters on the second floor of the barrack opposite the camp. The elevation of the camp was lower than Ruder’s barrack so that he could look into the camp. If there was a commotion, he simply yelled to the prisoners that they had to settle down. Otherwise, he did not worry about them. If someone had to go to the doctor or dentist, because the orderly could not assist within his limited capabilities, occasionally Ruder himself drove the person into town.

Basically, the prisoners got the same food as the police students in their canteen. When the chief cook once tried to reduce the bread ration (one piece of bread for three days instead of four, as in Dachau), Ruder intervened by referring to the contract with Rapp & Schüle.

A Slovenian prisoner reported one act of resistance. He stated that during the construction of the shooting gallery, which required extensive earthworks, he unscrewed a retaining screw with the result that a steel rope that secured a small railway goods wagon suddenly gave way. The engine and the wagons raced uncontrollably downhill, where they eventually crashed. The motive, however, had probably more to do with the desire for a break than a specific act of sabotage.

In 1980 a wall tile was discovered in a tiled stove at the Schlosshau settlement that had been hidden by three concentration camp prisoners (stove fitter, painter, and tiler) while working. Under the inscription “Urkunde” it has details about their imprisonment.

The camp was dissolved in two stages even before the shooting gallery was finished. Thirty prisoners were withdrawn on October 29, 1942, and then the remainder on November 25 or 26, 1942.

**Sources**

In addition to the scant details in the ITS, there are available in print only a report by Slovenian prisoner Jože Hamersak, “Stiri leta po taboriscih,” in *Dachau—zbornik*, ed. Bojan Ajdšek et al. (Ljubljana: Založba Borec, 1981), pp. 291–299; and the work by Alfred Hoffmann, *Verschwunden, aber nicht vergessen; KZ-Nebenlager in der Polizeischule Heidenheim* (Heidenheim, 1996).

The ASt-HDH holds a few scattered documents that refer to the existence of the subcamp, as do the files of the Police School (HStAS E 151/03 Büschel 294 and 295); more explicit information was obtained from the statements of various prisoners given to the ZDL (BA-L IV 410 AR 1209/69) and especially from interviews that the author was able to conduct in 1995 with former Polish prisoner Jan Namyslak and camp commandant Ruder. Particulars on Ruder and Remmele are held by BA-DH (formerly BDC).

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**Innsbruck (SS-Sonderlager)**

[Aka Auffanglager Innsbruck, Reichenau]

Innsbruck was located in the Reichsgau Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg. For the short period of two days, during the evacuation of the Dachau concentration camp, some prominent prisoners were held here. A number of prisoners also came from other German concentration camps. The first mention of the Innsbruck SS-Sonderlager (Special Camp) is found for April 24, 1945; the last, for the next day, April 25, 1945 (Albert Knoll gives the dates April 26 to 27 instead). Inmates were taken by trucks (other sources: buses) to the camp, which was on the grounds of the former *Arbeiterzeichnungslager* (work education camp) Reichenau at the southern edge of Innsbruck. The group consisted of 137 prisoners and their family members, 106 men and 31 women and children from 16 European nations. Apparently, the plan was to keep these prominent personalities as hostages and to take them from Innsbruck to an inaccessible hiding place in the Alps. Among them were French prime minister Leon Blum and his wife; a nephew of Winston Churchill; Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia; German industrialist Fritz Thyssen and his wife, who had left Germany in 1933 and had been arrested after the occupation of France; Italian general Guiseppe Garibaldi and his staff officers; Hungarian minister president Miklós Horthy; and relatives of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg and Friedrich Goerdeler, General Franz Halder (former chief of staff of the German Army), and General Georg Thomas, all of whom had been implicated in the assassination attempt on
Hitler in July 20, 1944. Other inmates were the former military commander in Belgium and northern France, Alexander Freiherr von Wartenhausen, and former Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, with his wife and children.

During the transport and during their stay at the Sonderlager, the prisoners were guarded by SS under Obersturmführer Edgar Stiller. The guards apparently were SS men from Austria or Lithuania. While the majority of the inmates were kept at the Arbeitererziehungslager, some male prisoners apparently were kept at hotel Schillerhof in Innsbruck-Mühlau.

Survivors describe some details about the camp: Food was scarce, so additional delivery of bread was arranged by the Innsbruck bishop. The guards, many of whom had done service in concentration camps before, had the prisoners do punishment exercises in the morning.

The next morning (April 25), the group was taken in buses in a southern direction toward Brenner. On April 29, they arrived at Sommerhotel Prags am Wildsee, but the SS had left by then. On May 5, the inmates were liberated by the U.S. Army.

The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) discontinued its investigations in 1973, stating, among other reasons, that the witness statements had not pointed to acts of murder.

**SOURCES**


The ZdL investigations are to be found under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 36/73. The file contains a number of witness statements. At AG-D, the unpublished memoirs of former inmate Paul Wauder (DAA 33678) describe the trip of the inmates to Innsbruck. Two books deal with these prominent prisoners and their travels at the end of the war: Jürgen L.F. Mogensen, *Die grosse Geiselnahme—Letzter Akt 1945* (Copenhagen, 1997), and Captain S. Payne Best, *The Venlo Incident* (London, 1951).

**INNSBRUCK I**

The Dachau subcamp Innsbruck I was located in the Reichsgau (Nazi Party province) Tirol, 99 kilometers (61.5 miles) to the south of Munich and 138 kilometers (85.7 miles) west-southwest of Salzburg.

Male prisoners were held here from no later than October 13, 1942 (the first time the camp is mentioned) and were used by the German Highway Construction Office (Reichsstrassenbauamt). For the Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police, they worked, among other projects, on the SS-Hochgebirgsschule (Mountain School) Neustift.

The last mention of Innsbruck I was found for April 25, 1945.

**SOURCES**


Sporadic information about the subcamp Innsbruck I is located in AG-D.

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**KARLSFELD [AKA KARLSFELD OT]**

There was a subcamp of Dachau in the Bavarian town of Karlsfeld. It was established on July 11, 1944, when a number of barracks of the München-Allach subcamp were separated by a fence and established as an independent camp under the name “OT-Lager Karlsfeld.” Like Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige, Karlsfeld also was subordinate to the München-Allach (BMW) complex, whose commander was in charge of all three camps.

On-site, on July 17, 1944, SS-Hauptscharführer Johann Kastner became the camp commander, but he was replaced by SS-Hauptscharführer Leopold Meyer whom the inmates feared because of his brutality. Meyer later was posted to Mühldorf in February 1945, and it is not clear who was in charge of the subcamp after that date.

According to survivor statements, the camp held approximately 750 prisoners, mostly Jews from Romania and Hungary. For a while, Willi Schulz was the Lagerältester (camp elder), and a list from August 1944 names 22 prisoner-functionaries, some of whom were Jewish. Camp Kapo Christoph Knoll was infamous for his brutality, especially toward Jewish inmates. Prisoner physicians were the inmates Dr. Hermann Kessler, Dr. Imre Wirtmann, Dr. Johann Sándor, and Dr. Vilmos Barszony; the Kapo in the infirmary was Ludwig Mayrhofer.

Under the auspices and control of the Dachau Higher Construction Office of the Organisation Todt (OT), prisoners were put to work in different detachments. The majority of the inmates helped to repair the train tracks at Karsfeld station after they had fallen victim to an air raid. Other inmates were used to build bunkers for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in the Sager & Wörner work detachment, named after the company that was in charge of the construction work. Both detachments experienced very severe working conditions, proof of which can be seen in the fact that between mid-September and the end of November 1944, 36 dead inmates from Karsfeld were sent back to Dachau. In fall of 1944, only a few months after the camp was erected, a selection took place, and all inmates who were sick or incapable of working were taken to Auschwitz to be gassed. In February 1945, 120 to 150 inmates fell victim to another selection. As Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm point out, it is impossible to establish how many inmates died in the Karlsfeld camp. Stefan Lason, former inmate and assistant record keeper in the camp, stated after the war that inmates who died in the
camp were only registered as transferred back to Dachau. Therefore, statistics of the Dachau main camp register fewer than 20 deaths in the subcamp itself.

Records show the presence of women in the subcamp. In November 1944, a Dachau strength report lists 1,046 female inmates for Karlsfeld, but they only remained for two days and were then transferred to Ravensbrück. Knoll and Schalm point out that this report might be based upon a confusion with the Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige subcamp. In Karlsfeld, women were only registered again in April 1945, when a transport of 191 women arrived there from the Geislingen subcamp.

During the last days of the war, the already crowded Karlsfeld camp became the target of a number of evacuation marches like that from Geislingen. For instance, on April 20 the male inmates of the Überlingen subcamp arrived in Karlsfeld. On April 25, prisoners were evacuated by train to the south and were liberated on May 1, 1945, in Staltach.

Among the prisoners was a detachment that on or after July 31, 1944, had been transferred from Karlsfeld-Rothschwaige to Karlsfeld.

After the war, a number of former guards were tried, mostly during the Dachau Trials. Meyer was sentenced to life in prison there but was released in 1962. Kastner was sentenced to death but released in 1950. Knoll was sentenced to death and executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) took place in 1973 and 1975. Investigations against former Kapo Josef Zapf were called off in 1977.

**SOURCES** For a detailed description of the camp, see the essay by Albert Knoll and Sabine Schalm in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 355–358.

The Karlsfeld subcamp is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:74. Zdenek Zofka’s article “Allach-Sklen für BMW: Zur Geschichte eines Aussenlagers des KZ Dachau,” DaHe 2 (1986): 68–78, gives a short overview of the multitude of other camps of various categories in the Karlsfeld area but does not provide details about the Karlsfeld subcamp. The ZdL investigations are to be found in BA-L under the file designator IV 4 1 0 AR 7 05 / 69. Some archival information on the camp can be found in the following locations: NARA, RG 153 B 205 F 03 (statement by former detachment commander Albert Büchel), RG 338 B 315 F 09 (statement by inmate Ernest Landau), RG 338 B 315 F 13–15 (statement by former inmate Philipp Katz), and RG 338 B 301 F 03 (statement by Max Weiner). Also the AG-D holds some survivor statements, among them DaA A 118 (statement by Simon Hirsch), transfer lists to and from the camp (DaA A 35672, 35675–35677), and strength reports (A 82). The investigations of the Staatsanwaltschaft Munich against former Kapo Zapf can be found at Sta. Mù, signature Stanw 34814/1–2.

Max Mannheimer, a survivor of the camp, describes his experiences in *Später Tagebuch. Theresienstadt—Auschwitz—Warschau—Dachau* (Zürich, 2000).

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**KAUFBEUREN**

In the spring of 1944, the spinning wheels in the Mechanische Baumwollspinnerei und Weberere Kaufbeuren (Mechanical Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill, Kaufbeuren) were pushed aside. Instead, lathes and other machines were installed so that BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) could use the factory to manufacture propeller axles, planet wheel mountings (*Planetradträger*), and lead-bronze bearings for fighter aircraft. The majority of the labor force, at times about 600 men, consisted of concentration camp prisoners. The subcamp existed in Kaufbeuren from May 23, 1944, to April 15, 1945. Not all the prisoners worked for BMW. A group of about 15 to 20 men had to march each day to work in the not-too-distant Altbau Weaving Mill. The company Formholz, housed there, manufactured prefabricated parts out of veneer and paste for Messerschmitt airplanes. In addition to Germans, there were numerous French women and other female foreign workers, as these foreign labor forces were called in those days. The women could move freely in Kaufbeuren and procured many provisions for their concentration camp colleagues, who were dressed in striped uniforms. The prisoners were also used to construct a road in front of the mill to unload goods trains, dig air shelters, pour concrete, and occasionally help out on the farms.

All the prisoners were accommodated in one of the upper levels of the spinning mill premises. It was difficult and dangerous to go up and down. There was a zigzag set of stairs on the exterior wall of the building. In the large rooms, which were the sleeping quarters, there were two-tiered bunk beds (some prisoners have spoken of three-tiered beds). The windows were barred. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts. The camp personnel—the camp elder, the prisoner-functionaries, as well as the men working in the kitchen—had all been chosen by the commandant’s office in Dachau.

The 35 to 40 guards were army, naval, and air force soldiers who were no longer able to serve at the front. They
were sent to the SS without any say on their part. The camp commandant was SS-Sturmführer Wilhelm Becker, supposedly a farmer from Westphalia. In an interview in 1969 at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the following was said about him: “He was described by the witnesses that we questioned as very humane and obliging, as someone who had done no harm to any prisoner. The prisoners made no complaints about the subcamp at Kaufbeuren.” Because of the consistent statements of the witnesses that the prisoners had been treated humanely and that there were no excesses and wrongful deaths, the judicial authorities ceased further investigations in 1975.4

Nevertheless, some prisoners at Kaufbeuren were beaten. There were also men who made life difficult for the prisoners. According to a statement in a letter by a former prisoner from Berlin, Bruno Jacob, “In the first few weeks the camp elder was one from the Foreign Legion. . . . We were successful in getting rid of this despotic man, who tried to exceed the SS in cruelty. . . . He was then replaced by Comrade Kurt Brenner, a former Social Democrat.”

Brenner’s appointment gave the prisoners respite. The camp elder, who wore a black armband, did not have to work. Each morning and evening he had to report to the SS report leader (Rapportführer) and state how many prisoners formed up. In addition, he had to take care that everything in the camp ran according to plan. He frequently inspected the prisoners at work and took pains that the prisoners of very different nationalities and background worked together well and encouraged prisoners who were bitter or depressed. According to Brenner, there were difficulties with only a few prisoner-functionaries who wanted favors, such as getting an additional cauldron of noodles on Sundays. Brenner would not cooperate. “I wanted all the prisoners to be treated equally.” He saved his pink notebook from the SS work camp. Apart from the names of the prisoners, it contains their nationalities: Germans, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Yugoslavs, Slovenes, Italians, French, Dutch, Belgians, Latvians, Spaniards, Russians, Luxemburgers, Greeks, a Swiss, and a stateless man. The most numerous prisoners in Kaufbeuren were Russians, French, and Poles. The individual groups stayed especially close with one another and were prepared to share generously with each other when they occasionally received packages of food. Secretly a Communist group was formed in the Kaufbeuren camp.6

On April 9, 1945, there was a successful escape from Kaufbeuren. Six foreigners and a German managed to escape. Apparently some French female foreign workers had procured civilian clothes for the men. One of the escapees was German Kurt Ziergiebel. Later he would become a well-known author in the former German Democratic Republic.7

There is an unusual testimony that gives details about life and suffering in the Kaufbeuren camp. A few French prisoners were able to rescue notes about those months. Others recorded later what memories they had of the time spent in the camp. The journalist Fabien Lacombe, one of these prisoners, compiled all these memories and published them in a book. Here he described how former resistance fighters awaiting the end of the war were anxious “to give the appearance that they were working as hard as possible but producing as little as possible.” There were also acts of sabotage in Kaufbeuren. The most successful was in the X-ray Laboratory, a windowless room in which the covers of the lead and copper alloys of the manufactured parts of an airplane were checked. This essential and irreplaceable installation finally exploded in a sabotage operation in which Lacombe himself was involved. It was a long time before the x-ray equipment could again resume operation.8

There were a number of instances in Kaufbeuren in which prisoners were beaten, but these were the exceptions. The “Crocodile,” the camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Becker,9 stopped the attacks when he became aware of them. However, Lacombe has accused two civilian masters of “inhuman behavior”: “No one can forget the fanatical master Meier, who inexorably forced the prisoners to do the most difficult work, who constantly bellowed, who threatened to kill the prisoners, who approached the SS, wrote down the numbers of those who seemed to him to be most recalcitrant, and who hated the French.”10

In Kaufbeuren, prisoners tried to establish a cultural life despite their hard-pressed situation. Lacombe reports about a Christmas celebration in 1944. Christmas carols were sung, and despite the ban on political songs, issued by the command of the camp, the Russian group loudly sang “The International.” French and Belgians followed with the “La Marseillaise” and the song of the partisans. A “Gypsy” played his violin, Ukrainians imitated a jazz band, and a juggler and acrobat from Tiflis danced Cossack and Mongolian dances.11

According to Lacombe, a few French threatened to crack up in February 1945. A group called the “Klub der Fusshaken” (Cleats Club) was formed with the goal to entertain the prisoners and to improve theatrical performances so as to distract the prisoners who were at risk of depression.12 Time and again the “Gypsy” had to play his violin made from wood taken from boxes, which had strings procured from “outside,” and SS men provided the strings for the bow because they wanted to listen to evening concerts in their guard room. Finally, there was in the camp the Italian Mazetti, a tenor from La Scala in Milan. On several evenings he sang Mozart arias. Lacombe stated, “During the day he was locked in with others in the compression chamber where the noise was unbearable—to watch its proper functioning. Gradually he lost his hearing and his reason.”13

At the end of March 1945, deliveries of chrome-nickel-steel rings, essential for production in Kaufbeuren, came to a halt. The prisoners became redundant. The camp commandant delayed their transport. The prisoners suspected that he and his staff preferred to surrender to the advancing Americans. The masters, however, tried desperately to get trucks so that they could get away. They feared the consequences of their acts of terror after liberation.14 On April 14, the commandant ordered that all the straw sacks infected with lice
were to be carried to a field. A day later the majority of the prisoners were taken to the railway station and loaded onto cattle trucks. The journey was dramatic and ended in prison; the prisoners were taken to the railway station and loaded onto cattle trucks. The journey was dramatic and ended in prison.\textsuperscript{13}


Primary sources for this camp begin with the book by Fabien Lacombe, \textit{Kommando Kaufbeuren, Aussenlager von Dachau 1944–45: Ein Memorial}, ed. Anton Brenner (Blöcktach: Verlag an der Säge, 1995). The book has at the end a few poems from former Kaufbeuren prisoners. Additional sources include the Schlussvermerk by ZdL (in BA-L), documents in AG-D, and especially the interview with former camp elder Kurt Brenner.

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\textbf{NOTES}

2. Descriptions given in conversations with the author by the camp elder Kurt Brenner in 1984, as well as by a former employee of the firm who does not want to be mentioned by name.
5. AG-D, 8826.
11. Ibid., pp. 70–74, 78–79; Kurt Brenner has also told the author of cultural activities.
13. Ibid., p. 61.

\textbf{KAUFERING I–XI}

Goods wagons with 1,000 Hungarian Jewish men from Auschwitz arrived on June 18, 1944, at the Kaufering railway station. Kaufering is a village about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Landsberg am Lech, in Upper Bavaria. Two prisoners had not survived the transport.\textsuperscript{1} The SS guards drove the concentration camp prisoners into the nearby camp Kaufering I (it was later renamed Kaufering III). Already there were 22 prisoner-functionaries from the Dachau main camp in Kaufering. The first of the Dachau Kaufering subcamps was thus opened. Ten additional camps would exist by the end of 1944 in the area around Landsberg am Lech—some for men and some for women. By the end of April 1945, 30,000 people would be held in this complex; the Kaufering subcamp system was the largest of the Dachau subcamps. Monsignore Jules Jost, himself a political prisoner in the Dachau main camp, was the clerk at the Dachau Registry from June 18, 1944, to March 9, 1945. He recorded exactly 28,838 Jewish prisoners in the Kaufering camps. It is probable that even after March 9, 1945, transports were sent to the Kaufering camps. The handwritten notes remained in his private possession.

From the beginning of 1944, Allied bombs had caused heavy damage to the German aircraft industry, which led to a decline in production by up to two-thirds. The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff), a group of representatives from the Ministry of Armaments and War Production, the Air Ministry, and the aircraft industry, hoped to win back German air supremacy by maintaining and increasing the production of fighter planes.

For this purpose, fighter-plane production would be placed in bomb-secure production facilities—that is, they would be placed underground. The existing underground facilities, natural caves, mines, and tunnels, were little suited for this purpose, and new concrete bunkers with several hundred thousand square meters offered optimal production facilities. Planned were six concrete bunkers in which the fighter plane and the first jet fighter, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262, would be placed in serial production. In fact, production of only four concrete bunkers was begun, three at Landsberg am Lech and one at Mühldorf am Inn, Upper Bavaria.

The Organisation Todt (OT), which was controlled by the Armaments Ministry, was in charge of the building project. Hitler himself ordered that the project be given the highest priority. The head of the OT Operations Group Six, responsible for four of the bunkers, was Professor Hermann Giesler, an architect and a personal friend of Hitler’s. He was also the brother of Munich Gauleiter Paul Giesler. Contracts were entered into with construction companies. In the Landsberg area, there were the firms Leonhard Moll, Philipp Holzmann,
and Karl Stöhr; these, in turn, entered into a number of subcontracts with smaller firms.

Due to the shortage of labor forces, the OT reached for the last labor reserve, what was left of European Jewry. Hitler himself gave permission to bring the Jews back into Germany, which in 1942 had been officially declared to be “clean of Jews.” Economic reasons seemed to conquer ideological convictions.

The Jews that were transported to the 11 Kaufering camps to build the bunkers were survivors of the Polish and Lithuanian ghettos, but most were Hungarian and Romanian Jews, with smaller groups of other European Jews from countries such as Holland, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and the Island of Rhodes. In about 10 months, approximately 30,000 prisoners, including 4,200 women and 850 children, went through the Kaufering subcamps. One of the peculiarities of the Kaufering subcamps was the birth of seven babies in the subcamp Kaufering I in the spring of 1945. The mothers, Hungarian Jews, conceived the children shortly before they were deported, and at the time they were selected in Auschwitz, there were no visible signs of pregnancy.

The composition of the camps varied: in the larger camps, between 3,000 and 4,000 people were detained at times; only a few hundred were held in the smaller camps. The camps were located in the vicinity of Landsberg (Kaufering I, II, VII, and XI), near Kaufering (Kaufering III), near Hurlach (Kaufering IV), near Utting am Ammersee (Kaufering V and X), near Türkheim (Kaufering VI), and near Seestall and Obermeitingen (Kaufering VIII and IX). They came into existence between June 1944 and December 1944. No preparations were made to erect the camps. Many times the first prisoner transports had to build primitive earth huts, which were built halfway underground so that only the roof was to be seen, or they built plywood tents. The accommodation was totally unsuitable for the weather conditions, as the covered roofs quickly admitted the rain and the snow. The huts also became the home for vermin.

Responsibility for the construction of the camp—and this was a peculiarity of the Kaufering subcamps—lay not with the SS but with the OT, which took over responsibility for the prisoners’ food and medical care. It attempted to achieve the maximum work effort with the minimum of expense. The meager rations were reduced because of theft on the part of the SS guards. Ill prisoners received less food, as they could no longer work. Noon rations were not distributed in the camps but on the building sites. This had the result that a few of the sick prisoners dragged themselves to work so as at least to get something to eat.

The SS personnel in the command positions mostly came from the concentration and death camps such as Auschwitz and Lublin-Majdanek. Notable is that of the 46 SS commanders who served in the period 1933–1945 as concentration camp commandants, 2 would end their careers at the Kaufering subcamp complex: Hans Aumeier and Otto Förschner. Aumeier, who was trained at Dachau, was in 1942–1943 the first “protective custody” camp leader in Auschwitz and commandant of the Vaivara concentration camp in Estland. From December 1944 to the end of January 1945, he was responsible for all of the Kaufering camps. His successor from February 1945 was Otto Förschner, who from January 1942 was commander of the guard battalions at the Buchenwald concentration camp and later commandant at Mittelbau/Nordhausen. The Kaufering camp doctor was SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Max Blancke. In 1940 he worked for the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL). He was stationed at the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps between 1941 and 1942. From 1942, he was at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and thereafter was the medical officer in charge at the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in Lublin. Among the camp leaders (Lagerführer) at Kaufering II was also SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Moll, who in Auschwitz II-Birkenau had been Block-und Kommandoführer. He had also been camp leader at the Auschwitz subcamps Fürstengrube and Gleiwitz. The first commandant of the Kaufering complex was SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Forster, who had already served in the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald concentration camps as well as in the Kovno (Kauen) concentration camp and the ghetto and camp at Siauliai (Schaulen). In Schaulen, he was responsible for the so-called Children’s Action (Kinderaktion) where in November 1943, 900 children from the Siauliai ghetto were deported and murdered. Blancke committed suicide at the end of the war; Aumeier was extradited to Poland and executed. In 1955, Forster died in Hessen under the pseudonym of Heinrich Reich, without ever having been prosecuted.

The inadequate living conditions and work conditions resulted in the prisoners becoming physically incapacitated within a very short period of time. As a result, the SS and OT resorted to terror to achieve the work norms. One OT member noted that OT and construction company employees beat the prisoners without reason. The prisoners’ main task was to build railway embankments for the supply railways as well as unloading cement sacks and dragging them to the depots or concrete mixers.

The poor health condition of the prisoners aroused attention. Many prisoners scratched open wounds caused by the vermin. An OT staff officer noted in December 1944: “In recent times the prisoners have been so mistreated that of the 17,600 prisoners presently cared for, only 8,319 were capable of work. This figure includes also those only capable of light work.” Typhus, spotted fever, and tuberculosis were widespread. The companies complained to OT since they had to pay a fee for the prisoners even though the prisoners were not able to work. OT in turn approached the SS in Dachau and demanded the removal of prisoners who could not work. In September and October 1944, a total of 1,322 prisoners were selected and deported to Auschwitz, where they were gassed. They belonged to the last group gassed in the autumn of 1944 before the gassings ceased in November 1944 and the Auschwitz gas chambers were blown up.
In the middle and end of April 1945, most of the Kaufering camps were evacuated. It is possible that before this action, smaller camps had already been absorbed by the larger camps. Partly by foot, partly by rail, the prisoners arrived at Dachau. A few hundred were killed on the way during Allied air attacks. Some were freed in the Dachau concentration camp on April 28, 1945, but others were forced to go on a death march through Upper Bavaria and were only freed at the beginning of May. The camp Kaufering IV, which held prisoners who were incapable of transport, was set alight by the SS Dr. Blanke.

Approximately 1 in 2 of the 30,000 Kaufering prisoners died from epidemics, hunger, executions, deportation, and gassing in Auschwitz or on the death march. A commission, established in the early aftermath of the war, comprising representatives of survivors, the city and district of Landsberg, and institutions such as the International Red Cross, estimated the number of deaths at 14,500.

The appalling living conditions under which the prisoners had to live did not allow for the development of a cultural life or for any resistance. Nevertheless, survivors from the Lithuanian ghettos were successful in maintaining a certain continuity in the Kaufering camps: the Jewish elder from the ghetto at Kovno (Kauen), Dr. Elkanman Elkes, was camp elder in one of the Kaufering camps. He died there. The handwritten illegal newspaper Nitsuts (Spark), which had circulated in the ghettos, was also continued in Kaufering. The leadership in the Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Landsberg am Lech, which from May 1945 came into being in a former military barrack, came from the Lithuanian survivors of the Dachau subcamp Kaufering.

In the Dachau Trial, 40 SS members were tried before a U.S. military court. Many were sentenced to death. Among them were 9 members of the SS leadership of the Kaufering camps including Otto Förschner and Otto Moll. In several succeeding U.S. trials, members of the SS guards were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

The German Judicial Authorities held three trials against the perpetrators of the gassing in Auschwitz or on the death march. A commission, established in the early aftermath of the war, comprising representatives of survivors, the city and district of Landsberg, and institutions such as the International Red Cross, estimated the number of deaths at 14,500.

The investigations initiated by ZdL and handed over by the Sta. Augsburg to the Sta-Augs survived only partially. Documents from the three German trials regarding offenses at the Kaufering camps are held in the Sta-Augs and Sta. Mù. Survivors’ reports are too numerous to be mentioned here separately. Mentioned here are only some of the books published in the last few years by former prisoners of the Kaufering camp: David Ben Dor, The Darkest Chapter (Edinburgh, 1996); Waldemar Ginsburg, And Kovno Wept (Laxton, 1999); Sally Ganor, Das andere Leben. Kindheit im Holocaust (Frankfurt am Main, 1997). DaHe constantly publishes reports by survivors.

NOTES
2. The women are explicitly mentioned in a roll-call report dated April 29, 1945, AG-D, Nr. 993.
4. Note of the OT- Stabsführer Buchmann dated December 6, 1944, Case 000-50-105 (Cases not tried), NARA, RG 338.
5. Transports List in AG-D, Nr. 1044.

SOURCES
The most comprehensive discussion on the Kaufering subcamp complex is to be found in Edith Raim’s Die Dachauer KZ-Aussenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf: Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45 (Landsberg, 1992). The end of the Kaufering subcamps is also discussed by Andreas Wagner, Tudemarsch: Die Räumung und Teilräumung der Konzentrationslager Dachau, Kaufering und Mühldorf Ende April 1945 (Ingolstadt, 1995); Jörg Wollenberg’s “Letter to Debbie”: Die Befreiung des Dachauer KZ-Aussenlagers Landsberg-Kaufering (Bremen, 2002) also deals with the topic. The illustrated book by Martin Paulus, Gerhard Zelger, and Edith Raim, Ein Ort wie jeder andere: Bilder aus einer deutschen Kleinstadt; Landsberg 1923–1958 (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1995), focuses on Landsberg as the place where Hitler was imprisoned, the war crimes prison in Landsberg, the Kaufering subcamps, and the DP camp Landsberg. See also Gernot Römer, “Für die Vergessenen”—K Z Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 182, 196, for further information regarding Türkheim.

KEMPEN [HELMUTH SACHE KG]
A subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp came into existence in Kempten as early as August 1943, when 100 prisoners arrived from the main camp in Kempten, the most important city of the Allgäu. One year earlier the Allgäu Spinnerei und Weberei (Allgäu Spinning and Weaving Mill) at 14 Keselstrasse had ceased production. In its buildings there was sufficient room for the machines of the company Helmut Sach KG, as well as for the prisoners and their guards. A high barbed-wire fence as well as watchtowers surrounded the site.

In April 1944 the camp was transferred to the nearby animal breeding hall. Willi Rühle, one of the prisoners, recalled later, “We lived as if in an arena.” Beforehand, a stable
had been converted into a large washing room and equipped with toilets for the men. Their numbers grew finally to about 
500 to 600. A sick bay was also arranged for in the animal 
breeding hall. There the not-so-serious cases were dealt with 
by a Polish doctor and a Yugoslav medical orderly. Anybody 
who fell seriously ill was sent back to Dachau.²

The animal breeding hall was easy to control. There were 
two entrances in front of which were sentries. Therefore, the 
building was not fenced. The approximately 50 guards were 
former air force soldiers who had been taken on by the SS. 
According to Rühle: “Though they had new uniforms they 
remained the same. Eighty percent of them were very okay.”

Compared to other camps, the prisoners’ food in Kempten 
appears to have been adequate. Rühle stated: “In Dachau 
every weekday we got turnips but in Kempten only twice a 
week. There was occasionally really thick noodle soup and on 
Sundays there was almost always coffee with milk.” This situ-

The car and airplane engine producer Bayerische Motoren 
Werke (BMW) held a share in Sachse KG.³ Its chief, Helmut 
Sachse, was for many years in charge of the development of 
airplane engines at BMW. The Kempten factory produced 
producers (Kommandogeräte), especially important parts for the 
armament of fighters. These early robots controlled many 
engine functions so that during air combat the pilot did not 
have to use numerous levers and buttons but only the predictor.

About 20 men of the camp received other tasks. One of 
them was Rühle. He was a member of a plumbing group that 
did, among other things, plumbing work and heating work for 
the foreign workers, both male and female, in the Kempten 
camp. Most of the time this group consisted of 6 to 8 prison-
ers. Sometimes it was enlarged to as many as 40 prisoners. In 
addition, there was, according to this prisoner, from June 1944 
an approximately 20-man-strong city detachment. The major 
task of this detachment was to remove damage incurred by 
bombs and to work for the city’s building department. There 
can be no doubt that this detachment is mentioned as the 
Kempten/Oberbürgermeister subcamp in the listing of the 
International Tracing Service (ITS). According to the listing, 
the camp existed from June 18, 1944, to December 1, 1944. 
The time when the camp came into being corresponds with 
Rühle’s statements. There could have been no other Kempten 
subcamp. These prisoners were also accommodated in the 
animal breeding hall. The Central Office of State Justice 
Administrations (ZdL), which in 1973–1974 also investigated this 
subcamp, ceased its investigations without result: “The ab-

Among the Kempten concentration camp prisoners there 
was at that time also a group of French. One of them, Ter-
renoire, after the war became a minister in the French gov-
ernment. In his book, the French resistance fighter and 
avowed Catholic gives an account of the time he spent in the 
Kempten camp. He writes that the group of French prisoners, 
despite political and religious differences, was unanimous in 
their will to survive in dignity. They had their own laws, and 
those who did not obey were severely punished. They kept 
their pride as Frenchmen, for example, by not picking up 
cigarette butts. Even from their meager rations the strong 
gave something to the weak and ill. They also attempted to 
sabotage as much of the production as they could. Terrenoire 
said: “To ensure that man is not a wolf to man we had to 
ensure that the only savages were not among us but with the 
Kapos or the SS.”
Terrenoire states that at Christmas 1944 two of the guards allowed the French concentration camp prisoners to have a violin and an accordion for a few hours. Terrenoire gave a speech in which he compared the couple Mary and Joseph, who searched for shelter, with the homeless prisoners. He said that the Kempen population was appalled when concentration camp prisoners were knocking at their doors and begging for a better accommodation than the camp.

Among the camp leaders, Terrenoire mentioned two. One he called the “SS man of a sad countenance” and compared him with the sick incisor of a tall savage’s dentition. This commandant allowed the French to form a separate group in the camp. He thus did not accord with Terrenoire’s long-held cliché of an SS man. Terrenoire called his successor “le tigre.” It was the Tiger who displayed the body of a French prisoner shot after the bombing raid as a deterrent. Until the very end, the camp commander spoke of final victory and prophesied that the prisoners would not leave the camp alive. Despite this commandant, Terrenoire describes Kempen as a good camp.

**SOURCES**


Apart from the Schlussvermerk of ZdL in BA-L, this account is based in particular on the statements of the former prisoners Willi Rühle and Otto Kohlhofer. Furthermore, an important source was also Louis Terrenoire’s book *Sorcières de la morte lente* (Paris, 1976).

Gernot Römer
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**NOTES**

6. Ibid.

**KÖNIGSSEE**

The Dachau subcamp Königssee was located in the Berchtesgaden district in the Alps. Male inmates were stationed there to do construction work on the residences of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz and to build a bunker. One survivor claimed that Himmler himself had come to Königssee to check the progress of the work.

Concerning the first mention of the Königssee subcamp, there are different statements in the literature. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) lists July 21, 1944, as the date of the first reference, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg found September 2, 1944, as the date of first mention—the latter date probably the more accurate one. Also, the number of inmates assigned to the camp is not clear. Gabrielle Hammermann states about 20 inmates, while testimonies in the investigation files of the state prosecutor in Ludwigsburg indicate around 130 to 140 prisoners. Most of the inmates apparently were construction workers and artists who had been chosen because of their special qualifications. Older German prisoners were used as prisoner-functionaries in the construction site; the other inmates were French, Yugoslavs, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. The prisoners slept in barracks or barn next to the construction site and were kept under much better conditions than in the main camp: Their food rations were higher, they were allowed to move relatively freely, and they were taken care of by a physician. According to the witnesses’ statements, the prisoners there were not mistreated, and there were no deaths in this camp.

Three inmates were able to escape from the camp; all of them were caught and sent back to Dachau. Apparently, none of them were executed. The camp was closed on September 19, 1944.

**SOURCES**

In Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 2, Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 357–376, there is a description of the camp by Gabrielle Hammermann.


The ZdL investigations are held under the file designator BA-L, IV 410 AR 133/69. The file contains several witness statements. For further information, see also IV 410 AR 1208/69 (interrogation protocols) AG-D and DaA 35672 (Arbeitsbeisatz der Häftlinge).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**KOTTERN/FISCHEN**

Fischen is a spa and winter sports site in Bavaria. After the air raid on the factory at Kottern on July 19, 1944, Messerschmitt established another factory in Fischen. It was located in the building of the Mechanische Weberei (Mechanical Weaving Mill), which had ceased to operate earlier. As in so many armaments industries, concentration camp prisoners also had to work in Fischen for “the final German victory.” Their camp existed from November 6, 1944, to April 25, 1945, on land.
belonging to the Langenwang village in the vicinity of the Sonthofen-Oberstdorf railway line. Officially it was known as a subordinate command of the Kottern subcamp. Its postal address was SS-Arbeitslager Fischen bei Kempen (Work Camp Fischen Near Kempen).

In a questionnaire, the Sonthofen Council put the number of concentration camp prisoners at 326 men. There were probably fewer prisoners. The camp consisted of three barracks. In the two smaller barracks there was the kitchen and the SS office. The prisoners lived in the larger barracks. They had three-tiered bunk beds with straw sacks. There was no bed linen. The upper levels could not be used because the roof was leaky, and when it rained, water dropped onto these upper bunks. Around the camp were several watchtowers and a high, electrified double fence of barbed wire. Between the two fences were fierce dogs that were trained to attack the prisoners. At night, searchlights lit up the site to prevent attempts of escape. The 18 guards were accommodated in a barrack outside the fence.

Most of the guards had originally been Luftwaffe soldiers. One of them stated after the war how he came to be in an SS uniform. After his stay in a clinic until July 1944, he was part of a Luftwaffe-reinforcement unit in Nagold (Black Forest). One day he and several comrades were ordered to report to Munich for light guard duties. The group reported to the Luftwaffe Command Office in the Bavarian capital and was sent to the Dachau concentration camp, from where they were deployed in various subcamps. During an air raid on the external camp Neuaubing, all their belongings were burned, and they were provided with SS uniforms but without the usual badges. “I do not believe that at that time we had joined the SS,” he added.

The commandant in the Fischen camp (supposedly from December 1944) was SS-Hauptscharführer Emil Schmidt. He is also said to have been strict in the execution of his orders. Austrian prisoner Franz Hackl said that he did not permit beatings and that he formally addressed the prisoners.

Former Austrian prisoner Friedrich Pillwein later recalled the food as being cooked beets or cooked cabbage at midday and in the evenings. The food was prepared like soup but without any fat. Occasionally in the evening there was, instead of the soup, beet marmalade as spread and every now and then margarine along with a small bread ration. The food was worse than in the Dachau main camp. Countless men suffered from scurvy. The food supply was so inadequate that the prisoners caught and ate cats and dogs. According to Pillwein, “At that time there were hardly any dogs in Fischen. We devoured them all.”

Pillwein claimed that when he together with other prisoners collected the bread for the camp from a bakery in Langenwang, he flirted with the sales girl to attract her attention. While he was flirting, his comrades tried to pack away more bread—additional rations for the weakest and the sick of the camp. Occasionally the Red Cross sent vitamin tablets. When once in a while a prisoner got “a food package,” it was like a festive day for his companions.

Russians, Poles, Czechs, Italians, Belgians, Austrians, and Germans resided in the Fischen external camp. In the Messerschmitt factory in 12-hour day and night shifts, they manufactured tools and gauges needed for aircraft construction (measuring devices made from hardened steel for the examination of work pieces). A work detachment had the task of constructing additional barracks, but none were finished by the end of the war. In addition, the prisoners occasionally had to work in the village.

In the spring, SS men picked up the Austrian prisoner Franz Storkan from his place of work in Fischen and Gustav Teply from the local infirmary. Teply was suffering from inflammation of the ligaments. The Communist Party had secretly infiltrated both men into Austria as foreign workers. The foreign civilian laborers were in those days in Greater Germany called “foreign workers.” Both men were instructed to form resistance groups opposing the Hitler regime. They were discovered and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. To remove these two especially endangered men from the sight of the camp leadership, fellow prisoners arranged for Storkan and Teply to be sent to Fischen. But their stay did not last long. Hackl recalled that Storkan bade farewell, saying, “Now I will go up the chimney.” Both men were executed in Dachau.

The camp leader described Fischen’s end to the Munich judicial authorities as follows:

Since we had not heard anything about the state of affairs for some time one day I made enquiries at the end of April or the beginning of May with the Fischen Police and was told by the officer over the telephone: “Gosh, you are still there! Get out. They are on the way.” . . . I called the people of the guard platoon, withdrew the sentries on duty and explained to them what was happening. I basically said that the camp was dissolved, but that I could not take them with me as there was no food. Everyone had to look after himself. I also said to the prisoners that they were now free. Then I headed in the direction of Oberstdorf and there I also spent the night. The next day I went back to the Fischen camp where I met two German soldiers and with them joined armed forces who were heading in the direction of the Alps. . . . I can therefore say with absolute certainty that the Fischen camp was not evacuated, and there was therefore also no evacuation march and there were no deaths on such a march. Anyone who says the contrary is lying.

Both Hackl and Pillwein agree with this statement. Hackl added that the camp leader after his return from Oberstdorf asked for coffee for him and some of his comrades. He fulfilled his wish and brought a pot of coffee outside.

Pillwein stated that one guard did not survive long after the dissolution of the camp. He, the dog handler, had once beaten and kicked a Czech prisoner when the prisoner could not walk properly because of an injury to his foot.
Czechs ensured that he was arrested by French troops after they had arrived. He was taken to prison and is said to have died while trying to escape.

The Fischen Registry records the death of Dutch prisoner Jakobus van der Meyden on February 15, 1945. The cause of death was a pulmonary embolism. He was buried in Fischen and after 1945 reinterred in a Dutch war grave at the Forest Cemetery in Frankfurt am Main.

After the end of the Third Reich, judicial authorities also investigated whether any crimes had been committed in the Fischen camp. Two Italians reported that their fellow countrymen were killed after escape attempts—one spoke of two and the other of three men. It was also claimed that during another incident a guard hit a prisoner in the nape of his neck with the butt of a rifle. Other former prisoners reported shootings during an evacuation march from Fischen to Kottern. On the other hand, there are numerous statements that there were no escape attempts and that there was also no evacuation march. As a result of these contradictory statements, the judicial authorities doubted whether the main witnesses were in fact referring to the Fischen camp and thought that they had confused this camp with another. The investigations were halted.

**SOURCES**
The author is not aware of any printed reports on the Fischen camp other than the author’s book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern* (Augsburg, 1984). Schoolboys and schoolgirls from the Sonthofen High School have researched the camp. Their papers, however, have not been published.

In addition to the files of ZdL (today: BA-L), YVA, as well as those of the judicial authorities, the author conducted comprehensive conversations with former prisoners. These conversations offered a great deal of information. The conversations were held independently and supported each other.

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**NOTES**

1. Questionnaire for the Historical Commission of the Central Committee in Munich, August 19, 1946, in YVA 350/125.

2. Statement by the former prisoner Friedrich Pillwein, Wien, 1984, in a conversation with the author.


5. Hackl statement; Friedrich Pillwein has also made a similar statement. The execution of both men is referred to in the AG-D.

6. Hackl statement; Pillwein statement.


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**KOTTERN-WEIDACH**

As with many other textile firms in Bavarian Swabia in 1943, the Spinnerei-Weberei Kottern had to forego part of its operations. From October until the end of the war, it produced aircraft parts for Messerschmitt. The spinning and weaving machines continued to operate in the part of the factory that had not been compulsorily acquired. Kottern later became part of Kempten.

The first prisoners who arrived in Kottern-Weidach were accommodated in a guesthouse. Probably they were an advanced detachment to set up the machines and the accommodation. The men who arrived with the next transport from Dachau lived for a few months in one of the factory’s larger halls. At the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, the camp was finally ready to be occupied—it was located a kilometer (0.6 mile) away in Weidach, which was part of the Durach municipality. It consisted of wooden barracks, which in part were also made of brick. The Kottern guards, around 35 to 40 men, lived in a block outside the camp, which was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence.

Former French prisoner Louis Terrenoire blames the miserable hygienic conditions in Weidach for causing the outbreak of typhus in the camp. Toilets were installed in the cellar in one of the barracks shortly before the end of the war. Terrenoire is of the opinion that they were installed not “out of humanitarian grounds but to hide the inhumanity from the approaching victorious power.”

Jean-Pierre Linsen, a prisoner from Luxembourg, reported that in the camp there were unusually large numbers of fleas and lice: “Immediately we killed half a dozen, [but] they were replaced by twenty. When we marched to work the beasts crawled up our coats to the collars. . . . The civilians in the factory did not come close to us, fearing they would get them.”

Not all of the more than 1,000 prisoners worked for Messerschmitt. Some worked for the firm Kemper Werkstätte für Panzer- und Kriegsfahrzeugbau (Workshops for Tank and Military Vehicle Construction). The men came from many countries, but by far the largest number were the Russians and Italians. Austrian Ferdinand Hackl stated that it was virtually impossible to commit acts of sabotage in Kottern. The only possibility was for the qualified men to perform a lower standard of work or to work more slowly. A Russian, who was a particularly good lathe operator, once pretended to be sick. A day later the foreman was complaining that the prisoners were doing too little work. Hackl recalled that he and the other prisoners had to run through the *Salzergasse*. The Salzergasse was where the guards beat the prisoners as they ran down the lane.

There can be no reasonable doubt that crimes were committed in the Weidach camp. Several prisoners after the war related the escape attempt of a Viennese prisoner, said to be a singer. It is claimed that the man had made the acquaintance of a woman working in the spinning and weaving mill and with her help was hidden in the factory for a few days. He was recognized trying to leave the factory dressed in blue worker’s overalls and carrying a spare part on his shoulder. The witness Boleslaw Cielbala related what happened: “When he was discovered he was beaten until he was unrecognizable. To deter us we were taken to him. He was wearing
a sign on his chest with the inscription 'I am back.' We were forced to step up and watch how he was repeatedly beaten. He was bound to a wall and was forced to count each time he was beaten in the face. This went on until he lost consciousness. He could no longer work and so they wanted to transfer him back to Dachau. On the way back to Dachau he died from his injuries. He was brought back to Kotten and we had to bury him in the prisoner cemetery at Fahls." Other prisoners also remember this Viennese and his suffering. On the other hand, the former camp commandant stated that "I know of the incident. However, the man survived his punishment in the best of health." In the end, what really happened in Kotten remains a matter of dispute: the files contain statements about other homicides but also statements such as, "I know nothing of prisoners being killed." What is indisputable is that the prisoners experienced air raids. The heaviest air raid was on July 19, 1944. The target included the newly constructed Messerschmitt factory. The camp in Weidach was also hit. Houses were destroyed and civilians were killed and wounded, but aircraft parts production was soon up and running again.

The corpses of the prisoners who died in the subcamp were usually taken to Dachau. From the autumn of 1944, it was permissible to bury the prisoners in Weidach. This led to a dispute. Nazi Party (NSDAP) Ortsgruppenleiter and Mayor of Durach Mittermeier demanded that a deceased Dutchman be buried in the garbage area of the Durach Cemetery. However, the local priest, Fischer, ensured that the deceased was properly buried. Mittermeier then insisted that the next deceased should be quickly buried in a field in the vicinity of the alpine dairy in Fahls. According to a newspaper report, "There can be no burial mound, no cross permitted, and the place absolutely cannot be recognized as a cemetery! There is to be no record that prisoners were buried here." It was only after the war, in the autumn of 1945, that a large wooden cross was erected in Fahls. A small cross was placed on the burial mound where prisoners from several countries are buried.

There were several commandants of the Kotten-Weidach camp. Initially, the camp appeared to be commanded by an SS-Hauptscharführer who was often drunk and having orgies with women. Former prisoner Max Wittmann recalls that during such excesses he had the prisoners beaten, yelling, "'Trousers down! Beating the asses of you unbelievably filthy, stinking animals is no fun at all. Perhaps the ladies enjoy it...'. The women squeaked and chirped. Soon after that I heard how the poor prisoners were beaten, their cries of pain could be heard between the barbaric doings and doings of the men and women. 'Give it to him. Harder! And another one! Tan his skin! Go on do it! So they whipped one another up and outside, I felt that they drove themselves into a rage in their sadistic pleasure, whipping again and again.'

According to Wittmann, the camp leader, Wilhelm, and his confidant were punished and transferred because they had shot out of the windows during one of their binges, injuring a few people, including an SS man. It remains an open question whether Georg Deffner was the direct successor to Wilhelm. In any case, he was transferred from the Kempten camp to the Weidach camp and after a short period to Kaufering I. Born in 1910 in the Swabian village of Violuá, Deffner joined an SS unit, Wachgruppe Oberbayern, in the autumn of 1933. In 1942, he was transferred to the Dachau concentration camp command office and was in command of the Sentry Office (Poststelle); in August 1943, he was detachment leader of the Kempten subcamp; in April 1944, the Kotten-Weidach subcamp; and in February 1945, the Kaufering I subcamp. Then he disappeared until he surrendered to the Americans in 1945. He was sentenced on September 22, 1947, to three years' imprisonment and in September of the same year was extradited to France.

At the end of April 1945, the concentration camp prisoners were finally free. Former prisoner Ernst Rauter had to march with other prisoners who could walk in the direction of Hitler's planned "Alpine Fortress." Starving, he scratched resin from trees along the way to see if it was edible. Three days after they left, in Pfronten-Steinach, the guards suddenly disappeared. A day later, an American tank appeared. Rauter recalled that "an American opened the hatch and said: I am a Berliner and you can speak German with me." Austrian Albert Schremmer was liberated on April 27 in Kottern. During the noon meal, there was a tank alert. The guards fled. A jeep turned up in the afternoon. Something that Schremmer said is still stated today: "This Dachau subcamp was just an everyday occurrence."

Franco Varini, an Italian prisoner from Bologna, Italy, tried to depict the suffering in Kottern in a poem. Titled "Dachau-Kottern März 1945," he says: "Unermessliche Gür- tel der Qual umschlingen den Saum der Erde" (An immeasurable belt of torture entangles the borders of the Earth). His work ends with hope, "die Wut der Verzweiflung aber verkün- det das nahende Ende." (the fury of despair announces the approaching end.)

SOURCES Gernot Römer depicts the camp more extensively than anyone else in his book Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Ausenlager in Schrbach—Schrbach in Konzentrationslagern (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 146–164, including the difficulties of the judicial authorities in their investigations. Erich Kunter in his work Weltreise nach Dachau (Stuttgart-Botnang, 1946), pp. 211–221, describes the experiences of political prisoner Max Wittmann. Wittmann contributed to the foreword, stating that while Kunter’s work "lacks photographic accuracy, it never lacks in truth."

Franco Varini’s poem may be found in Dorothea Heiser, ed., “Mein Schatten in Dachau”: Gedichte und Biographien der Überlebenden und der Toten des Konzentrationslagers, foreword by Walter Jens (Munich, 1993).

Gernot Römer

trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Details from a conversation with the author. For the U.S. Military Court in Dachau: Schlussvermerk, p. 8.
3. Ferdinand Hackl in a conversation with the author.
4. Schlussvermerk, including the Bericht der Bayerischen Landpolizei, Kriminalaussenstelle Kempten.
5. Allgä, November 6, 1946.
6. Schlussvermerk, including the Bericht der Bayerischen Landpolizei, Kriminalaussenstelle Kempten.
7. 1967 in Rappel.
9. Statements made by Georg Deffner on October 3, 1946, for the U.S. Military Court in Dachau; Schlussvermerk, p. 8.
10. Ernst Rauter in conversation with the author.

LANDSBERG

The Dachau subcamp Landsberg existed from July 14, 1944, to April 24, 1945. Despite its close proximity to the 11 camps in the complex, it was not part of the Dachau Kaufering complex. Its prisoner composition and the tasks they performed were completely different. Likewise, it should not be confused with the Landsberg Dynamit AG (DAG) detachment, which was a subdetachment of the Kaufering complex.

The camp was located at the Penzing Military Aerodrome near Landsberg am Lech. It is also known by the name Penzing or Fliegerhorst. The prisoners worked for Dorner and Messerschmitt on the production line.

Unlike the Kaufering subcamps for which there are scarcely any original documents available, the admission and discharge books for Landsberg have survived. They hold 647 names including around 400 Frenchmen who were given Dachau prisoner numbers between 72000 and 74000. One of the early prisoners and prisoner recorder in the camp, Professor Albert Fuchs, states they were political prisoners who were deported in the spring of 1944 from France to Dachau. After being quarantined in Dachau, they formed the first prisoners in the Landsberg subcamp. Some 350 people, of whom 330 were of French nationality, were accommodated in a gymnasium at the Penzing Military Aerodrome. Fuchs describes the arrival of around 200 prisoners evacuated from other camps at Penzing on April 8, 1945, mostly Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and 10 Frenchmen. There were a few Jews among these prisoners. The newly arrived prisoners were in a very poor state of health. According to prisoner Fuchs, they found the Penzing camp, to be one of relative luxury compared to other camps, as they had beds and there were no vermin to contend with such as lice. At the end of April 1945, there were 429 prisoners in the camp. Of the 647 prisoners transferred to Landsberg, 232 were returned to Dachau because of illness or for interrogation. A few were able to escape.

The guards were former members of the Wehrmacht. According to Fuchs, the first camp leader, whose name is not known, was in the camp until October 1944. An ambitious person, he was transferred to one of the Kaufering camps. The second camp commander was dismissed after a few weeks for failing to perform his work properly. The third commander was SS-Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner. Wagner was probably transferred from the Riederloh subcamp to Landsberg at the end of November 1944. He was one of the accused in the U.S. Army’s Dachau Trial, but his acts in the Riederloh and Landsberg subcamps received little mention. He was sentenced to death on December 13, 1945, and executed in Landsberg on May 29, 1946.

The living and working conditions for the prisoners deteriorated markedly under Wagner’s command: the period of work and roll calls were lengthened; the output was closely monitored; rewards were reduced; and the prisoners were carefully searched when they returned from work to the camp. Nevertheless, the conditions in the subcamp were comparatively good. The prisoners in this camp did not experience murder, mistreatment, or hunger. However, the hard working conditions and the cold led to illnesses among the prisoners. According to Fuchs, at the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945, there were still 250 prisoners in Penzing, of whom 80 were sent back to Dachau because they were ill. Some relief was obtained from Red Cross packets that arrived in the camp at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. It is also said that books from the Dachau library were available for the prisoners’ use.

At the end of April 1945, the prisoners were not taken directly back to Dachau but to the collection station in the Kaufering camps, then joined the marches to Allach and Dachau.

As with many other subcamps, there has been little research on Landsberg. Probably the camp has been confused with the many camps in the Kaufering complex as the investigation files refer to malnutrition, lack of hygiene, and medical care that resulted in a typhus epidemic at the end of April 1945. There are also reports of sick prisoners or escaping prisoners being shot on the evacuation marches. Albert Fuchs’s report is not mentioned. It is unlikely that he would not have referred to such events. It is possible that newly arrived prisoners brought typhus with them. But to talk of epidemic is incorrect, as is shown by the arrival and discharge books.

Edith Raim
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES
1. AG-D, Nr. 35679.
2. Stärkemeldung Aussenkommandos vom 26.4.1945, AG-D, Nr. 32789, und vom 29.4. 1945, AG-D, Nr. 1341.

LANDSBERG (DYNAMIT AG) [WOMEN]

There were two small Dachau subcamps in Landsberg, Bavaria, a male camp and a female camp. The prisoners in these camps worked for Dynamit AG, which was based in Landsberg. It remains unclear whether these camps were truly subcamps or were only work detachments, where the prisoners were transported daily to and from Landsberg.

The Landsberg (Dynamit AG) female subcamp is mentioned for the first time on February 11, 1945, but the number of prisoners is unknown. As with the male camp, it is mentioned for the last time on April 25, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in the 1970s concentrated on the male camp.

SOURCES The subcamp (or work detachment) at Landsberg (Dynamit AG) is mentioned in the ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstatten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 80. Volume 2 of Der Ort des Terrors, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) deals with the Dachau subcamps but makes no reference to camps at Dynamit AG in Landsberg. On the other hand, see the contribution by Edith Raim on Landsberg in that publication.

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trans. Stephen Pallavicini

LANDSHUT

Landshut is located in Lower Bavaria, 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) north-northeast of Munich. According to a witness statement held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), a Dachau subcamp probably was erected here in September 1944 (the first time of a reference to the camp). The camp held male prisoners who worked for the OT-Oberbauleitung B.-G.; the meaning of the abbreviation “B.-G.” is uncertain.

The Landshut subcamp consisted of corrugated iron barracks, located between Diesel and Siemens Strassen. It was close to the so-called Little Exercise Plaza (Kleiner Exerzierplatz). There were about 500 prisoners, most of whom were Jews. Under the direction of the Oberleitung Organisation Todt (OT), the prisoners were to establish a supply camp for the Wehrmacht. They leveled the ground, built roads, and relocated a railway connection. Whenever necessary, they were used to clean up after air raids.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. The guards were based in a barracks close to the camp. SS-Hauptscharführer Stoller was in command, and his deputy was SS-Unterscharführer Henschel. He is described by the prisoners as being brutal. In statements made to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg by surviving prisoner Wilhelm W., Henschel mistreated two prisoners with the result that they died.

As a result of the exhausting work and living conditions in the camp and the repeated bombing raids, at least 83 prisoners...
died in the Landshut subcamp. They were buried in mass graves in the Achdorf Community Cemetery.

There are different stories regarding the end of the camp. According to the ITS and the Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl), the Landshut subcamp was closed on February 5 or 6, 1945. Georg Spitzlberger states, on the other hand, that the camp was evacuated a few days before American troops arrived on May 1, 1945.


The Landshut camp is mentioned in the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2 BEG,” BGBl (1977), Teil I, p. 1819.

Investigations by ZdL are filed under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 1371/68.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
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LAUINGEN (I, II, AND BIRKACKERHOF)

Strictly speaking, the city of Lauingen/Donau was home to three subcamps of the Dachau concentration camp. The first subcamp was erected in March 1944 in the rooms of the agricultural machinery factory Ködel & Böhm. Approximately 400 prisoners, mainly Russian and Polish, were transferred from Dachau to the subcamp. In August 1944, another camp was established in the rooms of the Ludwigsau Feller & Co. cloth factory. It comprised approximately 300 Dachau prisoners. At Ködel & Böhm the prisoners were housed in a large cellar room. The living conditions resulted in many illnesses, especially tuberculosis. In contrast, the housing conditions in the camp at the Feller company were satisfactory. The men slept in one of the factory halls. Two other halls served for production. The SS guard quarters were located directly next to the prisoners’ sleeping hall. In this way they could easily keep an eye on the prisoners. A third camp, constructed by a prisoner Kommando, was erected in December 1945 approximately 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the city; its construction was mainly a result of the poor living conditions in the Ködel & Böhm cellar. The prisoners from Lauingen I and II were transferred to the barracks of this camp, named Birkackerhof.

The prisoners manufactured airplane parts for Messerschmitt at Ködel & Böhm as well as in the Ludwigsau Feller & Co. factory’s halls. Furthermore, another small “pump station” Kommando performed drainage work in the Lauingen area. Prisoners worked in 12-hour shifts and were fed little. Later, the prisoner number 117109, a Pole, commented, “The nutrition was miserable—people contracted dropsy as a result of their hunger. For breakfast there was coffee, which was impossible to drink. The coffee was prepared in kettles that were also used to boil laundry full oflice. For lunch we received a half-liter of soup consisting of cabbage and beets, without fat or meat. Sometimes there was macaroni in the soup. We received approximately one hundred grams [3.5 ounces] of bread once per day, occasionally a piece of margarine or marmalade, and very rarely a few grams of sausage.”

In a written report, the Lauingen doctor, Dr. Felix Kircher, documents the miserable state of the prisoners resulting from malnourishment. The Messerschmitt factory manager requested that he treat the prisoners because the prisoner medic had insufficient expertise and equipment. The firm would assume the costs and would not impose any limitations on prescription medications. Dr. Kircher commented that “a high percentage suffered from edema because of fat and vitamin deficiencies. I managed to get fifteen liters [15.9 quarts] of cod-liver oil from the stocks made available to the civilian population, which were then distributed amongst the prisoners. I admitted the seriously ill to the Lauingen hospital, where they were treated the same as civilians. However, after several weeks the SS camp director of Dachau forbade this, and ordered that every seriously ill prisoner be transported to the prisoner’s hospital in Dachau. An infirmary was also set up in the subcamp itself.”

Using x-rays, Dr. Kircher also diagnosed 10 percent of the prisoners with pulmonary tuberculosis. They were sent back to Dachau. From then on, all new additions to Lauingen were x-rayed to protect the healthy from infection. Dr. Kircher was not allowed to treat mishandled prisoners or men injured by gunfire. These duties were incumbent upon a prisoner appointed as a medical orderly.

After the war, prisoners told of mistreatment in Lauingen. Testimonies exist in the records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) such as the following account:

In the spring of 1945, a Kapo is said to have beaten up a Polish prisoner so that he died as a result of his injuries.

A German block leader is said to have repeatedly mistreated prisoners so that they died as a result of their injuries.

Lauingen prisoners attempted to escape at least two times. In one instance, both prisoners were shot by the SS guards and died a few days later due to their gunshot wounds. A second escape attempt took place in the fall of 1944; both escapees were caught after a short time. One was hanged in Dachau, the other in Lauingen.
The Polish witness Witold Rose-Roszewski stated that an SS-Hauptsturmführer and a Kapo brought the victim with them from Dachau for the hanging. The camp leader allowed a platform to be erected, complete with a trap door upon which the victim had to stand. In front of all the prisoners of the camp for whom the execution was intended as a frightening example and after a corresponding speech had been made, the SS-Hauptscharführer then activated the trap door. The noose tightened; however, it was not properly fastened, and the victim was strangled for 15 minutes. Then the Kapo refastened the noose, and an Untersturmführer from the Dachau main camp pulled on the victim’s feet until he did not move any longer.6

Reportedly, SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Wilhelm Ruppert precisely described this execution during cross-examination in a U.S. military court at Dachau after the war. He named the date of the execution as September 1944. Because of his participation in the Dachau camp murders, this SS member was sentenced and put to death in 1946 in Landsberg am Lech.7

A report written by the Lauingen police in 1969 addressed the same crime: “As news of the execution spread, the Ködel & Böhm workers protested so fiercely that further executions in Lauingen did not happen.”8

This was not the first protest to take place in Lauingen. The same report continues: “When shortly after the camp’s construction prisoners were being beaten and it was noticed by Ködel & Böhm office workers, in the midst of the war the nearly all-female workers threatened to strike if the beatings did not stop. Thereafter corporal punishment was discontinued, at least outwardly.”9

Some 62 prisoners were buried in the Lauingen cemetery. A death toll, compiled secretly by Dr. Kircher, reveals 32 names. Causes of death include heart conditions, fatigue, and lung infections. The conclusion of the same list indicates further prisoners’ tragedies. In March 1945, Lauingen received a transport from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp including 358 prisoners who had been en route approximately two weeks but who had only been given enough food to last for one week. Dr. Kircher’s death list reads: “Twenty-seven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, from the Sachsenhausen-Berger transport (i.e. Bergen-Belsen) died of fatigue on March 4, 1945. Eleven prisoners, names and numbers unknown, died of fatigue on March 6, 1945.” Next to the two typewritten sentences, Dr. Kircher added in longhand the cause of death: “starvation.”10 Lauingen was not the last stop of this transport: 500 women were sent on to Burgau, and a small number of men to the Horgau and Pfersee camps.

The doctor got eight days of rest for those prisoners dropped off in Lauingen. He stated that also 50 Jewish boys, between 8 and 10 years old, reportedly came from Budapest to Lauingen with this transport: “What am I supposed to do with this,” the camp leader replied, then sent the children on to Dachau.11

In the spring of 1945, Dr. Kircher had to stop treating the prisoners. An SS officer, who was executed after the war, charged him following his preferential treatment of prisoners. This occurred during a typhus fever epidemic in the camp.

The Lauingen camp closed on April 10 or 12, 1945. The prisoners had to march to Augsburg, where they excavated trenches. Approximately two weeks later, they were freed by U.S. soldiers close to Schwabmünchen.

According to Dr. Kircher, he had to deal with three SS camp leaders during his time at the camp; supposedly there were even four. In the spring of 1945, the last one was, according to Kircher’s own statements, SS-Hauptscharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle. In 1945, he was sentenced to death in the first Dachau war crime trial.

**Sources**

In his book *Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslager* (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 105–112, the author discusses the Lauingen camp. Additionally, Gaby Pfob’s brochure *Das Konzentrationslager Lauingen* (Lauingen, 1986) is also available. Additional information may be found in Holger Lessing, *Der erste Dachauer Prozess 1945/46* (Baden-Baden, 1993).

In addition to BA, inquiry files of ZdL (now BA-L), and Sta. Mü, the most important sources for the author were his conversations with Lauinger doctor Dr. Ludwig Kircher. As a result of his medical activities, Kircher was able to provide an eyewitness account.

Gernot Römer
trans. Hilary Menges

**Notes**

1. Decree of ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR-Z 212/76.
2. Ibid., excerpt from Feliks Szymanczak’s testimony before the chief commission of the inquiry into NS Crimes in Poland, translation for the central office.
3. Ibid., written report from Dr. Kircher dated Sep. 2, 1945, for OMGUS.
4. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
5. Ibid., testimony of former prisoners.
7. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
8. Ibid., Lauingen police report, Notebook Nr. 166/69.
9. Lauingen police report (Notebook Nr.168/69) dated Aug. 15, 1969, to ZdL. This was the list of deceased prisoners compiled by Dr. Kircher.
10. Dr. Kircher’s statements and death list in conversation with the author.

**Lochau**

The Dachau subcamp in Lochau, near the Bregenz camp, was the only Dachau subcamp located in the administrative district of Vorarlberg (which was part of Austria before 1938). It only existed for about three weeks, from April 7, 1945, until liberation at the end of the month. But at least one survivor

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The camp held between 8 and 20 inmates: Slovenians, Poles, and Germans. As Knoll states, among them was a professor of medicine, an engineer, and a consul from Argentina. The prisoners were kept in the building of an old brewery and treated decently by detachment leader SS-Sturmbannführer Kurt Friedrich Plötner, who had already been in charge of the Pektin research in Dachau and Schlachters. Plötner was assisted by Austrian inmate Robert Feix. The prisoners were guarded by five elderly SS men, all of whom except one fled before the arrival of the U.S. troops.

The camp was liberated on April 30 or May 1, 1945. Plötner was arrested by French troops in a neighboring village but was soon released. Using the name Schmidt, he disappeared for a number of years in northern Germany. In 1952 he became an assistant at Freiburg University and two years later associate professor of medicine. In 1970 the Munich state became an assistant at Freiburg University and two years later associate professor of medicine. In 1970 the Munich state prosecutor began investigations that did not lead to a trial.

The Lochau subcamp is mentioned in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 81. Further judicial inquiries are located in the Ermittlungsakte of ZdL under the number BA-L IV 410 AR 82 / 73; testimonies can also be found in IV 410 AR 212/73. The investigations by Staatsanwaltschaft Munich II are in Sta. Mü II, 13 Js 12/68.


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MÜHLDORF

The so-called Jägerstab (Fighter Staff) was established in March 1944 to maintain and increase, respectively, the production of fighter aircraft. Its members consisted of representatives from the Armaments and Air Ministries and the armaments manufacturers. One of the goals of the Jägerstab was to establish bombproof production sites. For this purpose, Organisation Todt (OT), part of the Armaments Ministry, was instructed to build semibunkers with production sites of several hundred thousand square meters. Six bunkers were planned, but construction commenced only on four, and of these, only two were finished (and then only up to two-thirds of capacity). One of the four sites was located in Mühldorf am Inn in Upper Bavaria. The other three were at Landsberg am Lech, Upper Bavaria. For reasons of secrecy, the construction sites were given code names. Mühldorf was known as “Weingut I.” OT was responsible for the construction, but the actual work was done by the company Polensky & Zöllner. Martin Weiss, the former concentration camp commandant of Dachau, was authorized by Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) to establish an SS company. It was known as SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH and headed by Weiss. It was an umbrella organization comprising 42 companies—among others, German General Electric Company (AEG), Siemens & Halske, Siemens & Schuckert, Deutsche Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss, all of which were involved with the production or planned production of parts for the jet fighter Messerschmitt (Me) 262. In March 1945, the OT lost its responsibility, which was assumed by the SS-Stab Kammler (Staff Kammler). At this point, construction on the concrete bunkers had already more or less come to a stop.

The construction plans for the bunker provided for an efficient means of construction: first, tunnels would be constructed from prefabricated concrete parts through which tracks would be laid. Over the tunnels made of concrete would be placed a gravel wall over which concrete would be poured. Concrete reinforcement would then be inserted into the concrete, and this would be followed by another layer of concrete. Since the concrete would thicken within a week, it...
allowed the gravel to be removed by sending trains into the tunnels. By opening flaps in the tunnel roof, the railway wagons would be filled with the gravel. This system had the advantage that the gravel could be used again for concrete pours or for building another gravel wall. The bunker could be extended by single segments as required. Once the gravel was completely removed from the concrete, completion of the interior could immediately commence.

The biggest problem was the lack of labor. A large number of the forced laborers made available for the construction of the bunker were Hungarian Jews. From July 1944, there arose in the nearby vicinity of Mühldorf am Inn four camps subordinate to the Dachau concentration camp, two larger camps for about 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners at Mettenheim near Mühldorf and a forest camp at Ampfing, as well as two smaller camps, one at Mittergars and the other at Thalham in the Oberautarkirchen community. A subcamp in the Zangberg monastery near Mühldorf, which held about 100 to 200 concentration camp prisoners probably existed only in March and April 1945. Mettenheim (M 1) was located in the barracks of the former Luftwaffe clothing depot, while Waldlager V and VI (the numbers were based on other OT-operated forest camps near Mühldorf, which were, however, not part of the concentration camp system) were constructed completely anew. In the so-called summer camp, Finnish huts were used. They had also been used by OT during missions in the Soviet Union. After they had proven to be completely unsatisfactory, earth huts, designed by OT, were built again, of which only the tentlike roof was above ground.

Walter Adolf Langleist was the highest SS official responsible for the Mühldorf camps. He had earlier been commander of the guard at the concentration camp Lublin-Majdanek. In the autumn of 1944, he was the highest-ranking camp leader of the camp at Kaufering. Each of the four camps had a camp leader—some were seasoned SS members, but some were Wehrmacht personnel who had been transferred to the SS.

From July 24, 1944, on, there were 8,300 prisoners, with 7,500 males and 800 females, in the camps M 1, Waldlager, Mittergars, and Thalham. The imbalance in the proportion of male and female prisoners reflects, on the one hand, the labor requests issued by the OT for building work and, on the other hand, also the generally worse survival conditions for women during selections at Auschwitz. In the summer of 1944, the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, Hungarian Jews, from Auschwitz arrived at the half-completed camp M 1. Mettenheim (M 1) is mentioned for the first time on July 28, 1944. Soon the numbers were increased to 2,000 men. Also a camp for women existed from September 25, 1944. It held 500 female prisoners. On average, there were 2,000 men and 250 women prisoners in a forest camp. Mittergars, in operation from November 30, 1944, and Thalham, from January 31, 1945, held 350 and 200 male prisoners, respectively. On April 25, 1945, there were almost 5,000 male and almost 300 female concentration camp prisoners in the four Mühldorf camps.

The work of the prisoners was, above all, construction work. They had to unload the cement that was delivered by trucks or rail wagons, transport it to the warehouses near the building sites, and later carry the 50-kilogram (110-pound) heavy sacks to the concrete mixers, where the cement was poured into the machines. They also had to lay tracks at the building site and provide assistance such as the production of prefabricated concrete parts at, for example, the company Wayss & Freytag in Ampfing. Kicks, beatings, and slaps in the face by OT members and company members were the order of the day.

Without exaggeration, the living conditions in the Mühldorf subcamps can be described as catastrophic. The interior of the huts was limited to boards with a layer of straw and a stove. There was a lack of firewood or fuel in winter, and the rain and snow penetrated the roofs of the earth huts. OT food rations were completely inadequate. For the concentration camp prisoners, there were no toilets or washing facilities at the construction sites. It was only when a typhoid fever epidemic raged that the OT construction manager ordered the construction of toilets at the building site “Weingut I.” In at least two of the four Mühldorf subcamps, there was no running water. The little water available, which had been brought to the camp in barrels, was to be used only for cooking. Many prisoners were infected with vermin because of the lack of washing facilities. As a consequence, typhus and typhoid fever spread quickly. An SS doctor from the Dachau concentration camp removed the quarantine restrictions imposed on the forest camp so that work could continue on the construction of the bunkers.

The OT was responsible for the medical care at the camps at Mühldorf. In the autumn of 1944, Dr. Erika Flocken was the OT doctor. She enforced the prisoner selections at Mühldorf. On September 25, 1944, 277 male Jewish prisoners and 3 female Jewish prisoners were sent on an “invalid transport” to
Auschwitz, and on October 25, 1944, 554 male prisoners and 1 female prisoner were sent to Auschwitz. They were gassed in Auschwitz.3

Due to its numerous building projects, the OT had become an accessory to the SS and assisted in the murder of the people forced to work for Germany. The Mühldorf camps, like the Kaufering camps, were a new type of camp where the SS, other than with respect to guards, had withdrawn from the responsibility for the camps. The type and pace of work, construction of the camp, food, and medical care as well as the selection of the concentration camp prisoners no longer fit for work were the responsibility of the OT.

Toward the end of the war the head of the SS-Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), Kaltenbrunner, devised a plan for the murder of the Jewish prisoners at Kaufering and Mühldorf. It was known by the code name Aktion Wolkenbrand (Action Fire Cloud). Since it could not be implemented, most of the prisoners were evacuated from the Mühldorf camps. One of the evacuation transports was by rail to Poing, county of Ebersberg near Munich. Probably about 200 prisoners were killed or injured, either due to an error by the guards releasing the prisoners too early or perhaps as a result of a low-flying air attack.4 The remaining prisoners were freed at the end of April 1945 or the beginning of May 1945 in Seeshaupt, Tutzing, and Feldafing am Starnberger See.

In the three death books that deal only with the camps M 1 and Waldlager, there are 2,026 listed dead. A mass grave opened by American soldiers contained the remains of 2,249 people; another grave at Mittergars held 42 corpses. Some 855 people were gassed at Auschwitz. An American fact-finding commission calculated that about 47 percent of the prisoners at the Mühldorf camps (3,934 people) died, whereas 3,556 survived. The fate of another 810 prisoners (10 percent) could not be determined.5

The U.S. Mühldorf Trial put culprits of the SS, the OT, and the construction firm Polensky & Zöllner in the dock. Only one death sentence was finally carried out against an SS member—the other death sentences, including OT doctor Dr. Erika Flocken, were commuted into prison sentences. In another U.S. military trial, the roll-call leader at camp M 1, SS-Oberscharführer Georg Schallermair, was sentenced to death and executed in June 1951 at Landsberg am Lech.6 German investigations by the state prosecutors of Traunstein and München II into the camp leaders, prisoner-functionaries, OT, and company officials did not result in any prosecutions.7


The most important sources are the U.S. trials in Dachau (available at NARA), which also contain a few original documents from the SS registry and which were used as evidentiary documents in the trial. The relevant cases are USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al. (Case 000-50-02), USA v. Franz Auer, et al. (Case 000-50-136), USA v. Michael Vogel, et al. (Case 000-50-002-112), and USA v. Georg Schallermair (Case 000-50-002-121). Memoirs of survivors and a few single documents such as transport and strength lists are in AG-D and APMO as well as YVA. Also, the BA-K holds scattered records such as the death books relating to the Mühldorf camps. Of significance are also the investigations by the Sta. Traunstein and München II. One of the most outstanding of the survivor’s recollections is Max Mannheimer’s diary published in articles in a book titled Das Bunkerensemble im Mühldorfer Hart: Rüstungszuahnb und menschliches Leid (Mühldorf, 1999).

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5. Numbers are taken from the Mühldorf Trial.
7. Sta. Traunstein, Best. 20752; Sta. Traunstein, Best. 31503/1–10; Sta. München II, Best. 34744/1–7; and Sta. München II, Best. 34580, all available at StA-M.

**MÜNCHEN (BERGMANNSSCHULE)**

From December 1944 to April 1945, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were held in a classroom in the Bergmann School in Munich. The prisoners were trained as bomb disposal specialists for the Bomb Disposal Detachment, but it is not possible to relate the pictures to the squad. At night, the prisoners were locked in a classroom and guarded by a member of the SS. The leader of the detachment treated the prisoners brutally. He beat and kicked them with his feet. However, he did not use his gun. There were no other guards who accompanied the men to their work.

The Bergmann School had almost been totally destroyed by an incendiary bomb in June 1944. When the prisoners arrived at Bergmannstrasse in December 1944, there were no longer any pupils at the school. There was a soup kitchen and a shower in the school building.

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Bergmann School in 1991, a small volume was published on Bergmannstrasse. At night, the prisoners were locked in a classroom and guarded by a member of the SS. The leader of the detachment treated the prisoners brutally. He beat and kicked them with his feet. However, he did not use his gun. There were no other guards who accompanied the men to their work.

The source material for this camp is poor. A strength report held in AG-D gives the camp’s strength. The ZdL investigation files (now at BA-L) hold a statement by a former prisoner. The Archives at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial hold other photos of the Bomb Disposal Detachment, but it is not possible to relate the pictures to the people in a particular group in the squad.


In 1973, preliminary investigations were made into the Bergmann School subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The investigations ceased in 1976, as there had been no deaths at the camp.

**NOTES**

1. Strength Reports, Dachau concentration camp, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.

**MÜNCHEN (BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO)**

It was as early as October 1940 that Adolf Hitler gave the order that concentration camp inmates and other prisoners were, according to availability, to remove bombs and to disarm unexploded ammunition and bombs with delayed fuses. Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were used for doing this in the greater area of Munich mostly during the last two years of the war.

For this reason, in July 1944, a Bomb Disposal Detachment (Bombensuchkommando) of 100 prisoners was quartered in the Steiler School in Bavariaring/6 Steilerstrasse in Munich. The prisoners had been chosen by the Dachau camp administration, and for their trip to Munich, they were equipped with new prisoners’ clothes. The prisoners did not know what their role would be when they left Dachau. They had been told they would form a cleaning-up detachment to remove debris and to secure buildings.

When they arrived at the Steiler School, the prisoners were led to the gymnasium where straw sacks were prepared for them. They were promised—if they performed well—an improvement in their prison conditions and an early release. They were also told that they would be executed for theft, escape, or making contact with civilians. Before their first assignment, they were given bread and milk. That very same day, in groups of six, they were driven to Romanstrasse, the site of the Unexploded Bomb Reporting Office. From there, they were brought to all parts of the city, together with bomb specialists of the Wehrmacht. Several times a day the prisoners had to disarm bombs without the slightest knowledge of how to do so. Franz Bückl recalls that he disarmed 246 bombs.

Most of the prisoners died when removing the fuses or when the bombs with delayed fuses exploded after a period of time, despite not being touched. Up to 15 prisoners died each day. They were immediately replaced by new prisoners from Dachau. Because of the high death rate, the prisoners called themselves the Himmelfahrtskommando (Suicide Detachment). It is not possible to tell how many prisoners served as part of the detachment between July 1944 and April 1945 or how many died. The dangers of serving in the Bomb Disposal Detachment were well known to the prisoners at Dachau.

In many instances, only a few human remains could be found of the dead prisoners. These, together with their last possessions, were taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.

Bückl, a former prisoner, kept a photo of the detachment, secretly taken, which showed him and his comrades with a disarmed bomb. The Archives at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial hold other photos of the Bomb Disposal Detachment, but it is not possible to relate the pictures to the people in a particular group in the squad.

A few reports from the Luftschutzabschnittskommando Süd (Air Defense Sector Command South) today still give details about some of the assignments the prisoners worked...
on. They were divided into at least 11 squads. These reports show that each squad was led by a bomb specialist from the Wehrmacht and was guarded by one SS sentry. Sometimes policemen were used as guards.

The temptation to escape was particularly strong as the prisoners worked outside the camp. The Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police), Southern Sector holds a report of one escape attempt of a "protective custody" prisoner on September 16, 1944. The escapee could not be found, and his fate is unknown.

There are no precise details on when the Stieler School subcamp was closed. What is certain is that the Dachau prisoners were used right up to the end of the war to disarm bombs in Munich and its surroundings.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in 1973 and 1974 ended without result.

**SOURCES** The AG-D holds a few files on the Bombensuchkommando. Franz Bückl's experiences in this subcamp were published by Hans-Günter Richardi in 1989 in Leben auf Abruf: Das Blindgängerbeiziehungskommando aus dem KL Dachau in München 1944/45 (Dachau, 1989).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**NOTES**

1. Decree Adolf Hitler, October 12, 1940, DZOK, R1 178.
4. Letter from the prisoner Wilhelm L. to his wife Frau Fanny (secretly written), n.d., AG-D, 34.860/5.
7. Report of notified unexploded bombs in July 1944, August 26, 1944, AG-D, 23.760; List of Concentration Camp Prisoners used after the raid on September 22, 1944, AG-D, 23.764; Report of the Bomb Disposal Detachment November 27, 1944 (Angr. 27.11.), AG-D, 23.769.

**MÜNCHEN [CHEMISCHE WERKE]**

In 1903, Dr. Anselm Kahn and engineer Franz Wittmann acquired the Chemische Werke Otto Bärlocher, which had been established in Augsburg in 1863. In 1924, they abandoned the Augsburg site and relocated the firm to Munich. After World War I, the number of products manufactured was increased. In addition to the manufacture of sulfuric acid and ammonia were added artificial fertilizer, shoe polish, and cleaning products.

Following the Nazi takeover, the Chemische Werke was "aryanized" in 1938 through the forced sale to Franz Wittmann of the business shares of Jewish owners. During the war, the production of coal-fire accelerants, mostly for the Deutsche Reichsbahn, ensured the continued existence of Chemische Werke.

Between 16 and 32 prisoners were held in this subcamp, located at 16 Siemensstrasse, Munich, from November 1, 1944, to April 14, 1945. Siemensstrasse ran in München Moosach from Manteufelstrasse via Gärtnerstrasse to Pellkofenstrasse. There are no reports of survivors of the Chemische Werke subcamp on record. The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows no transport or transfer lists. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) initiated investigations of the camp in 1973 but could not find any further sources and ceased the proceedings in 1974.


Primary sources are not available for this subcamp. Information on the "aryanization" of the Chemische Werke in 1938 is found in the reparation claim by the Kahn beneficiaries against the Chemische Werke from the year 1948, available at BHSaA-(M).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**NOTES**

1. See Kahn Beneficiaries Claim for Compensation against the Chemische Werke München, 1948, BHSaA-(M), WG I a 645.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 114/73.

**MÜNCHEN [EHRENGUT]**

The company L. Ehrengut was a saw mill and carpentry shop at 270 Thalkirchnerstrasse in Munich. Between April 7, 1942, and September 11, 1942, 10 prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp worked there. Half of the detachment consisted of German "protective custody" prisoners; there were also 2 Czech and 3 Polish prisoners in the Ehrengut subcamp.

Initially, the prisoners were taken to work by truck daily from Dachau to Munich. It was only after a few months that a permanent subcamp was established at the company L. Ehrengut. This means that even before April 1942 a prisoner detachment was working at the firm. All the prisoners in the
saw mill worked as carpenters on sawing machines and produced parts for military barracks. The prisoners were accommodated in barracks on the factory grounds. Food was brought from Dachau and prepared at the factory site. On Sundays, spare time was granted to the prisoners, and they were allowed to prepare additional meals for themselves. 

Hermann Glinz, a German protective custody prisoner, was the Kapo of the detachment.

The detachment leader of the Ehrengut subcamp was Unterscharführer Theodor Stutz-Zenner. The SS guard consisted of five SS members who came from Romania and Bulgaria. They slept in the same barrack as the prisoners, while the commander was quartered in a house. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides.

In the middle of 1942, a prisoner successfully escaped, and the Ehrengut subcamp was dissolved soon afterward.

During the U.S. Army Dachau Trials, Stutz-Zenner was sentenced to life in 1947 for crimes committed in various Dachau subcamps.

**SOURCES**

Details on this subcamp can be found primarily in the preliminary investigation files of ZdL from the years 1973–1976, available at BA-L. Other important sources are the Dachau Trial files, available at NARA. The AG-D holds a list of names of the Ehrengut subcamp prisoners (AG-D, 35.673).

**NOTES**

1. List of Names of the Ehrengut Subcamp, May 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
5. Case 000-50-2-105, USA v. Theodor Statz-Zenner, NARA, RG 338, Box 323.

**MÜNCHEN (GÄRTNEREIBETRIEB NÜTZL)**

Franz Nützl had been in charge of the Nützl Gärtnerei (Nursery) since 1928 and ran a vegetable and fruit wholesale shop on 9 Ludwigsfeld in Munich. He was a member of the SA, and between 1933 and 1938, he took part in SA beer hall brawls in Munich and was one of those who set the Munich Synagogue on fire. He joined the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in 1937 and was known for his close contact to the SS and SD bigwigs. He was active in the SD, writing monthly reports.

Until 1933 his business was several times on the edge of bankruptcy. With the Nazi takeover, Nützl found new business partners and became one of the most influential wholesale traders in Munich. By the end of the war, he was the only supplier of fruits and vegetables for SS barracks, hospitals, police academies, and rest homes for the police, SS, and SD in Munich and in the surrounding area. He supplied the Dachau concentration camp kitchens and also the kitchens of Mauthausen, Auschwitz, Flossenbürg, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Ravensbrück.

Nützl not only supplied Dachau with goods; he also profited from the workshops there. For example, he had shoes made for him and his family and received construction material to expand his business. In return, he arranged drinking binges at his home for high-ranking SS and party functionaries.

It was well known in the nursery that Nützl was engaged in all sorts of black market deals and racketeering with wine, meat, and even luxury goods. As a result of these activities, he was brought before the Special Court (Sondergericht) at Traunstein in December 1943, accused of trading on the black market. He received a fine and was sentenced to 10 months in prison. However, Nützl never served the sentence—his files mysteriously disappeared.

Nützl profited from his close connections to party and SS decision makers, starting as early as 1940, when prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to work at his nursery. The first concentration camp prisoners started to work at the Ludwigsfeld firm in 1941. Unterscharführer Bruno Jakusch arrived at the Nützl firm in September 1942 with 42 prisoners under his command and together with four or five guards. The nursery was largely destroyed during an air raid on September 22, 1944. Nützl, who was also an expert in assessing wartime damage, was quickly recompensed and received an additional 70 prisoners to clean up the damage at his nursery.

According to a former prisoner who worked in the Dachau concentration camp record office, the Nützl detachment was very unpopular until 1943. No one wanted to be allocated to this detachment. The work was difficult, and Kommandoführer Jakusch and Kapo Rohner were known for brutally beating up prisoners. Nützl and his wife not only tolerated the mistreatment but demanded the guards to drive the prisoners to produce more and more. If the prisoners did not work quickly enough and well enough, Nützl made a report to Rapportführer Böttcher in Dachau and had the prisoners transferred back to the concentration camp.

Jakusch was withdrawn from the Nützl Nursery in December 1944 following an epileptic fit. His successor was the SS member Uelzhöfer. It is reported that he also beat prisoners whom he caught stealing. After Uelzhöfer, there was at least one other camp detachment leader, but details on him are not known.

The prisoners brought their food with them from Dachau. As they had to work very hard, they received additional rations from the Nützl firm. Until January 1943, the prisoners slept at Dachau. A civilian employee recalled that work at the camp was interrupted for two months because of a quarantine at the main camp. Hans Hornung reported that after four years the prisoners were accommodated at the Allach subcamp following efforts made by Nützl. It is no longer possible...
to determine when the prisoner detachment was transferred to Allach. In September 1944, 92 prisoners from various European countries formed the Nützl detachment. Until September 1944, the Kapo was a prisoner from Vienna, Rohner. When the cleanup detachment arrived from Dachau at the nursery, Rohner was on leave. Karl Poltschek took over his role. After his return, Rohner remained at the camp only for a short while. His successor was Hans Schneider, who was the Kapo until January 1945.

From January 1943, the German prisoner Hornung kept the accounts of the subcamp. After Nützl had been convicted by the Special Court for trading on the black market, he disappeared for a time, staying at the Wartenburg Sanatorium. Thus he needed a reliable business manager in Munich. He therefore approached the command office of the Dachau concentration camp and asked for the release of prisoner Hornung. He was released on a trial basis on June 7, 1944, on condition that he worked at the nursery. So while Hornung was free, he simultaneously was made dependent on Nützl. Several times Nützl threatened to return Hornung to the concentration camp. Nevertheless, Hornung tried to improve the conditions for the prisoners in the Nützl detachment, requesting several times that prisoners be given bonuses for their work.11

There are no known homicides of prisoners at the Nützl Nursery. However, an air raid in September 1944 injured several prisoners and killed seven. The wounded were taken to the infirmary at Dachau.12

Nützl fled two days before the Americans marched into Munich. Only Hornung remained at the Nützl Nursery and continued the business under American supervision until Nützl returned after two weeks.

To protect his profits earned from the SS, Nützl transferred a large part of his business to his wife after the war and sold his workshops and vehicles to his nephew Franz Aura.

In 1949, Nützl was found by the Munich Denazification Court to be a Category IV follower and had to pay a fine of 100 Deutsche Mark (DM) and court costs of 59,000 DM.13 Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg on events at the Nützl subcamp ceased in 1974 as the investigators could find no evidence of a crime committed in the subcamp.14 Former camp Kommandoführer Jakusch was sentenced to two years and six months’ imprisonment during the U.S. Army’s Dachau Trials.15

**SOURCES**

No secondary sources about the Nützl Nursery subcamp have been published to date.

The most important primary source for the subcamp is the denazification proceedings against Franz Nützl. The files are held today by StA-M and contain statements by the participants. Also, the Dachau Trials, available at NARA, contain some details about the subcamp. Little information is held in the ZdL’s files at BA-L.

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**NOTES**

1. Statement Hans Sch., August 6, 1945, StA-M, SpkA Karton 1261 (Franz Nützl); hereafter Nützl file.
4. Copy of the Judgment of the Special Court I at the District Court München I, December 7, 1943, in ibid.
10. Statement Karl Poltschek, August 28, 1946, in ibid.
14. BA-L, ZdL, IV AR 125/73.

**MÜNCHEN (GESTAPO WITTELSBACHER PALAIS)**

From June 1942, a concentration camp prisoner, Josef Eberl, was the janitor in the control center of the Gestapo in Munich, which was located in the Wittelsbach Palace at 50 Briennerstrasse. Between 1943 and April 1945, Eberl shared this work with another prisoner, Xaver Scholl. Both were accommodated in the prison cells in the palace’s cellar. There were others from Dachau working there as carpenters, electricians, and painters.

The München Gestapo first became a subcamp when 10 Dachau prisoners were transferred to Briennerstrasse on June 13, 1944. By April 1945, the detachment had increased to 50 prisoners from Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Holland, Poland, and Russia. They were accommodated in a large hall in the Wittelsbach Palace, which was locked at night. It was fitted out with several multitiered bunk beds. In the cellar there was a kitchen and bathroom that could be used by the prisoners. The Dachau concentration camp supplied the food, but it was the prisoners who had to cook it. The Gestapo command center was walled in and surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by sentries day and night. Kapo Karl Frey was in charge of the detachment. According to his fellow prisoners, he interceded on behalf of the prisoners.

The prisoner detachment worked on renovations and built an air-raid bunker in the Wittelsbach Palace. They also worked outside the palace, removing bomb damage, fighting fires, or removing bodies after the air raids. The prisoners were taken by truck each morning from the courtyard of the Wittelsbach Palace to their assignments. In the evening the truck returned them to Briennerstrasse. In 1945, smaller groups of prisoners were used to disarm bombs. Several Polish and Russian prisoners were killed in January 1945 trying to defuse a bomb. More prisoners died in this detachment while...
trying to remove unexploded ordnance. They were replaced by other prisoners from Dachau.  

Seven prisoners were hanged in the park at the Wittelsbach Palace on January 7, 1945, for looting. A prisoner served as the hangman, and the rest of the detachment had to watch the hanging. It is known that there were other hangings and that prisoners were shot for stealing food or being absent from their work without permission. The SS guards mistreated the prisoners daily.

The München Gestapo subcamp was under the command of Adolf Höfer. The guards were foreign members of the SS. They guarded the prisoners while they were at work both inside and outside the Wittelsbach Palace.

The Gestapo subcamp in Briennerstrasse was dissolved on April 25–26, 1945, and the prisoners were taken by foot back to Dachau. There were two proceedings at the State Court München I that were concerned with the events at the Gestapo subcamp. In 1963–1964, former prisoners Eberl and Schroll were investigated for the mistreatment of a prisoner. Later the investigations were stopped. In 1976, proceedings for homicide against Adolf Höfer and other members of the Gestapo command center were concluded for lack of evidence.

**SOURCES** It is possible to identify the prisoners’ names from the transfer lists held in AG-D. The proceedings before the State Court München I, some of which are available at StaA-M, contain statements by members of this detachment.

Sabine Schalm trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**NOTES**

1. Statement Josef Eberl, August 8, 1963, BHSStA-(M), StanW 21819.

2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.


4. Statement Tadeusz K., November 15, 1974; Statement Arakel A., January 8, 1975; both Sta. Mü I, 320 Js 136 30/76 a-b.


8. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, AG-D, 35.672, 35.676, 35.675.


13. BHSStA-(M), StanW 21819.


**MÜNCHEN (GROSSSCHLACHTEREI THOMAE)**

The address of the large-scale slaughterhouse (Grossschlachterei) of Rudolf Thomae in Munich could not be located. In 1942, inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were forced laborers at the firm. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions a single prisoner on August 21, 1942. However, since two Kapos were known to have been at that subcamp, there must have been more than just one prisoner. Wilhelm Binner was replaced as Kapo by Erwin Hanselmann on November 1, 1942. According to the existing transfer lists and change reports, the prisoners were exclusively Germans who were in “protective custody” and whose professions were listed as either locksmiths or carpenters.

This subcamp is mentioned for the last time in a fluctuation report from Dachau, dated November 12, 1942.

In 1973 the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg unsuccessfully investigated the Grossschlachterei Thomae.

**SOURCES** Some transfer lists and fluctuation reports are in AG-D and give information on the names of the prisoners and the reasons for their imprisonment. For this subcamp, no reports or statements by survivors were handed down.

Sabine Schalm trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**NOTES**


4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 141/73.

**MÜNCHEN (HÖCHLSTRASSE)**

Between October and December 1944, a prisoner work detachment was quartered in a private villa in Höchstrasse in the city center of Munich. The concentration camp files record this subcamp under the name SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) Höchstrasse. According to a former prisoner, the subcamp held 18 skilled craftsmen whose job it was to provide emergency assistance and cleanup work after air raids on Munich.

The detachment consisted of political prisoners of different nationalities and Jehovah’s Witnesses.
Transfer lists from the Dachau main camp for the months of October and November 1944 show that eventually 20 prisoners were transferred to the Höchlstrasse subcamp. According to the lists, only 5 prisoners were sent back to the main camp during the subcamp’s existence.\(^1\) It remains uncertain whether prisoners died in the Höchlstrasse subcamp and replacements were then sent from the main camp or whether the strength of the detachment was simply increased.

A survivor has reported that the detachment was dissolved in December 1944 and that some of the prisoners were taken to the Garmisch-Partenkirchen subcamp. The report has a section on this work detachment. It is held at GAZJ. The ZdL investigation files at BA-L scarcely make any mention of this detachment.

**NOTES**


4. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 116/73.

**MÜNCHEN (KÖNIGINSTRASSE)**

Between February 5 and April 21, 1945, there existed in Munich the Katastropheneinsatz (Disaster Unit) subcamp.\(^1\) It has not been possible to precisely identify the location of this camp. Up to 85 prisoners were housed in the cellar of a bombed-out house and used to defuse unexploded bombs after air raids on the city. The detachment consisted of prisoners of a number of nationalities, mainly Russians, Poles, and Czechs.\(^2\) The German “protective custody” prisoners Werner Ascher and Otto Höringer were Kapo and auxiliary Kapo of the Disaster Unit. The prisoners slept in bunk beds and were guarded by 10 members of the SS and a detachment leader. It is said that the mayor, Karl Fiehler, personally transmitted the work orders to the commander.\(^3\)

A high death rate of the prisoners was known from other detachments for bomb disposal in Munich because they were dispatched without technical training and sufficient safety measures. A former prisoner confirmed that the work of the Disaster Unit was very dangerous.\(^4\)

On April 20, 1945, 38 prisoners of the Disaster Unit subcamp were sent back to Dachau; one day later, 11 more prisoners were sent back, and the subcamp was dissolved.\(^5\) The few details that are known about this subcamp come from preliminary proceedings that the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg instituted in 1973 concerning the Katastropheneinsatz subcamp. The proceedings were terminated in 1976 for lack of concrete evidence.\(^6\)

**SOURCES**

The few details that are known about this subcamp come from the preliminary proceedings that the ZdL instituted in 1973 concerning the Disaster Unit subcamp, available at BA-L. The only primary sources are three lists of transfers from the Dachau concentration camp. A copy is held in the AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
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**NOTES**


2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 14, 1945, and April 20, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.


4. Ibid.

5. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 20, 1945, and April 21, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.

6. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 118/73.
MÜNCHEN (LEBENS BORN E.V.)

In the spring of 1942, the Lebensborn e.V. acquired from the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of Jews in Germany) the former Jewish retirement home at 8–9 Mathildenstrasse, Munich. The Lebensborn e.V. relocated its offices to this building. On June 15, 1942, a Dachau concentration camp subcamp was established there that at first held 20 prisoners, mostly Poles, Austrians, Czechs, and Germans.1 In September 1942, the detachment was increased to 40 prisoners. They were accommodated in a house and slept in bunk beds. The bedroom windows were barred, and the windows were painted over. SS sentries guarded the building.

The building in Mathildenstrasse had been damaged by bombs, and the first task of the prisoners was to repair it. Some of the prisoners worked in different areas in the city on other construction sites. A survivor has reported that he worked with a small detachment on Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse, doing renovation work.2 At 5 Hermann-Schmidt-Strasse there was a former Jewish hospital that had also been acquired in 1942 by the Lebensborn e.V. and that had been converted into offices. The prisoners also worked at the private residence of the München Lebensborn head, Max Sollmann, renovating his house and constructing a bunker. They worked from Monday to Saturday from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. regardless of the weather. On Sundays they worked to midday. In addition to the concentration camp prisoners, there were 20 Dutch forced laborers who had to work for the Lebensborn e.V.3

The SS at the Lebensborn subcamp consisted of a detachment leader and five guards. The first commander was an SS member named Bederlein. His successor was Noll.4 The last commander, Unterscharführer Sauter, was the most brutal of the commanders. He arrived in Munich no later than autumn 1943.5 Sollmann gave instructions to the detachment leaders on where the prisoners were to work and was kept informed of all matters pertaining to the detachment. Contact between prisoners and employees of the Lebensborn e.V. was strictly forbidden. Hans Rohr, a German “protective custody” prisoner, was the subcamp’s Kapo. He was described by survivors as violent and cruel. Former prisoner Piotr K. stated that Rohr once pushed him out of a window on the first floor and beat him repeatedly.6 Hermann Rathering, a Red veteran of the Spanish Civil War, became the subcamp Kapo in June 1943. He did not beat his fellow prisoners. Mistreatment of prisoners by the SS members for the slightest infraction was the order of the day. Prisoners weakened or incapacitated by the mistreatment were sent back to the Dachau main camp and were replaced by new prisoners.7 There are no known cases of prisoner homicides in the Lebensborn subcamp.

The building was destroyed during air raids between July 11 and 13, 1944. The München Lebensborn Office was transferred as a result in the following weeks to Steinhöring.8 The prisoners were also moved to Steinhöring and were known thenceforth as the “RFSS Persönlicher Stab Amt L” (RFSS [Reichsführer-SS] Personal Staff Office L). The subcamp remained there until just before the end of the war.

Several survivors from the Lebensborn subcamp were interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg between 1973 and 1975. No judicial proceedings resulted from the investigations.9


A copy of the transfer lists held by AG-D is the only primary source. Reports of people involved in the subcamp are held in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, as are the proceedings against the head of the Lebensborn Office München, Max Sollmann (StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Fall 8).

Sabine Schalm trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

1. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, June 15, 1942, AG-D, A 35.673.
9. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 120/73.

MÜNCHEN (LEOPOLDSTRASSE)

References to the Dachau subcamp in München (Leopoldstrasse) are to be found only in the International Tracing Service (ITS). According to these details, the camp is mentioned for the first time in the Dachau files in March 1945. Nine male prisoners were put to work in the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) in Leopoldstrasse, Munich.


Evelyn Zegenhagen
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MÜNCHEN (LODENFREY)

The Munich textile factory Lodenfrey had been located since 1842 at 9–10 Osterwaldstrasse. Georg Frey took over production management in 1928. He joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and was a member of the SS but left the SS in 1937 on religious grounds. In 1933, the company produced the uniforms for a few Stahlhelm units, and in the following years, it manufactured coats for the SA, the Hitler Youth, and Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service). Between 1933 and 1940, the family company was able to increase its staff numbers and profits annually. The result was that in 1934 and again in 1942 the production facilities were expanded. There were negative economic consequences beginning with the second year of war. They were especially severe during 1944–1945 following the total destruction of department stores in 7 Maffeistrasse and 23 Kaufingerstrasse in Munich.1

The first records of the existence of a prisoner detachment at the textile factory date from 1942. A work detachment was taken daily from the Dachau concentration camp to Munich. It is not entirely clear how many prisoners were in this detachment and what they actually did. In May 1944, an additional detachment of 30 prisoners arrived at the Lodenfrey factory to clean up the factory site following an air raid.2 The prisoners were taken to Munich by truck under the guard of six SS men.3 It was only on June 13, 1944, that a subcamp was established at the Lodenfrey factory. This is confirmed by a Dachau transfer list that, in addition to the prisoners’ names and prisoner numbers, also provides details on their nationalities and the existence of a Kapo. The “protective custody” prisoners came from Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, France, and Italy. The only German prisoner was Wilhelm Reissmann, the prisoner detachment’s Kapo.

The 30 prisoners were accommodated in a factory garage in which there were beds with bed linen. The hygienic conditions were good, and it was possible to shower in the garage. On the weekends, the prisoners were permitted to swim in the company swimming pool.4 The prisoners’ quarters were not fenced in. The food for the prisoners came from the company’s canteen. The prisoners ate it separately from the civilian workers.5 The garage was damaged during an air raid in 1944–1945, and the prisoners were temporarily accommodated in the factory cellar. There was a radio there, and the prisoners could listen to foreign broadcasts.6

At Christmas 1944, the factory’s manager organized a small celebration for the prisoners with Christmas food. All the prisoners received a shirt, fruit, and cigarettes. Altogether the food was much better than in the Dachau main camp. A former prisoner has recalled that Frey obtained additional food and cigarettes for the prisoners.7 The prisoners received so much bread that they could even give some to the French prisoners of war (POWs) working in the factory.

The six SS guards, three of whom were “ethnic Germans” (Volksdeutsche), were also accommodated in the garage, but they were separated from the prisoners by a wall. They guarded the prisoners while they were working. Survivors recall three different detachment leaders, but their names are not known.

There are no reports of deaths or mistreatment at the Lodenfrey subcamp. About a week before American troops entered Munich, the Lodenfrey subcamp was dissolved and the prisoners transferred back to Dachau. According to survivors, Frey refused to make available a company vehicle for the transfer. Instead, he provided all prisoners with civilian clothing, helped 9 prisoners to escape, and hid the rest in his house or in the houses of the company employees.8 After the SS had withdrawn, there were 19 prisoners who were liberated at the Lodenfrey company.9

Frey retired from management in August 1945. In denazification proceedings in 1948, he was categorized as Mitläufer (follower) and had to pay a fine of 2,000 Deutsch Mark (DM) and court costs of 75,000 DM.

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) began investigations into the Lodenfrey subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1975 as there was no suspicion of any deaths.

SOURCES Under contract from the Lodenfrey company, Gernot Brauer published a report titled Lodenfrey in der NS-Zeit (Munich, 2003). The report mentions the prisoner detachment and represents an effort by the company to deal with its past.

The only contemporary sources on the subcamp are the Dachau concentration camp transfer lists, copies of which are held in AG-D. Georg Frey’s denazification proceedings (available at BHStA-(M) are a useful source of information, as are the ZdL files at BA-L, which contain statements by former prisoners.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES
1. Statement Josef L., July 8, 1947, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
3. Meldebogen Georg Frey, June 20, 1946, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
4. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
5. Statement Hugo Lausterer, October 30, 1945, NARA, RG 338 Box 289.
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, June 13, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
10. Statement by former Dachau Concentration Camp Prisoner, August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).
11. Statement Philipp B., August 1, 1945, BHStA-(M), SpkA Box 448 (Georg Frey).

MÜNCHEN (OBERBÜRGERMEISTER)

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there was a subcamp at the office of Munich Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor) Karl Fiehler between January 1 and April 14, 1945. Between two and nine prisoners were held there. Investigations carried out by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 ceased because no witnesses could be found.

SOURCES The only reference to the camp is ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 86. The investigation files ZdL at BA-L (file reference IV 410 AR 127/73) contain next to no information.

Sabine Schalm trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN (PARTEIKANZLEI)

The construction of a new building for the Parteikanzlei (Party Chancellery) of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in Gabelsbergerstrasse in Munich began in 1938. The cellar with attached bunkers was ready before the war began, but the rest was not completed by 1945. The offices of the “Führer’s Representative” Rudolf Hess were located in the “Brown House” at 45 Briennerstrasse, inside Munich’s political quarter. After Hess’s flight to England in May 1941, his successor Martin Bormann, as head of the newly christened Party Chancellery, moved his Munich office into the “Führer Building” at 12 Arcisstrasse. His colleagues were located in different buildings in Briennerstrasse, Arcisstrasse, and Max-Josef-Strasse within the city’s political quarter.

In 1942, former prisoner Erich Mahl and 12 to 14 other prisoners arrived at the Party Chancellery in Munich. They were there for a period of around six months, cleaning up the building. Mahl was the Kapo’s deputy.¹ The prisoners cleaned up bomb damage after air raids. At one point they discovered wine and schnapps in the rubble and drank the alcohol. After this incident the detachment was dissolved in the summer of 1942.

In the spring of 1944, a new detachment of between 30 and 40 prisoners was brought daily from Dachau to Munich’s political quarter, initially by truck and then by train. The detachment consisted of Germans, French, Poles, and Russians. There was a Kapo in charge.² It is only from September 1944 that a Munich Parteikanzlei subcamp existed. The prisoners were accommodated in a rear building of the bombed-out Hotel Continental at Max-Josef-Strasse. The guards were also accommodated in this hotel. Food for the detachment was prepared in the hotel’s kitchen. The Hotel Continental was so severely damaged by an air raid in the middle of December 1944 that the detachment was forced to relocate to the cellars of the building at 1 Max-Josef-Strasse.³ The offices of the Party Chancellery’s “Department III—State Legal Matters” were located there.

Each morning some party official gave the detachment the daily work orders. On the site of the party administration near Karolinen Square, the prisoners were mostly involved in cleaning up after air raids and building air-raid shelters. But they were also used to renovate the private residences of party members.⁴ The detachment was guarded by 10 SS members and their detachment leader Scharführer Uwer.

Former prisoners have stated that the conditions were relatively good, that they were not mistreated, and that no one was killed. This is confirmed in a letter written by Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on April 5, 1945, where he complains about the lax conditions in the subcamp and, above all, about the failure by Commander Uwer to do his duty. Moser had determined that the prisoners did not work enough, that the security in their accommodation was inadequate, and that the prisoners had access to books and maps that they had found in the bombed-out houses.⁵

In his memoirs, former prisoner Hans Schwarz writes that the prisoners collected items in short supply and exchanged them for information.⁶ It was by this means that items of value such as material or wine from the Dachau stores made their way to employees of the Party Chancellery who paid for these items by allowing the prisoners to see internal party reports, commands, or orders.

Numbers in the detachment were reduced by 11 on April 4, 1945; 15 prisoners remained in Max-Josef-Strasse, plus seven guards and the commander. In the following weeks the numbers were increased, and when the camp was dissolved on April 22, 1945, there were 25 prisoners in the detachment.⁷ They were taken back by foot from Munich to the Dachau concentration camp.

In 1973, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg investigated events at the Parteikanzlei subcamp. The investigations ceased in 1976.⁸


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The only primary source is a copy of the transfer list, which is held in AG-D. Useful is a report on the subcamp by its former detachment leader Hans Moser. Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) and the Sta. Mü resulted in survivors making statements. Also held in the AG-D is Hans Schwarz’s “Wir haben es nicht gewusst” (unpub. MSS, 1960), which also depicts events in the subcamp.

NOTES
7. Transfer List Dachau Concentration Camp, April 22, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
8. BA-L; ZdL, IV 410 AR 129/73.

MÜNCHEN (REICHSFÜHRER-SS)
The International Tracing Service (ITS) shows that a subcamp called München (Reichsbahn) existed during the period from January 1945 to April 14, 1945. An accident report dated December 22, 1944, however, suggests that the subcamp existed even before the end of 1944, since two days earlier two “protective custody” prisoners were injured while working at the Munich Railroad Station between the Donnersberger and Hacker bridges.1 Together with a railway policeman, they were warming themselves at a fire near the work site when an explosive device detonated unexpectedly. The French prisoners were taken by ambulance back to the main Dachau camp. One of them, the detachment’s Kapo, suffered burns on both arms; the other sustained an injury to his thigh.2

The detachment, which—according to a list compiled after the war—consisted of up to 500 prisoners, performed cleanup work for the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways).3 The list also names two Kapos: Reinfrank and Quad.

Only one name is known of the SS personnel at this subcamp. Wilhelm Ohnmacht, a Feldwebel in the Wehrmacht, was assigned as a guard from March 5, 1945, to April 25, 1945.4 Investigations of this subcamp by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg in 1973 and 1974 revealed no new findings.5

SOURCES This subcamp is listed in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), I: 86.

Primary sources for this subcamp are limited to the two accident reports from December 1944, available at AG-D.

NOTES
1. Incident Report to the Department III, Dachau Concentration Camp, December 22, 1944, AG-D, 2139.
3. List Dachau Subcamps, June 3, 1948, AG-D, 81.
5. BA-L; ZdL, IV 410 AR 130/73.
MÜNCHEN (REICHSFÜHRER-SS ADJUTANTUR)

On January 7, 1945, after an air raid on Munich, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler personally ordered the special deployment of 30 prisoners from the Dachau main camp to repair the damaged parts of the Führerbau (the Führer’s Building) and the administrative building of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) at Arcisstrasse. Himmler’s adjutant, Hauptscharführer Schnitzler, informed the SS barracks Freimann about this, since a strengthened protective detail had to be assigned for security reasons by the Reich Leadership for the prisoners’ deployment. The guard force was supposed to report on January 9, 1945, to the administrative building of the Nazi Party at Arcisstrasse.

The deployment of the prisoners and their guards was initially supposed to last 1 to 2 days. In a letter of January 11, 1945, Dr. Kaspar Ruoff thanked the Reichsführer-SS profusely for putting the prisoners at his disposal. Without them the temporary construction of the destroyed duty stations would have been impossible. Ruoff asked at the same time to be allowed to engage the prisoners for an additional 14 days not only in cleanup work but also in removal work in damaged areas. The extension of the prisoners’ deployment till January 25, 1945, was confirmed on the same day. A record of the Hauptstellenleiter Owander from March 27, 1945, shows that this prisoner detail was used also after January by the Reich Leadership. Owander points out in this record that because of the landing of enemy airborne troops in the vicinity of Munich the prisoner detail was used also after January by the Reich Leadership. Owander points out in this record that because of the landing of enemy airborne troops in the vicinity of Munich by the prisoners was supposed to have been withdrawn for security reasons from the Reich Leadership and sent back to Dachau. There was a handwritten entry on this record that the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) would still need the prisoners. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the detail Reichsführer-SS Adjutantur was mentioned the last time in concentration camp documents on April 14, 1945.

The preliminary proceedings of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were closed without results in 1973 after four months. This subcamp is listed in ITS, ed., Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85. An Internet site (www.edmeier.de) and an advertisement DVD—Eduard Meier GmbH, Von Schuhen: Eduard Meier München (DVD) (Munich, 2003)—provide information about the business Eduard Meier GmbH.

MÜNCHEN (SCHUHHAUS MEIER)

The Schuhhaus Eduard Meier advertises that it formerly was the court supplier of the Bavarian king and that today it is the oldest house of shoes in Germany. The Meier family business is known in Munich for its high-quality leather shoes and accessories.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), up to 12 prisoners were deployed to the Schuhhaus Meier sub-camp between November 1944 and February 1945. Concentration camp documents that could give more information about this detachment do not exist. A retail store and the manual production department were located in the 1930s and 1940s in the center of the Brown Party district in Karlstrasse 3–5. The owner at the time was Wilhelm Meier. The house was totally destroyed during an air raid on December 17, 1944, and production had to be stopped. The shoe repair services were supposedly transferred at this time to the Dachau main camp and done by the prisoners. Civilian employees of Schuhhaus Meier seem to have gone on a regular basis to Dachau to deliver the shoes that needed repair and to pick up the repaired shoes. A shoe polish machine from the store was delivered to Dachau.

Investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not find any survivors of this subcamp in 1973. The proceedings were closed with no results in 1974. The Meier family did not rebuild the house in Karlstrasse after the air raid. However, the property was sold after the war to the Oberfinanzdirektion (Chief Financial Office) of the city of Munich.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 85. An Internet site (www.edmeier.de) and an advertisement DVD—Eduard Meier GmbH, Von Schuhen: Eduard Meier München (DVD) (Munich, 2003)—provide information about the business Eduard Meier GmbH.

NOTES
3. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 6, 1945, and April 9, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
5. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, April 6, 1945, the last time in concentration camp documents on April 14, 1945.

Sabine Schalm
Trans. Mihaela Pittman
No contemporary documents about this subcamp are known besides the documents of the ITS. There are no survivors' testimonies among the investigation records of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. Discussion the author had with Peter Meier, the manager of the store, on January 15, 2004.
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 119/73.

MÜNCHEN [SPRENGKOMmando]

From 1940 concentration camp prisoners were used in the German Reich in bomb squads to defuse duds with delay fuses. The prisoners worked in groups of up to six men at different locations. They were called “bomb searching details” or “explosives ordnance details.” This is the reason why it is difficult to establish a precise difference between the individual details. So, for example, the terms ordnance detail and duds removal detail can be found in a document for the bomb searching detail housed in the Stielerschule (Stiel School).

The International Tracing Service (ITS) indicates that the München Sprengkommando subcamp is mentioned on July 12, 1944. A prisoner of the “Sprengkommando 12.7.1944” is known by name. The prisoner record card of Friedrich Zeilinger from Vienna shows that he died on July 18, 1944, while part of this detail. The question remains open if this was an independent detail that was deployed only on this day, July 12, 1944, in Munich, or if it was a smaller detail within a larger group of prisoners that was deployed to remove duds in Munich. At least 11 explosives ordnance details existed in Munich in November 1944. Prisoners were deployed there in groups of six. In the end, no specific statement can be made about the subcamp Sprengkommando.

SOURCES

This camp is listed in ITS, Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftanstalten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arosen, 1979), 1: 87.

The location of resources on this subcamp is difficult to find because it is almost impossible to make a clear distinction, especially at the end of the war, between it and other explosives ordnance and bomb searching details. A few documents and copies about the explosives ordnance details exist in AG-D.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

1. See also the order by Adolf Hitler October 12, 1940, DZOK, Ulm R1 178.
2. See also the letter of the municipal police section Kommando Süd, September 19, 1944, AG-D, 23.763.
3. See also the letter about the Sprengkommando deployment on November 27, 1944, AG-D, 23.769 and 23.770.

MÜNCHEN [SS-MANNSCHAFTSHAUSER]

The so-called SS-Mannschaftshäuser were created in the summer of 1935 as a type of SS educational foundation. Appropriate houses were first acquired at seven universities and administered through the SS-Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA). An average of 30 students living in each house went through a stringent selection process beforehand. All had to become members of the SS, perform SS duties, and take part in the ideological education. Finally, they were supposedly to be part of an SS academic elite. One of the first SS-Mannschaftshäuser was founded in Munich in 1935. According to records from the Reichsschatzmeister (National Treasurer) in Berlin, the administration of the Mannschaftshaus at Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15 in Munich was transferred to the SS on April 1, 1942. Seven prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were handed over to the Mannschaftshaus on May 11, 1942. They are known from the names list from Dachau. There were six house painters, who were brought in for renovation work to the SS-Mannschaftshaus, and one cook who belonged to this detail. The prisoners came from the German Reich, Poland, and Luxembourg; one of them belonged to the religious group Jehovah’s Witnesses. All of them were housed in the Maria-Theresia-Strasse 15.

The leader of the detail was an Oberscharführer. This detail lasted two weeks; two prisoners were brought back early to Dachau and replaced with other prisoners. The SS-Mannschaftshäuser subcamp was closed on November 18, 1942, and the seven prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES

The book by Isabel Heinemann, “Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut”: Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 92–99, offers an introduction to the topic of the SS-Mannschaftshäuser.

Some of the few existing primary resources on this subcamp are the transfer lists. With their help, the names of some of the prisoners of this detail can be identified. A copy of them may be found in AG-D. The statement of a survivor is recorded in the investigation document of ZdL at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES

2. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 5, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
5. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, November 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
MÜNCHEN (SS-STANDORTKOMMANDANTUR BUNKERBAU)

Ten concentration camp prisoners were deployed to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) in Munich for the construction of an air-raid bunker, starting July or August 1944. The site of the barracks could not be precisely located. The International Tracing Service (ITS) was able to trace 3 former prisoners from this detail in 1973. One remembered that the prisoners were housed in a room on the barracks’ fourth floor. There were bars on the window, and the prisoners were guarded by SS guards from the Dachau concentration camp. The detail leader brutally hit a prisoner from Warsaw on the head with a board. When the injured prisoner fell on the ground the detail leader kicked him further till he died. The corpse of the prisoner was later laid in the barracks’ yard. The unknown detail leader once mistreated one of the prisoners so badly that he had to be transferred to the infirmary at Dachau. After his recovery, he returned to the subcamp SS-Standortkommandat Bunkerbau.

The detail was moved out of the SS barracks, and the prisoners had to walk all the way back to Dachau.

After preliminary investigations of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the public prosecutor’s office München II opened preliminary proceedings against the unknown detail leader for murder in 1976. Details about this subcamp as well as the suspect could not be determined. The investigation was therefore closed.

SOURCES The sparse references to this subcamp come from the investigation documents of ZdL at BA-L. A name list of this detail drawn up by the ITS can be found there. The public prosecutor’s office Munich could question only one survivor of this detail during its investigation (available at BHStA-(M)).

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES
1. See also name list of the München SS-Standortkommandatur Bunkerbau subcamp made by ITS, August 23, 1973, BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 3576.
2. See also statement Stanislaw S., February 8, 1975, BHStA-(M), StanW 34797.

MÜNCHEN (SS-ÖBERABSCHNITT SÜD, MÖHLSTRASSE)

From 1936 on, the administrative offices of the SS-Öberabschnitt Süd (South Region) were located at Maria-Theresia-Strasse 17 in Munich, a street running parallel to the Möhlstrasse. Prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were assigned to the SS-Öberabschnitt Süd, but the subcamp was located at Möhlstrasse. This is the reason why one can find two different names for this subcamp in the transfer lists and in the change of status report from Dachau: Möhlstrasse and SS-Öberabschnitt Süd. Both refer to the same subcamp.

The first reference to this subcamp is a report of the death of 2 prisoners during an air raid on June 9, 1944. It becomes clear from this report that a detail of prisoners from Dachau was deployed there before this date, but it is not possible to establish a more precise date. The International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions 10 prisoners; a report of the workforce from Dachau of April 3, 1945, lists 8 prisoners; and an inventory from the Clothing Office records 4 prisoners at the subcamp SS-Öberabschnitt Süd.

The prisoners, as far as they are known from the transfer lists, came from the German Reich, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Russia. According to the information from ITS, the prisoners were assigned repair work. This subcamp was last mentioned in the record of a transfer of two Yugoslav prisoners back to the Dachau main camp on April 25, 1945.

The main office of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg held preliminary proceedings on this subcamp from 1973 to 1974. Copies of transfer lists from Dachau belonging to the ITS can be found in the ZdL archives, now held at Federal Archives Ludwigsburg (BA-L). The proceedings were closed in 1974 because of a lack of new findings.

SOURCES This camp is listed in ITS, Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Außenkommandos sowie anderer Haftanstalten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:85. In Die Möhlstrasse: Keine Straße wie jede andere (Munich, 1998), Karl Willibald published a chapter on the development of Möhlstrasse during National Socialism, when important party figures such as Heinrich Himmler and party organizations such as the Reichsluftschutzverband and the Münchner Grossveranstaltungen e.V. settled there. Regarding the topic of the camp prisoners in Möhlstrasse, the book mentions that the prisoners built an air-raid bunker.

There are a few documents on this subcamp in AG-D. Some of them were used in the proceedings of the ZdL and can be found there in the form of copies at BA-L.

Sabine Schalm
trans. Mihaela Pittman

NOTES
1. Transfer list of the Dachau concentration camp, June 11, 1944, AG-D, 35.672.
In addition to the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau (Garrison Headquarters for Bunker Construction) subcamp, a detail of prisoners was deployed to manufacture cables at an SS barrack of unidentified location. No lists of transports or names are available from the International Tracing Service (ITS) in connection with the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau (Garrison Headquarters for Cable Construction) subcamp, although the first mention of such a location is dated January 1945.

A former prisoner of the SS-Standortkommandantur Bunkerbau subcamp claimed that when his prisoner work crew arrived in this SS barrack in the summer of 1944, 10 prisoners from another crew were already at the location. This could refer to the Kabelbau workforce. No further points of contact between the two work details are known.

A judicial inquiry at the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg could not contribute new knowledge about the SS-Standortkommandantur Kabelbau subcamp.

**Sources**
The only reference to this subcamp is ITS, Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:88.

Investigations by ZdL at BA-L yielded no results.

**Notes**
2. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 139/73.

**MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (BMW)**

The BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke) Assembly and Repair Factory in München-Allach, planned as an alternate production site for the main factory in München-Moosach, commenced production in May 1942. After the main factory was destroyed in March 1943 in a bombing raid, production was transferred to München-Allach. There were many foreign forced laborers among the 17,000-strong BMW workforce.

From 1942, Dachau prisoners had to be used on the construction site in München-Allach, but only as a work detachment. They returned each evening to Dachau. The Dachau main camp files mention the subcamp, which had been established close to the BMW factory, for the first time in February 1943.

The camp consisted of 30 buildings that were secured by an electrified fence and guard towers. The buildings included a building with a kitchen and washing facilities, an arrest bunker, accommodation barracks (some of which were just stables and had no windows), roll-call square, SS accommodations, and the camp office. There were between 3,000 and 5,000 prisoners in the camp. The majority of the prisoners in the BMW München-Allach camp came from the Soviet Union, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Germany.

The BMW München-Allach subcamp was one of the largest Dachau subcamps, and it formed part of the Allach complex, to which the Karlsfeld OT (Organisation Todt) and Rottenschwaig subcamps also belonged. In the last months of the war, the actual prisoner numbers exceeded by far the capacity of the camp: on November 29, 1944, there were 4,742 prisoners in the subcamp, in February 1945, mostly as a result of the evacuation of other camps, there were around 10,000 prisoners; and on April 26, 1945, there were 8,970 men and 1,027 women who had arrived at the camp as a result of evacuation marches. Research by Sabine Schalm and Albert Scholl shows that the numbers for a short period reached as high as 20,000.

Initially, the prisoners were used to construct the camp. Later they were used increasingly in production at the factory as lathe operators, drill operators, or locksmiths, above all, on the production line for cylinder heads, gears, and aircraft engines, and in quality assurance. Other prisoners worked on the construction site of the BMW factory, in the “Dyckerhoff Detachment” and in the nearby Lochhausen bunker and cave complex. The prisoners worked for BMW, Dyckerhoff, the construction firm Sager & Wörner, the Kirsch saw mill, and Pumpel & Co. in Lochhausen. Due to the harsh working conditions and poor hygiene, malnutrition, diarrhea, typhus, tuberculosis, and measles were widespread throughout the camp. The conditions in the camp were worsened by a rigid camp regime. SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Jarolin was in charge of the Allach camp complex. He and his deputy SS-Hauptscharführer Sebastian Eberl daily punished the prisoners with beatings and close arrest and, in winter, by forcing them to stand to attention after they had been doused in water. More than 40 prisoners were hanged for attempting to escape or so-called sabotage. The guards consisted not only of German SS men but Hungarians, Romanians, and Croatians. It is impossible to determine the number of prisoner deaths in the BMW München-Allach subcamp because not all the deaths were recorded in the Dachau death register. After the war, 45 corpses were exhumed from the camp grounds; the actual number of deaths is most likely much higher.

The camp was mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945. On April 26, 1945, all German and Soviet prisoners, around 7,000 in number, were evacuated in the direction of Bad Tölz—Mittenwald—Innsbruck. Some 10,000 prisoners remained in the camp when it was liberated by U.S. troops on April 30, 1945.

The former camp commandant, Jarolin, was sentenced to death during the U.S. Army’s Dachau Trials on December 13, 1945, and was executed in Landsberg in May 1946. Investigative...
MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (OT BAU) [AKA ROTHSCWAIGE]

The München-Allach subcamp OT Bau (Organisation Todt Construction) was probably, as Sabine Schalm and Albert Knoll show, identical to the Rothschaigwe camp and part of the Allach camp complex (München-Allach [BMW], Karlsfeld OT, and Rothschaigwe). As with the other Allach camps, the camp was under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Jarolin, who was executed in 1946 in Landsberg.

The camp was probably located on the grounds of the transit camp (Durchgangslager) for Soviet civilian workers (forced laborers) in Dachau at 12 Kufsteiner Strasse. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp was mentioned for the first time on May 17, 1944. The July 1944 Dachau Stärkemeldung (strength report) states the number of prisoners to be 512, with 12 prisoner-functionaries. On the other hand, Ludwig Eiber gives the number of prisoners at 382. The prisoners were probably all Jewish.

Schalm and Knoll do not agree with the role of the camp as a real subcamp attributed to it by the ITS. It was more likely that the camp was a transit camp for Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz. Male prisoners seemed to have spent between four and six weeks in the OT Bau München-Allach camp. A transport of 1,045 female Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) as well as Hungarian Jewish women on the way from Auschwitz to Ravensbrück passed through the camp in Allach.

During their stay in the OT Bau München-Allach camp, the prisoners were housed in barracks. The living conditions in the camp are described by former prisoners as being generally bearable. There are no reports of prisoner mistreatment or homicides. The exact date that the camp was closed is not known. It was probably March 31 or April 25, 1945, but it could have been as early as at the end of July 1944. There are no reports in the Dachau files referring to the camp from the end of November 1944. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, the U.S. Army liberated 250 prisoners who probably had been brought to the camp from other camps on evacuation marches.

SOURCES


Original camp files are to be found in the following archives: Gedenkstätte Dachau (A82-Stärkemeldung der Außenkommandos des KZ Dachau, November 1944); A 82 (Stärkemeldungen des KZ Dachau, 3 April 1945); D 32789 (Stärkemeldungen der Außenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 29 November 1944); D 32789 (Stärkemeldungen der Außenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 3 April 1945); D 34706. Descriptions or references to the subcamp are to be found in the Sta. Mü (Sta. Mü 34706, 34817/1, 34623, 34817/1—various statements by former prisoners of the subcamp). Investigations by ZdL are found under file reference BA-L, IV 410 AR 2141/67. Descriptions or references to the subcamp based on the memoirs of former prisoners are to be found in Amicale des Anciens de Dachau, ed., Allach: “Kommando de Dachau” (Paris, 1982); Karl A. Gross, Zweitausend Tage Dachau: Erlebnisse eines Christenmenschen unter Herrenmenschen und Herdenmenschen (Munich, ca. 1946); Erich Kunter, Weltrasse nach Dachau (Bad Wildbad, 1947); as well as Hermann E. Riemer, Sturz ins Dunkel (Munich, 1974). Karl Wagner, the Allach camp elder until he refused to carry out a punishment on a fellow prisoner, the result of which was that he was transferred back to Dachau, describes the camp in Ich schlage nicht: Beitrag zur Geschichte des antifaschistischen Widerstands im KZ-Aussenlager Dachau-Allach (Karlsruhe, 1981).

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

VOLUME I: PART A
MÜNCHEN-ALLACH (PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR) [aka MÜNCHEN [PORZELLANMANUFAKTUR]]

The Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcelain Manufacturer, PMA) was founded on January 3, 1936, and was under the control of the SS-Reichsführung (Reich Leadership). From 1942, the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) Amt W 1/3 was the sole shareholder in the company.

Prisoners were used in the company’s Dachau branch located on the site of the SS-Training and Education Camp (Übungs- und Ausbildungsliager). Here ceramics were produced for everyday use. The company had transferred production to this site in 1937 due to a shortage of space. Prisoners were also used in PMA in the production of fine ceramics. Eighteen prisoners had been deployed in PMA since 1940, being brought daily to and from Dachau. The prisoners were of German and Polish nationality. They designed the casts. From June 1941, a group of 13 prisoners experienced in porcelain manufacture were brought to München-Allach, and a subcamp was established. The prisoners came from the Buchenwald camp and had been chosen because of their skills as ceramic artisans, molders, millers, and painters. At the end of 1941, there were 67 civilian employees and 30 prisoners manufacturing porcelain. The camp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 25, 1945.


Evelyn Zegenhagen, trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-ALLACH

(SS-ARBEITS- UND KRANKENLAGER)

There is little information about the SS-Arbeits- und Krankenlager (Labor and Hospital Camp) München-Allach. The camp, which held an unknown number of women, is mentioned for the first time in the files of the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 25, 1945, two weeks later.


Evelyn Zegenhagen, trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN

(BARTOLITH WERKE)

Bartolith Werke was established in April 1942 in Munich by Christian Seidl—who also managed the business—in order to manufacture patented wooden building slabs made of a mix of wood and cement. Seidl’s son Norbert assisted him with the management from 1943. Christian Seidl was not a member of the Nazi Party or of any other National Socialist organization. However, his son joined the party in 1940 and was an Ortsgruppenleiter.

The first large contract for the Bartolith factory was signed by the SS-Bauleitung Süd (Building Administration South) in Dachau. The order was for 10,000 slabs to be used for the construction of barracks. The Bartolith firm had only six employees in München-Freimann, too few to carry out the contract. Christian Seidl therefore approached the Dachau concentration camp with a request to use the prisoners. However, before the prisoners could be brought to the factory site at Mühldorfer Strasse, a barracks with sleeping and living quarters, sanitary facilities, and two watchtowers had to be constructed. The camp also had to be fenced in with barbed wire.

On August 28, 1942, Hauptscharführer August Friedrich Müller, the detachment leader (Kommandosführer), arrived at Freimann with an advance Kommando of 30 prisoners and six guards. These prisoners were at first put to work preparing the production site. On November 12, 1942, a permanent detachment of 30 prisoners with Karl Kirschner as Kapo was dispatched to München-Freimann. In the following weeks, the number of prisoners increased to 70 or 80. Most of the prisoners were Germans, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Czechs.

In the winter of 1942–1943, production began in the Bartolith factory. The prisoners were divided into so-called pro-
duction groups and had to reach daily production quotas of building slabs. They worked under high pressure from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The only break was a 30-minute noon meal. The prisoners' food was brought to München-Freimann once a week by truck from Dachau. The scarce rations were totally inadequate, as the company management even confiscated some of the rations for the civilian employees. The food supply deteriorated to such an extent that the prisoners dug potatoes during the winter from an adjacent frozen field. A few prisoners fell sick after eating the potatoes and were taken back to Dachau.

The lack of food and the harsh work conditions resulted in a number of prisoners collapsing each day from exhaustion. One of these prisoners was Josef N., who was beaten by Norbert Seidl for this. The management had no reason to look after the prisoners, as it was very easy to get replacement prisoners from Dachau. The turnover rate at the Bartolith factory detachment was high.6

Johann Leitameier, a prisoner, became a valued worker at the Bartolith factory because of his qualifications as a foreman. Norbert Seidl therefore tried to have him released from Dachau. He was granted leave from Dachau on October 30, 1943, on the basis that he continue to work at the Bartolith factories. Leitameier then became site engineer of a second Bartolith factory in Erding. For this construction site, no concentration camp prisoners were used, but prisoners of war (POWs) and foreign civilian workers worked there.7

Not only Norbert Seidl but also the SS guards mistreated the prisoners when they thought the prisoners were not working quickly enough. Detachment leader August Müller drove the prisoners to ever higher production quotas because his monthly bonus was dependent on the quotas being met. No one was killed in the subcamp, but the number of deaths from malnutrition and the hard physical work remains unknown. According to Norbert Seidl, the prisoner detachment ceased to work after the contract for the SS- Bauleitung Süd was finished in July 1943.8 Criminals from the Stadelheim prison were used instead.

During the denazification proceedings that took place in 1948, father and son Seidl were not hauled before the court to account for events in the Bartolith factory.9 In 1967, Leitameier made a report to the Munich state prosecutor accusing Norbert Seidl of mistreating prisoners at the München-Freimann subcamp.10 Investigations commenced but ceased in 1970 because there was no evidence to support a conviction for homicide. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg made further investigations in 1973 but ceased in compliance with the decision of the Munich District Court in 1974.11 Kommandoführer Müller was sentenced to 10 years in jail during the Dachau Trials.12

**SOURCES**

The fundamental facts on this subcamp are derived from the ZdL investigation files in BA-L and the Sta. Mü. In addition to the survivors' statements, a history of the Bartolith factory issued in 1948 is held here. Also useful are the denazification files of Christian and Norbert Seidl. The files of the Dachau Trials contain a statement by Kommandoführer Müller (Case 000-50-2-72, USA v. Hans Wülfert, et al.).

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**NOTES**

2. Copy of the BDC-File Norbert Seidl, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491.
5. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
6. Statement Johann Leitameier, October 9, 1967, BHStA-(M), StanW 22491; Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, November 12, 1942, to December 18, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
9. Sta. Mü, SprK Karton 1508 (Christian Seidl) and Karton 1510 (Norbert Seidl).

**MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (DYCKERHOFF UND WIDMANN)**

The company Dyckerhoff und Widmann (D&W) was established in 1865 in Karlsruhe. In 1906, it opened a branch in Munich for the production of concrete. During World War II, D&W was one of the most important suppliers of concrete for the war industry. In 1938, it began the construction of two airplane hangars at München-Riem and in 1940–1941 constructed for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in Allach a 9,000-square-meter (10,764-square-yard) Schalensbedhalle (a large shell-shaped building).

In München-Freimann, Dyckerhoff und Widmann expanded the SS barracks located at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse. The barracks was about 500 meters (1,640 feet) away. Beginning on September 19, 1942, 25 Polish, Czech, German, and Yugoslav prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp were put to work here.1 Another 10 prisoners were added to the detachment four weeks later.2

The prisoners were accommodated in several rooms in the SS barracks. The windows of the room were barred, and armed SS guards were posted outside. The prisoners could not move freely in the barracks.3
The security for the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was provided by a camp commander and a few SS members from the Dachau main camp. While they were working, the prisoners were accompanied by the SS guards. There were three Kapos among the prisoners of the Dyckerhoff und Widmann detachment—Karl Kapp, Erwin Görlich, and David Feigl. The prisoners had to work up to 12 hours a day and were brutally driven by the SS guards to achieve maximum performance. The slightest infringement was brutally dealt with. There was no medical care either for work accidents or mistreatment. The prisoners had to provide basic medical care themselves. On Sundays, the prisoners did not have to work at the building site. However, they were not allowed to rest and had to work inside the barracks. When the construction work ceased, the D&W München-Freimann subcamp was dissolved. On December 10, 1942, 24 prisoners were sent back to Dachau.

**SOURCES**

In addition to the transfer lists in AG-D, the preliminary investigation files of ZdL at BA-L hold statements by survivors of the D&W München-Freimann subcamp.

**NOTES**
1. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, September 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.
2. Transfer Lists Dachau Concentration Camp, October 19, 1942, AG-D, 35.673.

**MÜNCHEN-FREIMANN (SS-STANDORTVERWALTUNG)**

From November 10, 1941, 27 prisoners were based in the SS barracks at 193 Ingolstädterstrasse in München-Freimann—the SS-Standortverwaltung (Garrison Administration) subcamp. The first prisoners were “protective custody” prisoners, the majority of whom came from Poland. There were also a few Germans and Czechs. The composition of the prisoners changed several times in the following years, but their number remained constant.

The prisoners had a variety of work in the barracks area including carpentry and roofing work, digging wells, and cleaning up. Four of them worked in the boiler house. A few times the prisoners went to Munich to pick up laundry for the SS or to run errands for them. On weekends, they had to clean the rooms of the SS guards. After 10 to 12 hours of work, the prisoners were locked in rooms on the third floor of a building within the barracks complex. In an air raid in 1944, parts of the SS barracks were destroyed, and the prisoners were then housed in a garage.

Richard Gerlich from Breslau was the Kapo at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp. There were no other prisoner-functionaries.

The first detachment leader (Kommandoführer) was Schaführer Ernst Wicklein. He was replaced in February 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Neuner and in June 1943 by Hauptscharführer Josef Remmele. Hauptscharführer Johann Reiss was in command from July 1943 to January 1945. The name of the last detachment leader is unknown. There were also 15 SS guards to watch the prisoners while they were working. They were mostly ethnic Germans from Romania.

Survivors have reported that Kommandoführer Reiss mistreated the prisoners. A Russian prisoner was hanged in the summer of 1943 because he had stolen food from the cellar. The whole detachment had to attend the execution, and one of the prisoners was forced to put the noose around the neck of the condemned man and then to pull the chair away. The body was taken back to the Dachau concentration camp.

In the third week of April 1945, the prisoners were led back by foot to Dachau. From there they were sent on the evacuation march in a southward direction.

Former Kommandoführer Neuner was sentenced to death during the Dachau Trials. Reiss received a five-year sentence from the American Military Court. In 1976, the State Prosecutor Munich I began an investigation into Reiss on suspicion of manslaughter at the SS-Standortverwaltung subcamp. It was not possible to prove the crime, though, and the investigation ceased the following year.

**SOURCES**
The AG-D holds a copy of a list of names of the detachment. From this list it is possible to reconstruct the names and reasons why the prisoners were held. Other important details are to be found in the files of the U.S. Army’s Dachau Trials at NARA, RG 153 (Case 000-50-2-78, USA v. Josef Neuner and USA v. Franz Kohn, et al.), and Sta. Mü.

**NOTES**
1. List of Names München SS-Standortverwaltung Work Detachment, May 18, 1942 (dispatched on November 10, 1941), AG-D, 35.673.
4. Statement Ludwig S., October 8, 1974, Sta. Mü I, 320 Js ab 12953/76.
From February 1945, Latvian Alexander Djerin was the subcamp was Untersturmführer Kurt Konrad Stirnweis. He was surrounded with barbed wire and four watchtowers. In the ground floor there was a prisoner infirmary. A survivor recalled that female civilian workers were from Poland and Holland, but there were also women from the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Belgium, and France.

In 12 to 14 women were selected because the camp administrators considered them as too old and too weak for work. The women suffered most from the lack of food and the cold. During winter they had no coats and only a few blankets; there was almost no heating. Also, the windows in the block of apartments had been destroyed during air raids, so there was no protection from the wind and the cold. The sleeping bunks were often covered with snow. As a result of the lack of food, potatoes were stolen from the storeroom in the cellar. The food supply worsened after Christmas 1944, with the result that the Dutch women protested about the lack of food, turned off the conveyor belts in the Agfa factory, and refused to work. The detachment leader was so furious that he wrote down the names of the strikers and sent a report to Berlin. Nothing happened to the women, however, as the war ended before they could be punished.

The women were marched to work to the Tegernseer Landstrasse by their SS guards. The march lasted for about 20 minutes. At the factory, they were instructed and supervised by the female civilian workers. The women were put to work on a variety of tasks including manufacturing aircraft parts for the Luftwaffe. They also produced capsules that they had to wash in an acidic fluid. The women's shifts lasted at least 12 hours. When they did not achieve their given goals, they had to work even longer.

The women were not mistreated in the factory. Nevertheless, they suffered because of the working circumstances in the factory. The factory was often the target of air raids. During the air raids, the German “workforce members” went to the air-raid shelters for protection, while the prisoners were locked in the factory halls. They had no protection from breaking windows, falling wooden beams, or metal parts. Many of them were injured during the air raids. At night, the women were often roused in their quarters by metal parts. Many of them were injured during the air raids.

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air attacks and then led into the cellars of the block of apartments.

A Ukrainian woman once tried to escape, but she was quickly recaptured. Before she was sent back to Dachau, they kept her confined beside the food distribution area but did not permit her to eat for several days. Following that event, a young Russian woman also escaped but returned only after a few days because she could find neither food nor support outside the camp.

The Agfa subcamp was evacuated on April 27, 1945. Kommandoführer Stirnweis and his deputy Djerin, together with the 10 female SS wardens, led the 500 women in a southerly direction. At Wolfratshausen, the women refused to go any further and sought shelter in a barn. The guards fled during the night, and the next morning, May 1, 1945, the women were liberated by U.S. troops.

Both detachment leaders appeared in the U.S. military court during the Dachau Trials. Djerin was sentenced to four years of jail and Stirnweis to two years in a labor camp. The 1976 investigation files of the state prosecutor München I on the Agfa subcamp are untraceable today. However, the 1973–1976 pre-investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have been preserved.

SOURCES
Secondary sources relevant for this camp include Andreas Heusler, Ausländerereinsatz: Zuwarschaft für die Mündhre Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945 (Munich, 1996), p. 125. The 1976 investigation files of the state prosecutor München I on the Agfa subcamp are untraceable today. However, the 1973–1976 pre-investigation files of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) have been preserved.

NOTES
2. Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, September 13, 1945, AG-D, 34.852.
3. Transport Lists Dachau Concentration Camp (September–October 1944), December 11, 1944, AG-D, 1.012; Transport Lists Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, October 24, 1944, AG-D, 33.272.

MÜNCHEN-OBERFÖHRING (BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS)

According to records held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), the subcamp at München-Oberföhring is mentioned for the first time on April 11, 1944. A former prisoner recalled that he and six other prisoners were transferred to Oberföhring in the autumn of 1944 from the Sudelfeld subcamp. The official “employers” were the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Building Administration) and the police. The task of the prisoners at the Oberföhring subcamp was to cook and clean for SS members and Wehrmacht officers who were accommodated in a villa.

According to a Dachau concentration camp strength report, the Oberföhring work detachment still consisted of five prisoners on April 3, 1945. They were accommodated in one room in the villa and were guarded by two SS members. The two SS guards’ quarters were in the adjacent room.

The extant Dachau concentration camp transfer lists state that between April 11 and November 18, 1944, there was a steady change in the composition of the camp. The work detachment comprised not only Germans but also Poles, Russians, French, and Belgians. There were also at least three Austrians who were held in “protective custody” because of their being Jehovah’s Witnesses.

The prisoners’ food was supplied from the Dachau main camp. It was prepared by a prisoner, Kurt Ropelius, who was also a Jehovah’s Witness. At the end of April 1945, a block leader from the main camp arrived by bicycle at the Oberföhring subcamp. He had come to collect the prisoners and take them back to Dachau by truck. From there they were sent on an evacuation march in a southerly direction.

Between 1973 and 1975, there were investigations into the subcamp at Oberföhring by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. The proceedings were stopped, but during the course of the investigations, a few survivors were questioned about the subcamp.

SOURCES
This camp is listed in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 83.
The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists and a strength report of the Oberföhring subcamp. The GAZJ holds a report by a former prisoner, written in 1971. The investigations by the ZdL at BA-L hold an interview with another survivor.

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NOTES
2. Strength Reports of the Dachau Concentration Camp subcamps, April 3, 1945, AG-D, 404.
5. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 142/73.

MÜNCHEN-RIEM
(OT, SS-REIT- UND FAHRSCHULE)

During the war, the München-Riem airport was a strategic target for Allied air raids. The runways and the work shops were destroyed several times. To keep the aircraft flying, much reconstruction had to be done, bomb craters in the runways had to be filled in, and new landing and takeoff runways had to be built. Organisation Todt (OT) had responsibility for this work, and the labor was supplied by prisoners from the Dachau main camp. The first 600 prisoners arrived as early as February 1943 at München-Riem.1 About 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the airfield, a subcamp was established in the horse stables of the SS-Reit-und Fahrschule (Riding and Driving School).2 The stables were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded by SS sentries.

The number of prisoners varied considerably. In February 1943, 600 prisoners were sent in to München-Riem; at the end of 1944, there were merely 300 laborers there,3 and a survivor stated that around the New Year of 1944–1945 there were only 100 prisoners left.4 What is certain is that by the end of March or the beginning of April 1945, several hundred prisoners were evacuated from Natzweiler subcamps such as Neckarelz and Neckargerach, and the Dachau subcamp at Kottern near Moosbach, and were transferred to the München-Riem subcamp. A Dachau strength report dated April 26, 1945, lists 1,543 prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp.5 Hence, it was the largest subcamp in Munich besides the München-Allach subcamp.

The dramatic increase in prisoner numbers considerably worsened the living conditions in the former riding school. At first, the prisoners had slept in three-tiered bunk beds in the stable stalls. As the detachment increased in size, more and more prisoners had to share the stalls. The majority had to sleep on the bare concrete floor. Those who were lucky slept on a thin layer of straw.

The prisoners at the München-Riem subcamp were mostly from Russia, Poland, France, Italy, and Germany. Among them were also about 200 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies)6 and an unknown number of Jews. The first Kapo in the subcamp was a German, Ludwig Müller. The camp elder was Hans Bonn, and the camp clerk was Fritz Mannel. Both were transferred back to the Dachau main camp on April 11, 1945.7 Several survivors have stated that during the last weeks of the camp there were no prisoner-functionaries in the camp.

Food was supplied from a kitchen based in the camp area. Prisoners have stated that it was completely unsatisfactory. In the morning there was only a thin coffee; at lunch, a watery cabbage or potato soup; and in the evening, again coffee with a piece of bread.8 Many prisoners were undernourished and weakened because of the heavy work they had to do. Those who were sick or incapable of working were transferred back to Dachau. Those who collapsed on their way to work were beaten up by their guards. There was no infirmary in the München-Riem subcamp.

When the air-raid sirens sounded, the SS guards entered the air-raid shelters. There was no protection for the prisoners. Instead, the camp gate was opened, and the prisoners were ordered to take shelter in the surrounding area. Those who did not immediately come back after the air raid were searched for and shot. The prisoners used this opportunity to look for potatoes in the nearby fields or to get bread from the farmers. If the guards found food on the prisoners, they were shot without hesitation for looting.9 It happened several times that civilians came to the camp after the air raids to report thefts of food or begging.10 If this happened, the suspect was almost always shot immediately on the roll-call square. In February or March 1945, 20 Russian prisoners were executed with a shot to the nape of the neck.

Despite the severe punishment, there were some attempts to escape. The majority ended up with the prisoner being shot.

A great danger and the cause of most deaths in the München-Riem subcamp were the Allied air raids. During a raid on April 9, 1945, at least 24 prisoners were killed and 40 wounded.11 On April 11, 1945, 3 dead prisoners and 94 wounded were transferred back to Dachau.12 Aerial photographs of the area around the airport at Riem that were taken after the air raids document the extent of the attacks.13 A former prisoner has reported that the SS shot the wounded after the air raids.14 The guards at München-Riem included not only the SS but also members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard) and OT.15 The names of the guards are only known for those working there in the last few weeks. Hans Hahn arrived as a guard at the end of March 1945 and remained there until the evacuation of the München-Riem subcamp.16 During this period, Hauptscharführer Franz Xaver Trenkle was the last camp leader. He was known for shooting prisoners on the slightest suspicion of planning to escape or stealing food. During the U.S. Army’s Dachau Trials, Trenkle admitted to murdering 4 prisoners. Survivors have stated that the SS—and, in particular, Trenkle—shot at least 50 prisoners. Trenkle was sentenced to death by the U.S. military court in
Dachau in 1945 for various crimes committed at the Dachau, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps and at their subcamps. He was hanged on May 28, 1946, in Landsberg am Lech.

The München-Riem subcamp was never officially closed. Only the Jewish prisoners were sent back to the Dachau main camp by truck on April 24 and 25, 1945, where they were subsequently freed by the Americans. The majority of the prisoners, about 1,000 in number, were evacuated on April 25, 1945, from München-Riem in a southerly direction. One half of the prisoners marched via Trudering to Bad Tölz, and the other 500 marched via Grosshesselohe, Grünwald, and Dettlingen to Dettenhausen. Survivors from both groups reported mistreatment during the marches, and those prisoners who were too weak to continue were shot. A few prisoners used the opportunity to escape and hid in barns or forests until the arrival of the Americans.

A small group of prisoners was left behind in the riding school. According to the prisoner list at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 137 prisoners in München-Riem were freed by American troops.

The International Tracing Service (ITS) lists two different camps at München-Riem. One has the name OT camp and the other SS-Reit-und Fahrschule. There is no evidence to support a camp in Riem other than the SS-Reit-und Fahrschule (SS-Riding and Driving School). It should be assumed that both descriptions relate to the same camp.

The State Prosecutor Munich I ceased investigations into the events at the München-Riem subcamp in 1977 because the main suspect, Trenkler, had been convicted and executed in the first Dachau Trial in 1946.

**SOURCES**

On the Nazi persecution of Sinti and Roma in connection with this camp, see Guenther Lewy, “Rückkehr nicht erwünscht”: Die Verfolgung der Zigeuner im Dritten Reich (Berlin, 2001); and Ludwig Eiber, “Ich wusste, es wird schlimm”: Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933–1945 (Munich, 1993).

The AG-D holds the transfer lists, strength reports, and a yet unpublished report of a survivor of the München-Riem subcamp. The PRO holds aerial photographs of the attacks on the airport at München-Riem, as reproduced in Eiber. The BHStA-(M) Stadtverteidigung also has details on the air raids. Survivors’ statements are to be found in the investigation files of ZdL at BA-L, the Sta. Mü, and in BHStA-(M). For the Trenkler trial, see NARA, RG 338 Boxes 284–293, Case 000–50–2, USA v. Martin Gottfried Weiss, et al.

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**NOTES**

5. Strength Reports of the Subcamps of the Dachau Concentration Camp, April 26, 1945, AG-D, 32.876.
7. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.
12. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, April 11, 1945, AG-D, 35.678.

**MÜNCHEN-SCHWABING**

[AKA SCHWESTER PIA]

The Dachau subcamp at München-Schwabing was the first subcamp where concentration camp prisoners were permanently used as a labor force outside the main concentration camp. Unlike most of the later subcamps that were constructed, organized, and managed by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and the Dachau camp commandant, its construction, administration, and organization were in the hands of Eleonore Baur, alias Schwester Pia (Sister Pia). [This subcamp was also smaller than most others and is included here as a representative case for instances in which prisoners were used by individuals or small organizations. —Ed.]

Schwester Pia was an active and fanatic National Socialist from the very first moment. According to her own statement, she received her title around 1907–1908 from the Munich sisters’ order Gelbes Kreuz (Yellow Cross), without ever actually qualifying as a nurse. In 1920, she met Adolf Hitler by...
chance on a tram in Munich. Following that meeting, she was involved with the Sterneck Group in founding the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP). She was one of the first party members and had close connections to important party officials. During the Hitler Putsch of 1923, she cared for the wounded and the dead. In 1934, she became the only woman ever to be awarded the Blutorden (a Nazi decoration awarded to veterans of the 1923 Putsch).

After the Nazi assumption of power in 1933, she profited a good deal from the close contacts to the Nazi elite. She was invited on numerous excursions and to many festivities. She had a close relationship with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, and it was due to him that she was appointed welfare sister for the Waffen-SS at Dachau in 1933. In 1934, she and others founded a National Socialist Order of Sisters (Schwesternschaft). In 1937, she became the honorary chairwoman. No later than 1934, she obtained permission from the Führer to move freely in the Dachau concentration camp. She was the only woman with this privilege. Allegedly, she had approached the Führer with the request that she wanted to devote herself not only to the SS men but also to the prisoners and their relatives.

The prisoner Erich Essner was occasionally doing gardening work in her private apartment at 6 Voit Strasse, Munich, as early as 1934. Other prisoners followed who had to do household tasks. Between 1937 and 1943, Schwester Pia had her house in Munich-Oberhaching extensively renovated by concentration camp prisoners. The garden was redesigned, and the place was generally cleaned up. A garage was built, together with an enclosed swimming pool and a bunker. The materials for this work came solely from Dachau. It seems she paid for a part of the materials, but she took the biggest part for free. In the workshops of the concentration camp the prisoners had to produce furniture, wood carvings, and children’s toys for her.

Schwester Pia never paid the SS for the use of the labor of the prisoners. During her weekly visits in the prisoners’ kitchen, she took meat and margarine with her in her official vehicle, for which she also did not pay. The food was supposed to be inferior “dog food,” but it was usually good-quality meat. She was known in the camp as someone who requisitioned anything that was not nailed down.

At the beginning, the prisoners were randomly on duty at Schwester Pia’s home for one or more days per week. They returned each evening to the concentration camp. From 1940, she had a permanent working detail consisting of 12 to 14 men. At first, these prisoners were also driven to work from the concentration camp every day, but later they were accommodated at Schwester Pia’s place and were brought back to Dachau only on the weekends.

Schwester Pia was in charge of the detachment—she arranged the duties and set the working hours. She is even alleged to have been involved in choosing the prisoners. The detachment had to work hard, often on Sundays. Security was provided by SS guards from Dachau. It is said that Schwester Pia was sometimes difficult even with these guards, her “comrades (boys),” and bossed both the prisoners and the guards around.

There are no known cases of mistreatment or deaths at this subcamp. Schwester Pia herself never actually harmed a prisoner, but almost all former prisoners, questioned after the war, have accused her of bullying them. When she was in a bad mood or the prisoners were not working hard enough, she had them, for example, climb down into an outside toilet pit to clean it with a brush. At the same time Schwester Pia was feared by the prisoners because of the considerable influence she had on the camp leadership. If a prisoner fell into disfavor with her, she did not hesitate to request the camp commandant to punish the prisoner by having him held in the bunker. She threatened the prisoner Michael Gollackner, saying that he would not leave the concentration camp alive. He was saved probably because he was transferred to Sachsenhausen. Hans Biederer, also a prisoner, reported similar mistreatment after having been accused by Schwester Pia.

Schwester Pia’s behavior was reported to be inconsistent. On the one hand, the prisoners said that better-than-average food was provided at the subcamp. The prisoners ate at one table together with Schwester Pia and her employees, a chauffeur and a kitchen assistant. They were even permitted to smoke, and they had the possibility to smuggle letters out of the camp and make contact with the outside world. On the other hand, Schwester Pia’s behavior was unpredictable, and her moods were feared. She could quickly turn from being nice to the prisoners to being the complete opposite.

This contradictory nature was revealed when the prisoners were questioned later. There were many positive reports on her. She often stood up for the priest Huber, who said on his deathbed that she was the “angel of Dachau” because she had done a great deal of good in the concentration camp. Other prisoners have stated that Schwester Pia spoke up for their release or financially supported their despairing relatives. In 1943, Reichsführer Himmler temporarily banned her from Dachau because it had been alleged that she wanted to smuggle prisoners’ letters out of the concentration camp. At the same time, the prisoners of her detachment, her employees, and neighbors describe her as a moody, hysterical, and selfish woman who unscrupulously used her contacts with the Nazis in power to get what she wanted. She profited from the kitchen, the workshops, and the Dachau laundry; threatened the neighbors with the concentration camp when she could not get her way; and ceaselessly bullied the prisoners. Some witnesses have even suggested that Schwester Pia took prisoners as lovers.

The discrepancies can only be explained when one considers the prisoner groups favored by Schwester Pia. As a convinced, fanatical National Socialist, she hated Jews and Poles. Her detachment consisted mainly of political prisoners from Germany and Austria. At Christmas, she regularly presented the prisoners with “Pia Packages,” filled with food. At the same time, at Christmas 1938, she had several prisoners whipped. Schwester Pia was present at this mistreatment and stated that she would step in to help the political prisoners but that Jews and foreigners “should die.”
The date on which the München-Schwabing subcamp ceased cannot be identified exactly. The International Tracing Service (ITS) last mentions it in 1942. This date is probably set too early, as several prisoners were still working for Schwester Pia in 1944.22

Baur was categorized as a major criminal in the denazification proceedings in 1949. Her personal property and the villa in Oberhaching were confiscated for restoration, and she was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp. In 1949, the State Prosecutor Munich II began an investigation of her for being involved in the mistreatment and deaths of prisoners in Dachau. The investigations ceased in 1950 because of a lack of evidence.

Baur was released from the Rebsdorf labor camp in 1950 on reasons of health. In 1955, her successful application for a pension and compensation enabled her to return to her house in Oberhaching, where she died in 1981. Baur remained a convinced National Socialist until her death. On her tombstone at the Deisenhofen Cemetery near Munich are the words “Ein Leben für Deutschland” (A Life for Germany).

SOURCES

The relevant archival sources on the München-Schwabing subcamp and Eleonore Baur are the denazification files in BHSa-M, Spruchkammerakten, Karton 75, Eleonore Baur, vol. 1–5; and the investigation files of the Sta. Mü II, 34448, vol. 1–2. These files contain detailed witnesses’ statements both from Baur and the prisoners. Publications by prisoners are sparse, but the following should be mentioned: Rudolf Kalmar, Zeit ohne Gnade (Vienna, 1946), pp. 176–179. Other unpublished reports are in the AG-D, for example, “Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz,” AG-D, Hängeordner SS/Schwester Pia. The most recent contribution is the monograph by Stanislav Zámečník, Das war Dachau (Luxembourg, 2002), pp. 180–184.

NOTES
9. A letter by Eleonore Baur dated June 13, 1935, to Ministerpräsident Streicher uses this nickname several times for the SS members of the Dachau concentration camp; BHSa-M, SpkA Karton 75 (Eleonore Baur), vol. 1.
17. Statement Andreas Zollner, April 24, 1950, BHSa-M, Sta. Mü II 34448, Bd. 1; “Erinnerungen des österreichischen Häftlings Hans Schwarz.”

MÜNCHEN-SENDLING
ARCHITEKT BÜCKLERS
In 1941, the Munich architect Karl Bücklers of the Reich Air Ministry had been assigned the project planning and construction management of three armaments factories in München-Sendling.1 The factories were owned by the companies Grunow, Linhof, and Widmaier. The factories were built next to one another east of the München-Tegernsee railway track. The buildings, which still existed in the early
twenty-first century, are located to the west of Koppstrasse.

According to Bücklers, the building project initially went on without any problems. It was only with the construction of the third factory for the Grunow company that labor shortages caused difficulties. The Reich Air Ministry made available a work detachment of 40 Dachau prisoners. The first prisoners, mostly craftsmen, arrived at München-Sendling on March 16, 1942. The detachment consisted predominantly of Polish, Austrian, and German “protective custody” prisoners. Their first task was to construct an accommodation barrack on an open field to the west of the construction site. The wooden barrack had separate sections for the guards and the detachment leader. The prisoners slept on two-tiered wooden bunks. The camp, which formed a rectangle, was surrounded by barbed wire and two guard towers.

Franz Vinzenz accompanied the detachment as Kapo. He was replaced on July 31, 1942, by Hermann Pfeiffer. The guards consisted of 11 German SS men and their commander. The prisoners were slapped in the face by the detachment leader for such minor infringements as smoking while working or failing to achieve the work norms. Their punishment was to work on Sundays or to be deprived of food. For more serious offenses, the prisoners were taken back to the Dachau main camp. An example is a prisoner from Bavaria who secretly tried to make contact with his family. A Polish prisoner was hanged at the subcamp for “sabotage.”

The prisoners were escorted by members of the SS to the construction site at a distance of about 100 meters (328 feet). French and Russian prisoners of war (POWs) were also working there. They were guarded by members of the Wehrmacht. It was strictly forbidden for the prisoners to communicate with each other.

The prisoners were fed with a watery soup, prepared for them in the kitchen of a nearby restaurant.

At least two prisoners tried to escape from the Architect Bücklers subcamp. A German prisoner was recaptured after two months, brought back to the subcamp, and then transferred to Dachau, where he was placed under arrest in the punishment block. However, a Czech successfully escaped from the subcamp at München-Sendling.

When he was questioned, Karl Bücklers stated that he had never entered the camp. Survivors say that he had treated the prisoners well. The München-Sendling subcamp was closed on December 1, 1942, and the prisoners were transferred back to Dachau.

**Sources** The essential facts for this subcamp have been extracted from the investigation files compiled between 1973 and 1979 by the Sta. Mii I (320u Js 201656/76). The AG-D holds copies of the transfer lists, which give details of the identity of some prisoners in this detachment. Further details are from survivors’ statements made during the investigations by the Sta. Mii.

**Notes**

2. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, May 18, 1942 (prisoners’ departure date March 16, 1942), AG-D, 35.673.
3. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer Lists, July 30, 1942, and July 31, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.
10. Dachau Concentration Camp Transfer List, December 1, 1942, AG-D, 35.674.

**Neuburg an der Donau**

The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) refers to an independent subcamp or work detachment at an air base headquarters. According to the details in the catalog, there were between one and six prisoners working there between February and March 1945.

The air base at Neuburg an der Donau was important for the German Luftwaffe during World War II. Between 1943 and 1945, several night-fighter and bomber squadrons were stationed there, as well as a fighter squadron. Toward the end of the war, the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 was assembled in the three hangars at this air base and tested. It is also thought that there might have been a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at the air base. There are no indications to suggest that there was a labor camp for concentration camp prisoners. For this reason, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased investigations in 1974.

According to a report by Maximiliana Schubert, there were concentration camp prisoners in the vicinity of the air base in 1945. One of those prisoners was her husband, Max Schubert. He was imprisoned in Mauthausen where he learned one day that the Dachau concentration camp was seeking political prisoners to remove unexploded ordnance. He volunteered and underwent a short training course at the Fire Fighters School in Munich.

According to Mrs. Schubert, the bomb disposal squad consisted of six prisoners and two guards. After the air raid on Ingolstadt on March 1, 1945, the city administration approached the Dachau concentration camp and requested several bomb disposal squads. Her husband was sent to the city on the Danube with one of these squads to defuse unexploded bombs. The bombs were left lying on the streets, ready to be collected—they were marked with little yellow flags.
Mrs. Schubert describes what happened as follows: “In the following days the squad had to retrieve the unexploded bombs from the Danube’s soft marshy soil in the area around the Neuburg airport. The bombs were up to five meters [16.4 feet] deep in the soil.” The air raids became more and more frequent, so that the disposal squads were eventually quartered in the Flanders Barracks at Ingolstadt. Following air raids, Max Schubert and fellow prisoners defused more than 3,000 unexploded bombs of varying size in the Ingolstadt area.1

The Neuburg air base should also be included in the Ingolstadt area. It was attacked by Allied bombers five times between February and April 1945 and was almost totally destroyed. The last attacks included not less than 241 B-24 bombers of the Eighth Air Force. It is possible that the hit-and-run unconfirmed Dachau subcamp mentioned in the ITS catalog was in fact this bomb disposal squad.


The ZdL investigation is available at BA-L. An important published testimony for this possible subcamp is Maximiliana Schubert, “Blindgängerbeseitigung durch KZ-Häftlinge,” in Luftangriffe auf Ingolstadt, by Hans Fegert, (Kösching, 1989).

NOTES
1. Citation from ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.
2. Statements by former Luftwaffe officers and Messerschmitt pilots.
3. Ibid.
4. ZdL, Schlussvermerk, IV 410 AR 151/73, dated April 3, 1974, in BA-L.

NEUFARHN

The Dachau subcamp at Neufahrn is first mentioned in the Dachau files on April 22, 1945. It is last mentioned on April 26, 1945.

According to statements of witnesses interviewed during investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, in 1976 there were about 500 male prisoners (some witnesses say about 1,000) in the camp of many nationalities and of a wide variety of prisoner categories. The International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the prisoners worked in the armaments industry, whereas the ZdL investigations suggest that the prisoners built roads and runways.

Some witnesses were able to provide the ZdL investigations with details about the camp layout and how it was guarded. The prisoners were accommodated in five barracks. Several other barracks were used for support functions. The camp was enclosed by a simple wire fence that was lighted at night. The command of the camp consisted of three SS men; Organisation Todt (OT) men were the guards.


The files of the ZdL investigation about Neufahrn are recorded in the files IV 410 AR-Z 38/76 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements. There is also some scattered information in the files of AG-D.

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NEUSTIFT IM STUBAITAL
[aka INNSBRUCK II]

The Neustift im Stubaital subcamp of Dachau, also known as Innsbruck II, was located in the Tyrolian Mountains of present-day Austria, roughly 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of the city of Innsbruck. It was the most southern of all Dachau subcamps. The camp was established in a small SS barracks camp (Barackenlager) that had been built in 1940 for the construction of a road between the Stubai Valley (Stubaital) and the Ötz Valley (Ötztal). However, the camp remained empty until October 10, 1942, when it became a subcamp of Dachau and was officially opened and redesignated the SS-Alpine Training Facility and Prisoner Camp (Hochgebirgsausbildungs- und Gefangenenlager).1 In October 1942, 50 male inmates arrived from Dachau. On average, there were about 60 inmates in the camp, but during the winter their number was reduced to about 20 to 30 prisoners. The prisoners were used to construct the SS barracks and to work in the SS training facility where 120 SS personnel received training as alpine guides. In addition, the SS trainees also studied engineering and communications, as these skills pertained to SS alpine work projects.

The inmates were guarded by ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and SS men from Romania and Hungary (Siebenbürgen and the Banat), and in charge of them was the commander of the Alpine Training Facility, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eberhard von Quirsfeld. Albert Knoll provides the names of a number of commandants of the Neustift subcamp: SS-Oberscharführer Friedrich Plörer (until the end of 1942), SS-Oberscharführer Arnold (January 1943), SS-Oberscharführer Ernst (or Hermann) Wicklein, and SS-Unterscharführer Otto Dertinger.

After erecting the training facility, prisoners were used to build a parade ground and an ammunition storage facility. They were also slated to work on the construction of an underground bunker complex. This latter project was never
begun, however, and prisoners were instead assigned to local farms to work as field hands.3

In general, the working and living conditions in the camp were considered bearable. The subcamp itself was not fenced, and the local population was friendly toward the inmates. Some of them even arranged for visits of relatives of the prisoners. The physician and the dentist of the SS training facility were also in charge of health care for the inmates. Political prisoner Hugo Jakusch, who had been taken to Neustift in April 1943 and who was to become the Neustift chief Kapo, in a letter to his family in June 1943 stated: “I never had it that nice during the last ten years of my imprisonment. Our camp is in the middle of the mountains, three thousand meters [9,843 feet] high, and I had hoped for so long to be attached to a work detachment in the mountains.”4

The prisoners incarcerated in Neustift came primarily from within the Dachau camp system. Karl Wagner, a German political prisoner who spent nine years in the Dachau system, arrived in Neustift in the autumn of 1942. Because of the time he spent in Dachau, Wagner was familiar with many of the prisoners already in Neustift and participated with these men in creating a resistance cell. The cell was composed largely of “Red Spaniard” Communists and Socialists who had fought for the Left during the Spanish Civil War.5 Other prisoners in Neustift included Poles, Germans, and Austrians. Most of the internees were political prisoners. Jews do not appear to have been held captive in Neustift, but the evidence for this is inconclusive. Being assigned to work on local farmssteads, the members of the Neustift resistance eventually made contact with locals who opposed the Nazis. Several of these local residents developed a close relationship with the prisoners, and an active assistance group soon sprang into being. This assistance group, including the Kuprian family, Georg Egger, and Luise Kempf, supplied the prisoners with food and secretly posted letters from prisoners to their loved ones back home.6

Although they received harsh treatment at the hands of the SS, the killing of prisoners in Neustift by SS guards seems to have been a rare occurrence. In August 1943, a prisoner was discovered and shot in a nearby village after he had missed evening roll call.7 Two years later, in March 1945, two prisoners escaped and fled into the surrounding mountains. One was found and shot after he had returned to the local village for food and shelter, while the second prisoner, Johann Höbl, a resident of Vienna, was killed in the mountains by an avalanche.8 A local resident discovered Höbl’s body on May 18, 1945, and the corpse was interred in the Neustift camp cemetery.9

By May 1945, French and U.S. forces were rapidly approaching the area, and the SS unit guarding Neustift received orders to kill the prisoners. After this, the SS men were to defend the nearby Passstrasse against the French. The prisoners learned of the killing order, however, and fled into the mountains before the SS could carry out the executions. American troops arrived soon thereafter, rescued the prisoners, and liberated the Neustift camp.10

**SOURCES**


Documents regarding Kommandoführer Ernst Wicklein can be found at NARA, RG 338 B 319 f. 04 (statement by Wicklein from January 25, 1947); and RG 153 B 210 f. 01 (statement by Karl Christian Rausch from December 6, 1946). More material on Wicklen is located at BHStA-(M), StanW 21830 and SpkA, Box 1959 (Ernst Wicklein). At AG-D witness testimonies can be found in the Zeitezeugengespräche with ehemaligen Häftlingen, among others with Hugo Jakusch, DaA 25947, and Transportlisten (transport lists), DaA 35673.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

**NOTES**

10. DÖW, File No. 3759.

NEU-ULM

For years it was a puzzle where the Dachau subcamp of Neu-Ulm, mentioned in documents, was located. It has now been determined that “Dr. Rühmer’schen Satzfischanlagen” (Dr. Rühmer’s Fish Breeding Ponds) in the village of Unterfahlheim near Neu-Ulm was the location of the subcamp. Historian Enno Georg refers to the SS-Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpfl eugung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Health GmbH). It utilized the medicinal herb gardens in the vicinity of Dachau and also inside the concentration camp. Over time, the SS organization either acquired or leased farm and forest firms, including fish breeding ponds, or worked together with their owners.

One of them was Dr. Ing. Karl Rühmer, who had owned an aquaculture farm since 1939 at Biberhaken in Unterfahlheim. Rühmer was a fish breeder, wrote about fish, and was the owner of the publishing house Germanenverlag, in Ebenhausen near Munich. In addition to his books on fish, he wrote books on the German Volk such as Wir wollen frei sein—Gedichte rufen zum Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus und Bildung der vereinigten Staaten Europas (We demand freedom—Poetry for the struggle against Bolshevism and the creation of a United States of Europe). In May 1942, Rühmer, who had until then been a captain in the Luftwaffe Reserve, was given the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer and was named the fish expert in the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). He was expressly permitted to continue with his aquaculture in Unterfahlheim as well as his Germanenverlag in Ebenhausen.

The shift to the Waffen-SS also meant that Rühmer became head of Department III (Fish) at the Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpfl eugung. He had responsibility for his breeding ponds not only in Unterfahlheim but also at the troop training area at Heidelager, as well as at Auschwitz and at sites in occupied Russia. On April 30, 1944, he was promoted to Obersturmbannführer of the Reserve but lost his areas of responsibility “because of a lack of employment opportunities.” The ponds in Unterfahlheim remained his.

The fish at his experimental institute were used to feed hospitals and mothers’ homes. A letter from Rühmer to the wife of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler allows the conclusion that they were also for the tables of the elite. Rühmer invited Mrs. Himmler to call him any time for his services, especially when she needed fish for a meal for the Reichsführer.3

Johann Scheibhuber from Unterfahlheim closely observed activities at the ponds. The ponds had belonged to his father who sold them because of illness in 1939 to Dr. Rühmer. In 1939, Scheibhuber became a soldier. In the summer of 1942, when on leave in Unterfahlheim, he noticed that not only foreign laborers from the Ukraine and Poland but also concentration camp prisoners were busy at the Biber Stream. Scheibhuber also recalled “seven or eight, perhaps more Jehovah’s Witnesses.” The communal barracks of the concentration camp prisoners and foreigners were not fenced in.2 The men with violet markings did not have to wear the striped prisoner uniforms but wore gray clothes and flat caps. The Jehovah’s Witnesses and the foreign workers were accommodated in barracks on the site of the ponds. The barracks were not fenced in.

The date 1942 mentioned by Scheibhuber is not confirmed by other sources. The catalog of the International Tracing Service (ITS) first mentions the camp on July 5, 1943. It is certain that in Unterfahlheim, Bibelforscher (Bible researchers)—then, as now, known as Jehovah’s Witnesses—were forced to work at the fish ponds. The Nazis persecuted them without mercy because they were unyielding and lived according to the motto “Give unto Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s.” On no account would they agree to conscription, and these men and women were not prepared to accept Hitler as Germany’s savior. They also refused to use the then-customary German greeting, Hitler’s “salute.” They continued to use the traditional greetings such as “Grüß Gott” (hello) or “Guten Tag” (good day). They would rather go to jail or a concentration camp than betray their beliefs.

Scheibhuber and other villagers were extraordinarily impressed by these gentle people. He recalled that even in this distressful situation they tried to talk to the villagers in Unterfahlheim about their beliefs. There is a letter from a Belgian Jehovah’s Witness in Unterfahlheim, Leon Floryn, prisoner number 46522, who wrote to his wife who was also imprisoned in a camp because of her belief. Although he tried to disguise the letter’s intention, he made it clear to her that despite his imprisonment he remained true to his belief. Floryn refused in Dachau to work on the production of war material. He was punished several times by being held under arrest in a bunker and being forced to stand barefoot in the snow.

Konrad Klug, another Jehovah’s Witness, described Dr. Rühmer as a “very nice man.” Klug said the SS detachment leader of the small camp, whose name he fails to mention, not only made life difficult for the prisoners but was also “very nasty” to his boss, that is, Dr. Rühmer.

Klug also described his work at Biberhaken. The Jehovah’s Witnesses’s History Archive (GAZJ) in Selters has an article about his time in Unterfahlheim. It includes the following statement:

In winter work at the ponds was very difficult. With long boots we had to mow the reeds in the ponds. The embankments had to be improved, fish in large carts, filled with water, had to be shifted. Then there...
were 500,000 trout eggs, which had been frozen in Denmark, thawed out in a breeding installation and then put in breeding boxes, each containing 200. These were kept under constantly flowing water. Outside the temperature dropped to minus 20 degrees and in the breeding installation, of which there were two, the temperature was minus 10 degrees. Each day the eggs had to be checked with pinsettters and those that had died were immediately removed so that the others would not be affected. After checking only two of the incubators I was frozen stiff. Naturally I had to keep moving to stay warm and do the work. 98% of the eggs became little trout. . . . We then had to sort the trout in the cold months. They had to be fed and when the ponds got cracks so that the little fish could slip out they had to be repaired. Every morning all the ponds’ sieves had to be cleaned to let the fresh water through.5

After receiving a supplement of oxygen, the Rühmer fish were dispatched live. There is still in existence an urgent dispatch note from “Dr. Rühmer’schen Satzfischzuchtanlagen Unterfahleim bei Neu Ulm” with the words in large print “Lebende Fische” (Live Fish). The contents were described as follows: “Live Fish—Bred in Approved Oak Barrels—Telephone the Sender.”

There was planned in Unterfahleim a Fish Hatchery School to train those injured during the war. Nothing came of the plan. The numbers of Jehovah’s Witnesses fluctuated between 7 and 30 men. Shortly before the collapse of the Third Reich, the Unterfahleim camp was dissolved. The Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) investigations found no evidence of any crimes. Its concluding recommendation is as follows: “Although ITS Arolsen names three witnesses it was no longer possible to clarify the conditions in the NL (subcamp) Neu-Ulm. If there were deaths at the small subcamp then Hedel would have confirmed this when he was questioned on 23.10.1969. No further investigation is recommended.” Kurt Hedel, the named witness, was also an imprisoned Jehovah’s Witness.

**NOTES**

1. All details on Rühmer come from the collections of the former BDC, now BA-BL.
2. In a conversation with the author, 1984.
3. GAZJ, DOK 09101/44 (1).

**OBERSTDORF-BIRGSAU**

Oberstdorf in the Allgäu was a famous health spa and winter sport haven long before the Third Reich. In mid-1943, a camp was erected in the nearby Birgsau valley for training members of the Waffen-SS in alpine combat. To build it, 12 inmates of the Dachau concentration camp were initially sent there in the summer of 1943, but soon this subcamp was enlarged to comprise about 30 men.

In 1936 and 1937, three customs houses had been built in Birgsau, which through Austria’s annexation to Germany became superfluous. The basements of these three buildings served as housing for the camp inmates. The upper floors housed the camp administration. At first the men from the subcamp were fed in the nearby inn of the Mayer family. Then a kitchen was built in the camp. The camp was surrounded by a moderately high fence.

From July 1943 until about January 1945, SS-Sturmbannführer Willi Baumgärtel was the commandant of this subcamp.6 Later, Polish prisoner Wladislaus Krystofiak certified that this commandant had behaved correctly toward the inmates. At the very start, he had made sure that Krystofiak and his companions in suffering each had two clean undershirts, two pairs of underpants, two sets of work clothes, sturdy ski boots, and three woolen blankets. Baumgärtel even contributed a radio for the prisoners’ use. Krystofiak stated, “Why should I not say so, if even in the SS there were people who treated us KZ inmates decently?” Krystofiak was the camp cook. He claims that the food was good and occasionally improved with remains of warm meals from the SS kitchen. Once the commandant allowed the inmates, without a guard, to pick up a stag that had died at a feeding station for wildlife. He also had allowed them to buy beer at the Mayer inn.2

At that time the owners of this inn were Kaspar and Lina Mayer. Their daughters Fanny and Maria did not judge Baumgärtel in such an unqualified positive way. He allegedly had harassed their parents because they were devout Catholics and threatened to see to it that their ailing father would be sent to Dachau. The sisters also considered it harassment that the camp latrine was built only 30 meters (98 feet) away from a small chapel, “Mayers’ prayer barn,” as the SS men derisively called it. “Still, we were not afraid. Among the SS men there were very decent people.”7 The sisters also recalled that their parents were sneaking food to the inmates when they, guarded by an SS man, bought beer. On those occasions, these men also tried to exchange toys they had made for food.
A letter from former prisoner Andrzej Burzawa provides information about work and life in Birgsau. About the day of their arrival he stated: “After the morning roll call and report, we first went to the site of a rock avalanche by car. There we had to remove rocks from the road and stabilize the walls to keep them from buckling. At noon the commandant appeared and observed us for about an hour. . . . Since we worked in wooden shoes, we slipped and fell several times. We were in danger of breaking our legs. Next morning we received leather mountain boots. It took us a week to remove the rock slide.”

Describing the times that followed, the letter states:

After that, transports of building materials arrived in Oberstdorf. We had to reload them and bring them to Birgsau. . . . Until winter set in we constructed a warehouse, a weapons depot, an infirmary/hospital, a kitchen, and a barrack. We brought several wagonloads of coal from Oberstdorf. We brought firewood for the winter from the forest by sled. During the winter we built a workshop and toilets. We diverted water from a mountain stream into pipes to supply the kitchen and the community bath with flowing water. All winter long we made sure that the road was passable at all times for sometimes there was snow more than one and a half meters (five feet) deep, which buried the road in snow avalanches. In the spring, when the snow melted, we continued with the construction of the camp.

The Oberstdorf-Birgsau camp even had animals, three mules and five horses. In the spring of 1944, Burzawa was in charge of their care. In Dachau this Polish man had to clean the floor with a toothbrush. He had lost teeth in beatings, and he had been kicked about. Concerning Birgsau he wrote: “Nobody beat us, and we received 200 grams [7 ounces] more and he had been kicked about. Concerning Birgsau he wrote: the barracks after 8 P.M., and an SS man now stood guard outside. But even then there were no attacks. As Krystofiak put it, “We really fared well and were in excellent physical condition. . . . I also do want to mention that once the Commandant even presented us inmates as examples of excellent work performance to his SS men.” The Mayer sisters also credited the commandant with correct behavior. They also mentioned that shortly before the end of the war yet another camp leader came to Birgsau. The names of Baumgärtel’s successors are not known.

As the end of World War II drew near, the normally quiet Birgsau valley was home not only to the SS men, the camp inmates, and the Mayer family. Now the custom houses and the 16 barracks were home to Hitler Youth leaders, members of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service, RAD), female Wehrmacht and Air Force helpers, and many children who had been evacuated from the large cities because of the Allied air attacks. The Mayer sisters estimated the number of all these people at 1,400. The night before French units occupied the Birgsau valley, yet another inhabitant joined the crowd: the wife of the last camp commandant gave birth to a child. Three shots rang out during that last night, taking the life of a hunter. After the occupation of the French, the liberated inmates protected these people from attacks.

In 1964, the state prosecutor’s office in Hannover ordered an investigation of Willi Baumgärtel, an SS-Obersturmabhütter who had been the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp. It was imperative to check the extent to which he had committed crimes against humanity. A similar order reached the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg. Legal authorities began an investigation and found out that Baumgärtel had been a member of the SS since 1931 and had been promoted to the rank of SS-Sturmbannführer in 1944. But it was soon clear that the accused was never posted to Dachau. From 1933 to the start of the war, he was in Berlin where, among other things, he had been Kompanieführer with Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. “A decent, worthy character,” his superior said about him then. After combat duty at the Polish, Russian, and French front, he was commissioned to establish the SS training camp in Birgsau. Posted from there once more to the front in January 1945, he was captured by the Americans. While they were being questioned, two former prisoners of the Dachau subcamp testified that in Birgsau no attacks on prisoners of any kind ever took place. Instead, the accused had taken good care of them.

The summary of the investigators: “In view of the result of this investigation, there is no reason to employ additional measures of prosecution concerning the activities of the accused in Birgsau. Instead, this investigation is closed for lack of reasonable suspicion of criminal behavior.”

Sources
To the author’s knowledge, no other publications have studied the camp Oberstdorf-Birgsau except for his Für die Vergessenen—KZ-Aussenlager in Schwaben—Schwaben in Konzentrationslagern (Augsburg, 1984), pp. 164–167.

Information about the investigations of the Oberstdorf-Birgsau subcamp is available in the protocols at the BA-L (formerly ZdL) and the files of the preliminary proceedings of the Sta. Mii. Some records are also available in AG-D.

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Notes
2. Wladislaus Krystofiak, Testimony in the preliminary proceedings IJs 2/65, Sta. Mii II.
The Dachau subcamp at Ottobrunn was located in the western part of Ottobrunn (Unterhaching) near Munich between the streets Zaunkönig, Drossel, and Grasmücken, close to blocks of apartments. It was not connected to the Waldlager, which was also located in Ottobrunn and which probably held prisoners of war (POWs).

From January 1944 (or, according to the International Tracing Service [ITS], October 1943), Dachau prisoners were brought to Ottobrunn to commence construction of the camp. The camp itself is mentioned in documents for the first time in May 1944 (ITS: March 1944). The Ottobrunn prisoners were used to construct the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institute) in Munich, one of eight such large research institutes planned for the Third Reich. Construction had been constantly delayed due to problems in the supply of materials and a shortage of personnel.

The Ottobrunn subcamp was a medium-sized camp and held between 350 and 600 prisoners. The largest number of prisoners held in the camp was in September 1944—about 900, when 500 Nacht- und Nebel (Night-and-Fog) prisoners were temporarily taken to the camp. The prisoners were mostly political or so-called criminals. There were no Jews in Ottobrunn. Martin Wolf, who has researched the history of the camp, states that the prisoners mostly came from Germany, Poland, Italy, Ukraine, Spain, Norway, and the Netherlands. There were also a few Greeks, Yugoslavs, Belgians, and French.

The camp was secured with an electrified barbed-wire fence. There was a command office, canteen barracks, toilet barracks, two large sleeping and living barracks, an SS barracks, three medical rooms for the SS, accommodation barracks for the German employees, and a separate barracks for POWs. During the last months of the war, security was taken over by Luftwaffe soldiers, who were less hostile to the prisoners. Nevertheless, the prisoners were mistreated by the camp personnel, above all by the deputy camp commander.

The subcamp prisoners were set off for the Dachau main camp. The Ottobrunn subcamp is mentioned for the last time in the Dachau files on April 26, 1945. On May 1, 1945, the Ottobrunn camp command with some of the prisoners set off for Switzerland. The prisoners were left to themselves shortly before the Swiss border and crossed over the border to Switzerland. Other prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Ötztal, where a branch office of the Air Research Institution was in the process of being constructed. However, they were liberated by U.S. troops in Bad Wiessee.

The former deputy camp commander was sentenced by a U.S. military court in 1945 to 15 years’ prison in Landsberg. He was released in 1953.


Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the BHSRA (M) (StanW LG München II, I Js 3/65) and the AG-D (above all, Da 12 Js 30/59). The proceedings against the deputy camp commander are documented in NARA, Case 000-50-2-101, USA v. August Burkhardt, et al. Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) ceased in the 1960s; see file IV 410 AR 469/69.

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The Ötztal subcamp was located in the Austrian state of Tirol, which during the German annexation was called Reichsgau Tirol. Albert Knoll relates the erection of the camp to Nazi plans to build an aerodynamic research institute but also
points out that the late date at which prisoners were sent to Ötztal indicates that they were sent on evacuation marches to that destination.

Already in 1940 the Luftfahrtforschungsanstalt (Aviation Research Institution) in Munich and the Messerschmitt company had planned to erect a giant wind tunnel near the Ötztal station, a wind tunnel that was planned as the largest in the world and where jet planes could be tested. Ötztal proved to be a perfect location for this project since it needed an enormous amount of energy, which could have been provided by the Öttzaler Ache river. Construction was under way during the war, for instance, for a tunnel with a pressure turbine and a cable railway that led from the valley to the sluiceway. By the end of the war, 2,300 tons of parts had been used, and the completion of the wind tunnel was planned for summer 1945. For that time, the employment of large numbers of Dachau inmates was planned; they would have been housed in a former Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp near the Ötztal station. But due to the advancing war, work on the camp never began.

Nevertheless, Ötztal became the destination of a number of evacuation marches from Dachau. A first transport left Dachau on April 23, 1945, and further groups of inmates followed within the next days from the main camp, the Kaufering and Allach subcamps, from Mühldorf and Ottobrunn. On April 26, about 10,000 inmates left Dachau; their destination again was Ötztal. The inmates, mainly Germans, Jews, Poles, and Russians, marched in groups of 1,500 and unbearable conditions in a southerly direction. Most of them were liberated in the following days by U.S. troops. Another transport of 1,739 Jews from Kaufering was taken by train to Seefeld in Tirol. Their further transport to Ötztal was interrupted by an air raid that destroyed the train tracks. Tyrolean Gauleiter Karl Hofer hindered the continuation of the death march and insisted on the inmates being marched back to Bavaria, but alone during the one stay near Seefeld, 30 inmates died from starvation and exhaustion. By May 4, 1945, at the latest, all transports of inmates—either on the way to Ötztal or in Ötztal itself—had been liberated by U.S. troops.


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**PLANSEE [aka BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE]**

**[MEN]**

There was a Dachau subcamp in the Tyrolean town of Plansee. The subcamp held both male and female prisoners.

The male prisoners were held in a hotel, the Forelle, and surrounding buildings, in the northeast of Plansee on the road connecting Reutte and Oberammergau. The hotel functioned as an officers’ camp (Oflag) for senior French military officers from the rank of major and above. At first there were 15 military officers held in Plansee, but by the end of the war, the numbers had increased to about 100. Security for the prisoners of war (POWs) as well as the prisoners was provided for by 20 to 30 guards, mostly Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Hungary. They were under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Rittmeister Erfurt.

The camp was occupied for the first time on September 2, 1944—at the same time when the first French POW had arrived in Plansee. The 15 to 25 male prisoners in the camp were used by the Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei (Waffen-SS and Police Building Administration) to maintain the hotel, to serve the POWs, and probably to work in the forests in the area. The prisoners were mostly Germans or came from East European nations.

There are no known transfers from the Plansee subcamp back to Dachau or other camps. The prisoners described the camp as “humane,” with relatively good food and comparatively good working conditions. There were no killings and the prisoners were not mistreated. For this reason, investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1970.

There are different accounts about the end of the camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the Bundesgesetzeblatt (Federal Law Digest, BGBl.), relying on a prisoner’s statement, put the end of the camp as May 5, 1945, but historian Albert Knoll states the camp was surrendered to the U.S. Army on April 29, 1945, without a fight.

**SOURCES** The ITS, *Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:91, refers to “Plansee Camp (Male and Female Camp),” as does the “Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Aussenkommandos gemäss § 42 Abs. 2
PRISONERS AND PRISONS

PLANSEE [aka BREITENWANG, PLANSEE, SS-SONDERKOMMANDO PLANSEE]

[WOMEN]

In the Tyrolean town of Plansee, there was a Dachau subcamp that held both male and female prisoners.

The Plansee camp is referred to as a Dachau subcamp for the first time on September 2, 1944, when a group of male prisoners arrived at the camp. Almost simultaneously with the male prisoners from Dachau, but not later than September 26, 1944, a group of female prisoners began to work in the subcamp. The 15 to 20 women at the camp had originally come from Ravensbrück; in October 1944, they came under the administrative control of Dachau. As with the male internees, the women experienced relatively good working and living conditions. This assessment was confirmed in 1970 by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

The women were accommodated in the Hotel Ammersee and were used mostly for kitchen and cleaning work for the French officer prisoners of war (POWs) who were also interned in Plansee. As with the male internees, the women experienced relatively good working and living conditions. This assessment was confirmed in 1970 by investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.

There are different accounts on the end of the Plansee camp. The International Tracing Service (ITS) and the Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl) give May 5, 1945, as the date of liberation, but historian Albert Knoll states that it was on April 29, 1945, that the camp was handed over without a struggle to the U.S. Army.


Documents on the subcamp are to be found in the following archives: in AG-D (including collections 37154—Zusammenstellung der Forderungsnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz) and in NARA (RG 153 Box 188 Folder 05, Statements by the guard Karl-Otto H. and medical orderly Josef Bablick, September 26, 1946; and RG 153 Box 197 Folder 04, Statement by Johann Metzinger, November 29, 1946). Investigations by ZdL (available at BA-L) were recorded in File IV 410 AR 633/70. The files hold several witness statements.

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RADOLFZELL

On May 19, 1941, a railway transport delivered 113 Dachau concentration camp prisoners to the SS barracks at Radolfzell, where an SS-noncommissioned officers’ school had been established in the middle of February 1941. The prisoners were to construct a large-caliber shooting range and to generally work in the barracks area. The commander of this Dachau subcamp reported to the barracks command. The commanders of the Radolfzell subcamp were Hauptscharführer Josef Seuss (1906–1946), from May 1941 to August 1942; after that there was either an Unterscharführer or an Ober­charführer called Schmidt, Schmid, or possibly Schmitt, as well as a Hugo Lausterer. Between December 1943 and January 1945, Oberscharführer Hermann Rostek (1898–1970) was in command.

The prisoners were accommodated in a two-room stable. They slept on two-tiered bunk beds that had been installed in the former horse stalls. The prisoners were locked into the stalls at night. They were mostly Germans, Poles, and Czechs. By category, the prisoners were political “protective custody” prisoners, criminals, professional criminals, and emigrants.

About 90 prisoners were used to construct the shooting range. The other prisoners worked on the exercise square, at the swimming baths Herzen (Troop Swimming Institute/Water Exercises) as well as in the barracks (e.g., cobblers, tailors, barbers, electricians, and workers in the dental laboratory). Leonhard Oesterle, who was talented in drawing, was instructed to cover the walls of the barracks with pictures of heroic SS men. The reason for this was that the Radolfzell Heinrich Koeppen Barracks wanted to win a competition as the most picturesque barracks in Germany. The prisoners also worked on farms in the nearby area.

Some 72 prisoners were returned to Dachau in July–August 1942 after work had ceased on the shooting range. None of the prisoners in the barracks were put to work in Radolfzell industries. However, it did happen that SS members used the prisoners for private work outside official working hours. This
was usually on Sundays and mostly was garden or other household work.

Food and living conditions in the Radolfzell camp are said to have been relatively good. The food was prepared in the barracks' kitchen. Extra food was available for the prisoners who worked in the kitchen. Prisoners who worked on the farms were especially fortunate. Often they had nutritious snacks and sometimes could smuggle food back into the camp.

Despite the relatively good conditions, prisoners did try to escape from Radolfzell. Oesterle remembers a case in 1941–1942 when three Czech prisoners escaped. One was shot and brought back dead; another was brought back alive; and it was said of the third that he was found dead. Oesterle and Ulrich Sedlacek successfully escaped on November 15, 1943, with a boat across Lake Constance to Switzerland. They had found a gap in the security and used it.

The subcamp had brought its own guards to Radolfzell. There were not many. They were mostly to be found in action while the shooting range was being built. The guards of the Noncommissioned Officers' School, which changed daily, also supervised the barracks work detachment. The camp area was not secured with any particular type of fencing.

Between 1967 and 1976, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg conducted preliminary investigations into whether homicides were committed in the camp. It concluded that two or three prisoners died but that it was not possible to identify the victims or the perpetrators. As a result, investigations were stopped in 1978.

A chance discovery in the Radolfzell City Archive in 1997 brought to light proof of a violent death in the Radolfzell camp. Prisoner Jakob Dörr was shot on November 11, 1941, on the shooting range, which was then under construction. He was shot “trying to escape.” Witnesses have said that a supervisor pulled a cap from a prisoner's head and threw it on the other side of the sentry line. When the prisoner obeyed the order to recover the cap, he was shot. Perhaps Dörr was this prisoner.

The remaining 19 prisoners were returned from Radolfzell to Dachau on January 16, 1945. Their train came under attack by a low-flying aircraft in Allgäu. The transport was rerouted, and the prisoners reached Leonberg by foot. Here there was a camp under the administration of the Natzweiler concentration camp. It is claimed that 3 to 4 prisoners were able to escape from this transport. Among the escapees was the father of a child that the wife of an SS-Oberscharführer, based in the Radolfzell barracks, gave birth to in the middle of March 1945.

**RIEDERLOH [AKA RIEDERLOH II]**

Riederloh II existed only for four months, from September 1944 until January 8, 1945. It must have been hell. At first 800 to 1,000 inmates lived there. At the time it was dissolved, only 200 to 300 were still alive. About half of the prisoners lost their lives there. Simon Szochet from Łódź, later a U.S. citizen, stated: “I certainly experienced horrible things before then. Still, what I witnessed in Riederloh is part of the most horrible.”

As Asher Shafran from Israel observed: “What I saw in Łódź would fill ten books. Nevertheless, the worst was still Riederloh.”

This Dachau subcamp was located in the rural district of Kaufbeuren near the community of Mauerstetten. It was referred to as Riederloh II to distinguish it from a barracks camp by the same name that had been established earlier to house foreign workers. All these people were needed to build and operate a gunpowder and explosives factory for Dynamit AG, where 130 to 150 million primers for cartridges were to be manufactured. Its 90 bunkers and buildings were camouflaged so expertly that in 1945, after occupying Kaufbeuren, the American troops remained unaware of this nearby factory’s existence for several days.

The barracks of Riederloh II were surrounded by an electrically charged barbed-wire fence and guard towers. The concentration camp inmates transported there in early September 1944 were almost without exception Polish Jews from the Łódź ghetto. They came from Auschwitz, 14- and 15-year-old boys, among them. Later, Hungarian Jews were also brought there. Physicians, lawyers, pharmacists, artists, and other men unsuitable for heavy physical work were among them and supposedly even several children under the age of 10.

A German woman then employed by Dynamit AG recalls that at their arrival the Hungarians provided a horrific sight. They were covered with filth and excrement and, totally exhausted, literally fell out of the railroad cars. The cook of the Riederloh camp for foreign workers gave each of them a boiled potato. When SS men upbraided him for doing so, he yelled at them: “If you touch me, I’ll douse you with boiling water.” This cook always tried to augment their food ration with a little extra soup. Some of these pitiable people were so weak that they had to prop each other up.

The list of camps established by the International Tracing Service (ITS) identifies Dynamit AG, the Berlin Construction Co., and Hebel Construction Co. as the employers of the camp inmates who had to build roads, dig ditches for pipes, cut down trees, and remove snow. They also had to work on the site of the powder factory: “We worked in the cold, had no clothes, and were starving,” one of these men later testified. Another describes how only those who somehow could get their hands on underwear had anything to wear under their striped suits. They wore wooden shoes. Some would wind rags around their feet. Often they dragged dead inmates when they returned to camp. Allegedly, almost daily, prisoners fell victim to hunger, wretched hygiene facilities, cold, disease—mainly typhus and bacterial dysentery—and mistreatment.

**SOURCES**

This entry is based upon detailed witness reports that are to be found in the published biography of Leonhard Oesterle and Sigbert E. Kluwe, *Glücks vogel: Leo s Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: Signal-Verl., 1990). Detailed information about life in the Radolfzell camp is to be found in the files of the ZdL at BA-L (110 AR 305/91); and in the Konstanz Sta. (IV 410 AR 2050/67; IV 410 AR-Z 145/76 [Dr.]; 11 Js 139/76).

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945
What follows are statements from some former inmates:

Allegedly in October 1944 a Yugoslav physician who suffered from diarrhea left his place during roll call to relieve himself; he was drowned in the latrine on the order of the camp leader.

In mid-November 1944 three prisoners were brought to the camp and hanged on a specially erected gallows near one of the guard towers. This hanging took place around noon as the inmates were eating.

In another case at the end of November 1944, nine or ten prisoners were beaten to death by the SS guards near the camp’s main gate because they had stuffed their jackets with paper from cement bags to protect themselves from the rain.

The camp leader and his deputy were also rumored to have beaten prisoners to death during roll call.7

A prisoner who was a member of the burial detail testified that “practically every day I had to take dead people to a big mass grave in the forest. I would say that about 400 perished.”

On January 8, 1945, Riederloh II was dissolved. Supposedly the camp had been inspected by a commission from Dachau shortly before. The survivors were taken to Dachau by train. Even there, they apparently attracted attention because of their pitiful condition and were quarantined. For a while they did not have to work and did not even have to get their own food.9

After World War II, legal authorities tried to throw light on the crimes committed in Riederloh II. “There were so many deaths in the camp as a result of hunger, cold, diseases, and beatings that I can no longer describe specific cases,” and “at that time I was already so worn out that my memory does not function properly,” stated the former inmate Blumenfeld from Lódź.10 In Germany no trial ever took place. The records of the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) claim that it was not even possible to establish who had been the commandant and who the deputy commandant at Riederloh.

After the end of the war in 1945, U.S. military authorities searched for an SS member by the name of Wilhelm Wagner who had worked on the site of Dynamit AG. They arrested him, assuming that he had been the Riederloh camp commandant. But as it turned out, he was not the right man. Now it is generally assumed that Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Wagner, born in 1904 in Augsburg, had been the Riederloh camp leader, although in the handwritten résumé he prepared for the file of the Dachau war crimes trial in which he was a defendant, he did not mention having been there.11 Instead, during the cross-examination, he testified having been the camp leader at the Kaufbeuren/Spinnerei camp, where, he claimed, he brought his inmates milk and cream cheese: “It was known that at many work stations the prisoners were very well fed.” On December 13, 1945, the U.S. military court sentenced him to death. He was executed at Landsberg am Lech prison in 1946.12

Wagner’s deputy and possibly camp leader in his own right for some time at Riederloh II was probably Edmund Zdrojewski. In 1947, the Americans extradited this SS-Hauptscharführer to Poland. In Kraków he was sentenced to death for the killings he committed in the Polish Plaszow concentration camp.13

Finally, in 1983, Albert Talens, the former senior camp prisoner of Riederloh II, was tried in the Dutch city of Maastricht. Until then he had lived in Austria, but during a visit in Holland he was arrested and charged with having beaten to death dozens of Hungarian and Polish Jews. Survivors who appeared as witnesses referred to him as a libidinal murderer, an angel of death, and a sadist. Israeli Dov Sol, who in 1944 was 16 years old, stated that Talens beat him into unconsciousness. He also had witnessed Talens caning five men to death in the washroom. Other witnesses reported similar incidents. The state prosecutor demanded a 20-year prison sentence; the defense lawyer asked for acquittal. The sentence: Acquittal. In summarizing the court’s decision, the president of the court stressed that without doubt the horrible crimes the witnesses had described did occur at Riederloh II. Nevertheless, too many doubts remained to prove without reasonable doubt that it was Talens who was guilty of these deeds.14


This article is based on the entry of the ZdL, now the BA-L. The author found additional documents in YVA. He also interviewed Asher Shafran and Dov Sol, both former inmates. Finally, he researched locally in the area of the former camp and there too spoke with witnesses.

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NOTES
1. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.
2. Simon Szochet, Testimony in the investigation of the Sta. Mü, 320 Js 120–64/76.
5. YVA; these descriptions come from the testimonies of several former inmates.
7. Notation in ZdL, IV 410 AR-Z 65/76 of March 25, 1976, in BA-L.
8. Testimony at the Sta. Mü.
10. Testimony at Sta. Mü.
13. In a letter of December 3, 1982, to journalist Susanne Rössler, the Viennese journalist Jules Huf names Wilhelm Wagner as the commandant in Riederloh and Edmund Zdrojewski as his deputy. Zdrojewski’s extradition is documented in the files of ZdL.

ROSENHEIM

The Bavarian district town of Rosenheim is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southeast of Munich. The first reference to a Dachau detachment in Rosenheim is on April 14, 1945. At that time, the camp held 217 male prisoners. It is unclear whether a subcamp was established in Rosenheim or whether the prisoners were brought daily from a camp in Stephanskirchen to Rosenheim for work. The city at this time was the target of air raids, as it was an important railway junction to the south of Munich. Heavy air raids on Rosenheim occurred on April 9 and 13 and from April 18 to April 23, 1945.

The last reference to a subcamp in Rosenheim is on April 25, 1945. On May 2, 1945, the prisoners were liberated by the U.S. Army.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg after the war did not reveal any further information.


The AG-D holds documents on the Rosenheim subcamp in the following collections: ITS-Sachdokumenten-Ordner Dachau 8 (206) and 32789 (Stärkemeldung der Aussenkommandos des KZ Dachau, 26. April 1945). In the Sta-M, Signatur SpkA K 81 (Josef Bauer), are witness statements dealing with establishment of the camp in April 1945. Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were conducted in 1973 under file reference IV 410 AR 179/73. The files contain a list of the liberated prisoners.

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SALZBURG [AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO] [AKA SALZBURG [AUFRÄUMKOMMANDO]; SALZBURG [AUFRÄUMUNGS- UND ENTSCHÄRFUNGSKOMMANDO]]

Salzburg is located 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, one of them the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment), also referred to as Aufräumungs- und Entschärfungskommando (Cleanup and Defusing Detachment).

The Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Male inmates were used to clean up after bombing raids on the city. There were, on average, 15 prisoners in the camp.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg were unable to identify any survivors. The investigations ceased for this reason in 1973.

The camp was liberated on May 4, 1945, when troops of the U.S. XV Corps, Allied 6th Army Group, under the command of General Jacob L. Devers, captured the city without a fight. Research by historian Albert Knoll has revealed that a few hours before the city fell a prisoner was shot trying to escape.


Some information on the Salzburg Aufräumungskommando is in AG-D. For the death of the prisoner referred to by Knoll above, see “Das Ende des KZ-Häftlings 66698,” SalzN, July 19, 1945.

Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) were filed under File IV 410 AR 180/ 73.

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SALZBURG [BOMBENSUCHKOMMANDO]

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city, including
the camp Bombensuchkommando (Bomb Search Detachment) subcamp.

The Salzburg Bombensuchkommando was established at the latest by November 27, 1944. This is confirmed by an entry in the Dachau Death Register, which records on this day the death of one German and two Polish prisoners, following a bombing raid.

As with other Salzburg subcamps, the Bombensuchkommando was liberated when U.S. troops took Salzburg without a fight on May 4, 1945.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg commenced investigation into the subcamp but ceased the investigations when it was unable to ascertain the names of any survivors.

**Sources**


The entry in the Dachau Register of Deaths is located in *AG-D, Best. 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forde- rungnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz).* Details of the hours worked by the prisoners are to be found in file reference IV 410 AR 184/73.

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**Salzburg (Firma Schürich)**

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps located in Salzburg, one of them being at Firma Schürich.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp is mentioned for the first time on December 11, 1942. It was the first subcamp to be established in Salzburg. The male inmates worked for the company Firma E. Schürich in Salzburg. Historian Albert Knoll suggests that the Firma Schürich, as with other construction firms, was involved in the renovation of the archbishop's palace. The camp was dissolved on December 28, 1942, two weeks after its establishment.

In the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began investigations into the camp. The files contain the names of the prisoners and witness statements. However, these alone were insufficient to indicate that any crimes had been committed in this subcamp.

**Sources**


Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are found under file reference IV 410 AR 184/73.

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**Salzburg (Polizeidirektion) [Aka Salzburg (Hellbrunner Allee)]**

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the city including the Polizeidirektion (Police Headquarters) subcamp.

The Salzburg Polizeidirektion camp opened according to the International Tracing Service (ITS), on December 1, 1944. The approximately 90 male prisoners worked in the Salzburg Police Headquarters. They were accommodated in barracks on the Hellbrunner Allee. All that is known is that accounts were rendered in February 1945 for 112 skilled workers for 2,240 hours of work. The camp is mentioned for the last time on April 14, 1945. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg at the beginning of the 1970s could not locate any survivors.

**Sources**


Details of the hours worked by the prisoners are to be found in AG-D, Best. 37154 (Zusammenstellung der Forde rungnachweise für Monat Februar 1945, Arbeitseinsatz). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under reference IV 410 AR 183/73.

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**Salzburg (Sprengkommando)**

Salzburg lies 113 kilometers (70 miles) east-southeast of Munich and 256 kilometers (159 miles) to the west of Vienna. There were several Dachau subcamps in the town, including the Sprengkommando (Demolition Detachment) subcamp.

The Sprengkommando subcamp was established on January 12, 1945. The prisoners in the detachment were used for a variety of demolition assignments, which probably was concerned with construction and cleanup work.

Salzburg surrendered to troops of the XV U.S. Corps, which was under the control of General Jacob L. Dever's 6th Army Group, without a fight. Following the surrender of the city, the prisoners were released on May 4, 1945.
During its investigations in the 1970s, the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg was unable to locate any survivors of the Sprengkommando subcamp.


Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) have the file number IV 410 AR 185/73.

**SAULGAU**

The Saulgau subcamp, 88 kilometers (55 miles) to the southeast of Stuttgart, opened on August 14, 1943, when the first inmate transport arrived at the camp. (The date of September 13, 1943, mentioned by the International Tracing Service [ITS] as the date on which the camp opened, is based on the arrival of a further transport of 100 prisoners. It is not to be understood as the actual date on which the camp was founded. August 14 has been confirmed in witness statements and city council documents as the date the subcamp was established, as historian Georg Metzler makes clear in his work.) There were 40 prisoners in the first transport, many of them construction workers, as well as eight SS men (including two dog handlers). The prisoners began with the construction of four prisoner barracks, a laundry barracks, kitchen barracks, four watchtowers, and a fence. In addition, they converted the former binding machine building (*Bin derhalle*) of the L. Bautz Company into a production site for the V-2 rocket.

Saulgau was laid out for a capacity of 600 prisoners, but this number was never reached. On average, there were 350 to a maximum of 440 prisoners in the camp. Of the prisoners, 55 percent were Russian; 24 percent, German; 5 percent, Italian; and 4 percent, Poles. Many of the prisoners were classified as “asocials” and criminals. There is no evidence of Jewish prisoners at Saulgau. The prisoners came either from Dachau or from the Friedrichshafen subcamp, which was closely connected to Saulgau with regard to production and organization. Officially, the “protective custody” camp leader was SS-Obersturmführer Georg Dietrich Grünberg, who was also in command of the subcamps at Friedrichshafen and Überelingen.

The actual camp leaders (Lagerführer) on site in Saulgau were Oberscharführer Hans Nikol Sengenberger and, from December 1, 1944, onward, Untersturmführer Ludwig Geiss. Sengenberger was brutal, strict, and radical in performing his duties; Geiss, on the other hand, was referred to by the prisoners as “Papa Geiss.” He abolished all camp punishments, forbade the mistreatment of prisoners, improved the prisoners’ rations by purchasing additional food, paid for medicine for the prisoners out of his own pocket, and, contrary to the regulations, did not report any prisoner infringements to his superiors in Dachau.

Largely due to Geiss’s actions, Saulgau was one of the most bearable of the Dachau subcamps. The prisoner death rate in 1944 was 6.5:1,000, whereas that in Überlingen was 38:1,000. During the entire period of its existence until April 4, 1945, there is evidence of 6 deaths in the camp, while approximately 35 additional deaths occurred in connection with a transport of 214 prisoners from Überlingen that arrived in the camp on April 5, 1945, despite the self-sacrificing efforts of prisoner physician Ivan Matijasic.

There was a maximum of 300 SS guards and at least four dogs. Some 40 percent of the guards were Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) from Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. A few of the guards presumably wore Wehrmacht uniforms, having been injured at the front and transferred to the SS for guard duty.

The reason for the relatively humane treatment of the prisoners may also derive in part from the circumstance that the camp, located on the property of the L. Bautz Company, was largely open to public view and that the production of fuselage halves for rockets required unhindered, efficient processing. The Zeppelin Dirigible Company bore the chief responsibility for the production of the rocket parts, while the L. Bautz Company, which had specialized in the manufacture of harvesting machines before the war, was a subcontractor. Prisoners repeatedly confirmed the positive actions of the Bautz Company management, for example, the provision of extra rations and even beer.

**Aggregat 4 (A4)** was the scientific name of the retaliatory weapon V-2. A group of about 100 prisoners constructed the so-called fuselage halves (aerodynamic cladding for the rocket’s fuselage) for the A4 in Saulgau. Measuring 6.17 meters (20.24 feet) in length, the fuselage halves were the rocket’s largest single component. Saulgau supplied about 50 percent of the V-2 half-shells. Another 30 to 35 prisoners made the tops and bottoms of the rocket fuel tanks.

There was also a transport detail, which gathered material from 13 storage depots in Saulgau and the surrounding area, and a railway detail responsible for loading and unloading trains at night. From the summer of 1944 onward, due to supply bottlenecks, the prisoners were increasingly leased for work outside the camp. In Saulgau, for example, they built warehouses, an emergency water reservoir, air-raid tunnels, and emergency housing. In isolated cases, prisoners helped clean up rubble after bombing raids and were used to defuse bombs.

On April 4, 1945, 254 prisoners were evacuated from Saulgau. They were to be taken to the rocket production site at Dora-Mittelwerk. Due to enemy air-raid attacks, however, they were rerouted to Dachau. The camp was liberated by French troops on April 22, 1945.
After the war, seven guards were sentenced to jail for periods of one and one-half to three years. Lagerführer Sengenberger was sentenced to jail for five years. Lagerführer Geiss was held by the French as a prisoner of war. Prisoners spoke out in his favor.

**SOURCES**
The Saulgau subcamp is listed in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), I:94. An excellent, detailed, and well-founded study on the Saulgau subcamp is to be found in Georg Metzler’s *“Geheime Kommandosache”: Raketenrüstung in Oberschlesien; Das Außenlager Saulgau und die V2 (1943–1945)* (Bergatreute, 1997). In addition to detailed listings about technical matters, the fates of the prisoners, and primary sources for research on the camp, the book contains numerous illustrations, including aerial photographs of the town and the camp (cover and p. 46), a plan of the subcamp and the production site (p. 45), photos of former Saulgau prisoners, a simplified construction plan of the Aggregat A4 (p. 193), and a picture of the subcamp victims’ graves at the Saulgau cemetery. The camp is also described in detail by Albert Knoll in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frische Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 477–481. The file designator for the investigations carried out by ZdL (now BA-L) is IV 410 AR-Z 25/71. Other archival sources on the Saulgau subcamp are located at AG-D, BA-B, BA-P, BA-MA, BHStA-(M), DMM, and LZF and in numerous other local and regional archives in Bavaria and Württemberg. Detailed references can be obtained in the above-cited study by Georg Metzler.

Evelyn Zegenhagen
trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**SCHLACHTERS**
For about a year, between April 5, 1944, and April 1945, there was a Dachau subcamp in Schlachters. Schlachters is part of the village of Sigmarszell in the Lindau/Bodensee district. The subcamp was small; there were seven or eight prisoners and four or five SS guards. The prisoners lived in a wooden house near the Hotel Sonne. The hotel proprietress occasionally left potatoes, vegetables, and bread for the men to supplement their diet.

Prepared in August 1974, a memo by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) concluded its investigations into the small subcamp near Lake Constance as follows: “The Dachau main camp established a subcamp in Schlachters near Lindau as an institute for applied scientific research.” The office had found no evidence of homicides. Experiments were carried out on the prisoners in connection with a medication designed to clot blood. The tablets were to be used to protect wounded soldiers from losing too much blood.

The most important people in Schlachters were SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Kurt Friedrich Plötner (a medical doctor) and one of his prisoners, the chemist Robert Feix. Following a period as an assistant in the malaria experimentation laboratory at the Dachau main camp, Plötner continued his research on a clotting agent in tablet form called Polygal.

Prisoners state that in Schlachters the concern was with an agent called “Pektin.” Regardless of what the correct name may be, however, there is no doubt that a medication was to be developed that could stem the flow of human blood.

Plötner’s prisoner assistant Feix was extremely well acquainted with pectins. Extracted from apples, apricots, and citrus fruits, these substances can be used as gelling agents. Members of the Feix family state that he invented this method. In his factory in Cologne he produced a substance derived from pectins that he called “Opekta.” Both before and after World War II, this product would have been found in just about every German household, used by housewives to make jam in the summer or jellies for autumn and winter. Feix was evidently not “pure Aryan” but rather of partly Jewish heritage. According to his children, the Nazis ultimately accused him of currency violations because he had a Swiss bank account. They confiscated his company and sent him to a concentration camp.

In Schlachters, the pectin was derived from beet shreds. Former prisoner Franz Jauk states that this process was carried out by putting the beets into previously treated water. Vats from the fruit and wine merchant Nikolodi were used for this purpose. The substance was then taken to the Edelweiss dairy plant in Schlachters and dried in an apparatus previously used in the production of powdered milk and confiscated by the SS. According to Michael Rauch, another Schlachters prisoner, the prisoners then had to ingest the pectin. Plötner subsequently drew blood from them and put drops of it onto a microscope slide. The so-called Institute for Applied Scientific Research was not able to conclude its experiments successfully. Rauch suggests that the prisoners played a role in this failure: “We did not want to prolong the war.”

Rauch, who was from Kaufbeuren, was imprisoned in the concentration camp due to his membership in the German Communist Party (KPD). He had continued to distribute Communist leaflets and newspapers even after Hitler had assumed power and the KPD had been banned. He paid for this illegal activity with more than 10 years in jail. Rauch was a trained baker. In Schlachters, the final stage of his ordeal, he cooked what was delivered from Dachau and what the prisoners received from farmers.

The Austrian Jauk was also a Communist sent to the Dachau concentration camp. As a clerk in the infirmary, he and another prisoner kept lists of the names of the many who died. He was then assigned to the section of the concentration camp where infamous experiments on human beings took place. His most horrible memories are of hypothermia experiments. People were put in cold water in order to determine what clothing would best protect air crew and sailors from hypothermia while in the sea. Until the end of his life, Jauk was unable to forget the images of the men who were forced to stand in ice-cold water with thermometers in their mouths and anuses. Above all, the deaths of two Soviet officers were etched in his memory. “They stood next to one another in the cooling
vessel and one said to the other: ‘They will kill us here. But we will die as the men we were.’ They held hands and died, enduring great pain. For their Fatherland.”

In Schlachters, Jauk and his fellow inmates had returned to a world without barbed wire. The wooden building in which the handful of prisoners (Germans, Austrians, Slovenians, and a Pole) were housed was not fenced in. On the way to the dairy, they were guarded by SS men, but they were not mistreated. In the evenings, they were even permitted to go into the village. Officially, the villagers were not permitted to speak to the men in the striped uniforms, but nevertheless contact was made. Jauk reported: “Exceptions aside, the villagers were very decent people.”

Rauch even received secret visits from his wife—and what is more, he visited her in nearby Kaufbeuren. When the Feix family lost their Innsbruck apartment in a bombing raid, they found refuge with a farmer in Schlachters. The concentration camp prisoners were not isolated in Schlachters as in other camps, as is evidenced in part by the fact that after World War II three of them married women they had met in the Swabian village.

Jauk may have played a role in the fate of his comrades in the final days of the Third Reich. He was charged with collecting the daily mail for the guards. As he was never accompanied by a guard, he occasionally opened a letter. He did this once again shortly before the end of the war and read a command that the prisoners were to be returned to the Dachau main camp to be liquidated. According to Jauk, the letter never reached the SS.\(^5\)

Jauk recalls that, in the end, a few prisoners were given civilian clothes by the villagers and waited in a forest until French troops occupied Schlachters. Before this happened, the SS doctor Plötner and the remaining SS men had handed their weapons over to the prisoners—some willingly and others not, according to Jauk.

The SS-Hauptsturmführer and later Sturmbannführer Dr. Plötner had been involved in medical experiments on prisoners in Dachau. He assisted the camp physician, Professor Schilling, in malaria experiments but also made an effort to carry out independent research. His healing method reportedly consisted of treating prisoners with an artificially induced fever of 40° to 42°C. This was extremely hard on the emaciated prisoners, some of whom suffered from tuberculosis. Within the framework of the experiments, Polish prisoner Władimir Olesjuk was infected with malaria on June 8, 1943. He quickly deteriorated into a state of agony and died on June 20. Schilling heard of this death and said to Plötner: “My dear colleague, this will naturally not stop us from continuing with our series of experiments.”\(^5\) Plötner is nevertheless said to have eventually advised Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler that he would no longer participate in human experiments.\(^5\) He did, however, continue his research on a blood coagulating agent. In 1945, after the war had ended, Plötner lived in northern Germany under the name of Schmidt until 1952. He then gained a position at the Freiburg/Breisgau University Clinic and was appointed associate professor in 1954.

**SOURCES**


The most useful sources were the author’s conversations with former prisoners Franz Jauk and Michael Rauch as well as with witnesses from the village of Schlachters. In addition, he used the Schlussvermerk of ZdL (held at BA-L).

**NOTES**

1. ZdL, BA-L, IV 410 AR 212/73.
2. Ibid.
4. Conversation with the author in the autumn of 1983 in Graz, Austria.
6. Conversation with the author.

**SCHLEISSHEIM**

**AUFRÄUMUNGSKOMMANDO**

The Schleissheim Aufräumungskommando (Cleanup Detachment) in Bavaria was a subcamp of the Dachau concentration camp. It is mentioned for the first time on April 14, 1945. Its prisoners—all male—were used to clean up damage after bomb raids.

**SOURCES**


Sporadic information about the subcamp can be found in AG-D.

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**SCHLEISSHEIM (BERUFSCHULE)**

The Schleissheim Berufsschule (Trade School) subcamp was located in the Bavarian town of Oberschleissheim, and a subcamp was erected there in October 1941. Like the school, the subcamp was located in an old farm building that served as a training center for invalided or disabled SS men who attended classes in accounting, typewriting, technical drawing, and other subjects to prepare them for service in the offices of the
Waffen-SS. The grounds were fenced in with a wooden fence and hedges. The original four watchtowers were taken down no later than spring 1943. The inmates were accommodated in the basement of one of the buildings, which was warm but very humid; they slept in two-story bunk beds.

Presumably there were between 60 and 150 inmates in the subcamp. In the beginning, the majority of them—according to the tasks they had to fulfill—were specialists from the construction business, mainly from Germany; they worked as masons, roofers, carpenters, and plumbers. Later on, unskilled workers were sent to the camp, many of them from Poland, Austria, the Czech Republic, and the Soviet Union. Those inmates did mainly clearance and cleaning jobs.

The camp was guarded by the 40 to 45 men of the Berufsschule (personnel and students), who also supervised the inmates during their work. Only the detachment leader was from the Dachau main camp. Although the prisoners were allowed to move freely through the grounds during the day, they were locked away at night. Foreign prisoners, especially the Poles, reported after the war that they had been subjected to heavy beatings, but no prisoners were killed in the camp. The detachment leader was, first, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Claussen, followed from March 1943 to the end of July 1944 by SS-Sturmbannführer Hubert Siebert, and thereafter by SS-Hauptsturmführer Joachim Stachel up to the end of the war.

In July 1944, the Berufsschule was transferred to Mittweida, and instead the SS Entlassungsstelle (Demobilization Post) was taken from Mittweida to Schleissheim. The camp remained in the Schleissheim building, which was now called „Entlassungsstelle der Waffen-SS Schleissheim bei München.” At the end of the war, the camp was not evacuated, and the inmates were liberated at the end of April 1945.

**Sources**

Christoph Bachmann describes the camp in detail in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 2, Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 482–484. Bachmann also names different detachment leaders for the subcamp, based on research by the Staatsanwaltschaft München (StanW 34810) and records in the AG-D archive (DaA 35673 and S5674).

This subcamp is listed in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arosien, 1979), 1:94.

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**Schloss Itter**

Schloss Itter (Itter Castle) was 1 of 16 Dachau subcamps located on Austrian territory. The castle, built in the nineteenth century, lay above the valley of Brixental, Tirol, to the northeast of Innsbruck.

At the end of 1942, the Gestapo compulsorily seized the castle from its owner, lawyer Franz Grüner, at that time the deputy Landeshauptmann in Tirol. Heinrich Himmler was considering using the site to hold prominent French prisoners held captive by the SS. In any event, the castle was first used on February 6, 1943, to hold French prisoners of war (POWs). Beginning in February 1943, 26 prisoners from Flossenbürg and Dachau were used to convert the building into a prison. The SS established an “SS-Sonderkommando Schloss-Itter,” a prison for high-ranking French and Italian military and politicians as well as for their families. In 1943 or 1944 the SS considered relocating the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Gavrilo Dožić (or Serbian Orthodox Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović) to Schloss Itter. These plans were never put into effect.

At the beginning of May 1943, the first of 18 “prominent” prisoners arrived at the camp. When the camp was liberated, there were 14, 15, or 16 internees there.2

The Schloss Itter camp was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Sebastian Wimmer, who had previously served in the concentration camps at Auschwitz, Lublin, and Dachau. He was in command of 14 SS men and one SD man as well as a female SS who had been transferred from Ravensbrück. It would seem that from time to time there were other SS members at Schloss Itter. At the end of 1944, the external military security at the castle and the number of guards for the prisoners were increased.

From August 1943, there were seven or eight female German, Austrian, or Czech prisoners from Ravensbrück in Schloss Itter, as well as two male prisoners from Dachau.1 Yugoslav Zvonimir Cuckovic was the only prisoner of those who converted the castle who remained in Schloss Itter. The prisoners who arrived in August looked after the important inmates and kept the castle facility operational. Czech Andreas Krobot was in charge of the kitchen. Cuckovic was caretaker. Both were given bonuses by the SS.

From May 1943, the prisoners in Schloss Itter included the chairman of the French trade union Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor, CGT), Léon Jouhaux; former French President Édouard Daladier; and former French Supreme Commander General Maurice-Gustave Gamelin. They were followed by others including former French President Paul Reynaud and Jean Borotra, onetime sports minister in the Vichy government. In September, former head of the French government Albert Lebrun and André François-Poncet, the French ambassador in Berlin, were held in the castle. Between September and the end of November, Francesco Saverio Nitti, the former premier of Italy, and one of his staff, banker Georgini, were held in the castle. In December 1943 and January 1944, others arrived at the camp, including General Maxime Weygand, the former French Supreme Commander, and Colonel La Rocque, head of the movement Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire). In March 1945, Alfred Cailleau, a brother-in-law of Charles de Gaulle, and his wife were sent to the castle. Some of the internees had previously been held in the Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen concentration camps.

Compared to the concentration camp prisoners, the French and Italian internees had a clearly privileged position. Conditions were satisfactory. A few had their wives living
with them. There was a tennis court in the camp. The SS had to salute the prisoners. There was a large collection of books as well as local and foreign newspapers for the inmates to read. These were collected for them at Dachau, together with games and sporting equipment. They could receive packages and censored letters. The SS gave them a radio so that they could listen to German stations. In the spring of 1943, Cuckovic illegally converted this device so that the internees could receive foreign radio transmissions. Some of the French women could go to the hairdresser. There were limited opportunities to go shopping. Some internees—Jouhaux, Lebrun, Daladier, and Granger—received medical care and were permitted to go for treatment to a hospital in Innsbruck. In discussions with the local doctors it was possible to get information on what was happening in the outside world, including the course of the war, in addition to the news from the radio and the newspapers. A few prisoners also received permission from time to time to attend Sunday church services in a nearby church.

While the majority of the concentration camp prisoners were forced to do hard labor during the last years of the war, this was not the case for “Prominents” sitting in Schloss Itter. Several of them used their period of forced inactivity to write. Reynaud and Daladier completed notes on their imprisonment. During the few weeks of his stay in Schloss Itter, Nitti wrote about historical, philosophical, and literary matters. Jouhaux wrote parts of a history of the French union movement. Weygand appears to have written several chapters of his memoirs while in the camp.

There were 9 or 10 factotums (Kalfaktors) who were treated much more brutally by Wimmer and other members of the guard than were the Prominents: prisoners such as Cuckovic were beaten, and in 1945, Krabot was threatened with being shot. The political conflicts between the prisoners still existed, and these were carried out beneath the surface. On the other hand, La Rocque’s inclination to collaborate with the Germans resulted in tensions with the other internees. Between the Prominents and the Kalfaktors there seems to have been friendly contact that the two-class system established by the SS was not able to overcome.

At the end of the war, SS deserters temporarily hid in Schloss Itter. In the middle of March 1945, Wimmer gave a letter to Cuckovic, a denazification certificate (Persilschein) giving the SS a clean bill of health, which he had written on behalf of the imprisoned French to be given to the approaching American troops. Most likely on April 30 or May 1, Eduard Weiter, the last Dachau commandant, accompanied by several SS officers, arrived at Schloss Itter. He shot himself a day later while in the castle. On May 2, the SS troops left the castle. Cuckovic was forced to take all of Wimmer’s belongings to a nearby farm. Krabot made contact with the nearby U.S. troops. He returned with American soldiers and Wehrmacht soldiers and members of the Austrian resistance who were to protect the castle against attacks by marauding SS men. Two days later Schloss Itter was shut down. Two members of the Wehrmacht lost their lives.

Cuckovic was able to make contact with the U.S. Army on May 3. When he returned to Schloss Itter on May 5 with U.S. soldiers and American journalists, the Americans immediately transported the French prisoners. Cuckovic was repatriated three days later. The freed French were returned home via Innsbruck and Lindau, with the first arriving in Paris on May 8, 1945.

Schloss Itter was a prison for prominent prisoners. This type of camp covered a broad spectrum from the “houses for prominent prisoners” in the Theresienstadt ghetto, the bunker prisons in Dachau or Buchenwald, to the relatively comfortable accommodation in places such as Schloss Itter or Buchenwald’s Falkenhof. The improvised prison conditions for prominent prisoners or “special prisoners” was connected to the idea of hostage taking (Geiselhaltung) as well as demonstrating to the outside world that the prisoners were treated humanely. This type of imprisonment had less to do with the internationally recognized forms of holding officers as prisoners and more to do with the racial ideological premises of the National Socialist concentration camp system.


Christian Schölzel

**NOTES**


2. The number 14 is according to Cuckovic, “Zwei Jahre,” pp. 8, 53, AG-D, DA 20134. See the note by François-Poncet. With the departure of Nitti, his employee, François-Poncet, and Lebrun, there would have only been 14 prominent prisoners in May 1945.


5. Cuckovic, “Zwei Jahre,” p. 40, AG-D, DA 20134; see Léon-Jouhaux, *Prison*, pp. 65, 127. The reason for the uncertainty in the numbers is probably because some Kalfaktors were taken to Dachau when ill: Viktor Kreitmair (Vienna, 1991), p. 109; according to Daladier, *Journal*, p. 289, two of the women were taken back to the concentration camp.

**SCHLOSS LIND [AKA ST. MAREIN BEI NEUMARKT (SCHLOSS LIND)]**

Schloss Lind (Lind Castle) is located in the village of St. Marein bei Neumarkt in the Steiermark (until 1945: Reichsgau Steiermark). Also located here was the Benedictine monastery’s manor St. Lambrecht, which in May 1938, two months after the *Ausschuss* (annexation) of Austria to the Third Reich, had come under the temporary administration of SS-Obersturmbannführer Hubert Erhart. The management of Schloss Lind was now conducted by the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) and later by the Deutsche Reichsverein für Volkspflege und Siedlerhilfe (German Reich Association for People’s Care and Settler Assistance).

The first mention of a Dachau subcamp in Schloss Lind is dated June 22, 1942, when 20 male prisoners were brought there. Other prisoners followed shortly thereafter. The capacity of the subcamp is thought to have been between 20 and 30 prisoners—the International Tracing Service (ITS) figure of 18 prisoners is probably too low. The prisoners in Schloss Lind were of the following nationalities—5 Germans, 9 Poles, and some Czechs. At the end of 1942, but no later than the beginning of 1943, 8 Spanish prisoners were taken to the camp. Historian Dietmar Seiler states that there were repeated exchanges with the Schloss Lind subcamp and the Dachau main camp.

The prisoners were guarded by the SS. During the early stages of the camp, Josef Schmitz and, from September 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Albert Zeitraeg are recorded as the camp detachment leaders. After that time, the commanders appear to have been replaced quite often.

Prisoners and guards were accommodated in two rooms on the first floor in Schloss Lind. The camp inmates were used for heavy farm labor in the fields and forests of the manor, building roads and bridges, and working as cooks, cleaners, and barbers. Witness statements relate that the prisoners had to work from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Sometimes they had to work 16 hours a day. There were civilian workers as well as the concentration camp prisoners. There were also a few French and around 50 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were used as laborers working on the manor.

Despite the heavy labor, the work conditions, accommodation, and food appear to have been better than that of other camps. Perhaps for this reason there are no recorded escape attempts from the early days of the camp. The only known death in the subcamp appears to have been from natural causes.

The administration of the camp was transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp on November 20, 1942, scarcely six months after the establishment of the subcamp. The camp was liberated and then dissolved in the first few days of May 1945 by U.S. troops. Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) ceased in 1974 as there were no homicides in the camp.

**SOURCES**


Original documents on the Schloss Lind subcamp are held in the collection at AG-D, Signatur 35673 (Überstellungsliste vom 22. Juni 1942). Investigations by ZdL (now BA-L) are in File IV AR-Z 101/74.

Evelyn Ziegenhagen trans. Stephen Pallavicini

**SEEHAUSEN [AKA UFFING]**

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp in the Bavarian town of Seehausen, close to Uffing, is mentioned for the first time on May 12, 1944. It was located at the Burg peninsula at Staffelsee near Murnau. At least one inmate claims to have been in the Seehausen camp already from May to June 1943. The date of 1944 seems more likely since at that time the Munich company Feinmechanische Werkstätten Ing. G. Tipecska, which produced gear wheel inspection machinery, was transferred to Seehausen and became involved in the development of a secret weapon.
an electric anti-aircraft gun. Most likely, Seehausen was chosen as the new location because the Tipecska company cooperated with scientist Otto Heinrich Much, a known technician and engineer who lived in nearby Uffing.

The camp was probably erected by inmates of Dachau and later housed 20 to 25 of them but sometimes also up to 65 men. They were of different nationalities, among others, Poles, Czechs, French, Austrians, Luxemburgians, Italians, Soviets, Yugoslavs, and Germans, most of them political prisoners. Their camp was enclosed by an electric fence that was 3 meters (10 feet) high and equipped with watchtowers with searchlights. It was guarded by eight SS men and in the last weeks of the war only by older Wehrmacht soldiers. The guards lived outside the subcamp but also on the peninsula in a separate barracks.

The workplaces of the inmates were also located on the grounds of the camp: the work barracks, the tool storage, the construction office, the administration, and the machine park of the Tipecska company. Also within the camp grounds were the offices of Dr. Jung, which also used prisoners’ labor.

The inmates did different kinds of labor. The Tipecska company received 7 to 10 prisoners; the Jung company probably about 18. Two inmates worked at the residence of Muck in the household and the garden. According to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), inmates also worked for the Local Court C and the Military Court Seehausen.

In general, prisoners describe their treatment as bearable; there are no reported cases of violence toward them or of deaths in the camp. The inmates lived in a barracks with three-story bunk beds and were fed sufficiently; records show that they even received milk, cottage cheese, and pasta. Early in 1945 they received, according to Barbara Hutzelmans, care packages from the Red Cross of the Netherlands.

There were a few cases of escapes from the camp; most likely the escapees were successful, since there are no records of them being caught again. On April 22, 1945, French troops came to the camp, guided by an inmate who had escaped. The French left the camp without disarming the guards or liberating the inmates, and after this encounter, the guards around the camp were even increased. The camp was finally liberated on April 25, 1945, by the U.S. Army.

Company owner Geza Tipecska was denazified after the war but was able to keep his company and to continue his business. Investigations against Dr. Karl Jung were conducted in 1946 but quickly dropped. Investigations by the ZdL in Ludwigsburg from 1969 led to no further action.

**Sources**


There are a few details on the Seehausen subcamp in AG-D. Investigations by the ZdL (now BA-L) are filed under IV 410 AR 1217/69. The files include witness statements in addition to several investigation reports. Records at AG-D include DaA 35677 (Überstellungslisten—transfer lists) and a report on the sanitary conditions in the camp, dated March 27, 1945 (DaA 32769).

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**Steinhöring**

[AKA Lebensborn-Heim, “Hochland”]

A Dachau subcamp was located in the “Lebensborn”-Heim (also known as Heim “Hochland”) in the Upper Bavarian town of Steinhöring near Ebersberg. Lebensborn e.V. was an incorporated association under the authority of the Personal Staff of the RFSS, Amt (Office) “L” (Lebensborn). Having been opened on August 15, 1936, the home in Steinhöring was the oldest Lebensborn home and, until the very end, was regarded a model Lebensborn home.

Steinhöring is first mentioned in the files of the concentration camp on September 20, 1944. Already in September 1943, a barracks had been erected next to the SS-Mütterheim (Mothers’ Home) in Steinhöring that was to house various offices of the Reich Headquarters in Munich dealing with irreplaceable records. In March 1944, six further barracks were built and meant to serve as evacuation quarters for the Munich offices in case of their destruction in an air raid. Indeed, after the Munich offices were bombed on July 11–13, 1944, they were evacuated to Steinhöring. Dachau inmates who had worked at the Munich Lebensborn as craftsmen and construction workers, and who had repaired damage after air raids, were now transferred to Steinhöring to erect new barracks here. But while there were only 2 Dachau inmates employed at the Munich Lebensborn, in Steinhöring there were up to 7. They held special qualifications such as mason, tailor, or electrician and came from different nations, mainly Poland and France. All of them were political prisoners. The men had different jobs to do on the grounds of the Lebensborn-Heim and in its vicinity. For instance, they built beds for the children and had to unload goods for the Heim at the local railway station. In the last months of the war, more and more children were brought to the Steinhöring Heim, and subsequently the number of inmates in the camp was also increased. A strength report from April 3, 1945, lists 27 male inmates, who were transferred back to Dachau the next day.

According to witness testimonies collected by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL), there were also female prisoners employed in Steinhöring, most likely up to 24. The women were Jehovah’s Witnesses, a prisoner category that was often sent to work in various Lebensborn homes. Several survivors stated during the ZdL investigations that senior female SS commander Elfi Kraus of Ludwigsafen on the Rhine had behaved decently toward the inmates.
The Lebensborn maternity home at Steinhöring, which was a Dachau subcamp in September 1944.
USHMM WS # 75103, COURTESY OF BPK

The Dachau concentration camp files last refer to Steinhöring on April 14, 1945. According to one witness, the prisoners were evacuated to Dachau on April 28, 1945. The home was occupied by U.S. troops at the end of April 1945. At that time, according to various witness statements, there were between 162 and 300 children in the home.

SOURCES A detailed description of the camp, written by Johannes Wrobel, can be found in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 2, Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 500–502. This subcamp is also mentioned in Barbara Distel and Wolfgang Benz, eds., Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945: Geschichte und Bedeutung (Munich: Der Landeszentrale, 1994), p. 33.


Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in DaA 35672 and 35675f (Überstellungslisten, transfer lists). Strength reports regarding the number of inmates in the subcamp can be found in DaA 404. The investigations by ZdL (held at BA-L) are located in the file designated IV 410 AR 36/69. The file contains a list of names of former Steinhöring prisoners as well as various witness statements. Reports on the interrogation of leading members of the Lebensborn, including details to the Steinhöring location and camps, can be found at StA-N, KV-Prozesse, Case 8 Nr. P5 and Case 8 Nr. F2 as well as NO-5237.

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STEPHANSKIRCHEN (BMW) According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the Dachau subcamp Stephanskirchen (BMW) is mentioned for the first time on December 4, 1944. This is most likely the day that the camp was formally established, as even before this date, prisoners, according to the Stärkemeldungen (strength reports) of the Dachau main camp, were held in the Stephanskirchen: on November 29, 1944, there were 190 prisoners in Stephanskirchen. The investigation files by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, which give December 11, 1944, as the date the camp was established, are probably incorrect.

There were on average 250 male prisoners who worked for the Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW). Historian Robert Sigel states that the prisoners in the Chiemgauer Vertriebs-Gesellschaft (Distribution Company), which was part of BMW, assembled aircraft engines. The establishment of this subcamp probably had something to do with the decentralization of wartime production that intensified in 1944.

There were on average 250 male prisoners in the camp. They were accommodated in barracks located on the production site. Soviet inmates constituted around one-third of the total; there were also prisoners from Poland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Yugoslavia, plus 1 prisoner each from Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Luxembourg. The guards were Luftwaffe soldiers and, toward the end of the war, members of the Volkssturm (German Home Guard).

The prisoners worked in the aircraft engine factory, where they not only produced aircraft engines and undertook quality control; they also worked on laying rail tracks and removing rubble in the cities of Stephanskirchen and Rosenheim. Conditions in the camp were hard, and according to statements by former prisoners, at least two Kapos mistreated the prisoners. The prisoners state that they were permanently undernourished.

In December 1944, the prisoners’ accommodation was destroyed in a bombing raid. They were temporarily transferred to Rosenheim.

According to ITS and the ZdL investigation files, the last mention of the camp is on March 31, 1945. Strength reports on the Dachau main camp, however, confirm the existence of the camp on April 3, 1945, and April 29, 1945. After that the prisoners were sent on a death march.

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In December 1939, Commandant Loritz took over—at first on a temporary basis—the leadership of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin. Thus, by the spring of 1941 at the latest, prisoners from Sachsenhausen had to resume the work at St. Gilgen. Since the outside detail in the Salzburg area was officially still listed as a Dachau subcamp, Loritz, in cooperation with the new Dachau commandant Alexander Piorkowski, had around 20 to 25 selected Sachsenhausen prisoners transferred to Dachau. These were primarily Jehovah’s Witnesses with craftsmen’s skills. As these inmates were now considered Dachau prisoners by the SS authorities, they could be transported to the St. Gilgen subcamp just a few days later. With the onset of winter, when the construction work was interrupted, the prisoners were then returned to Dachau and from there handed back over to Sachsenhausen. In 1942, a prisoner transport also reached St. Gilgen via Dachau in the same fashion.

From 1941, Loritz had the slave laborers accommodated directly on his estate. By that point, their work consisted mainly of enlarging the villa with the addition of a washroom and swimming pool, building an additional guardhouse, erecting a cellar set into a hillside some distance from the property, and laying out extensive garden grounds with terraces, ponds, and fountains. The Sachsenhausen commandant called in on the construction site, as in previous years, only during his free time. Three SS men, under the supervision of SS-Führer Franz-Xaver Trenkle, guarded the prisoners.

The surviving prisoners have very different accounts of the working conditions at St. Gilgen. In 1941, the shoemaker Anton Wagner was initially employed at the shoe workshop of the St. Gilgen mayor Josef Kogler, and in 1942 Gerhard Oltmann worked as a cook in the outside detail. The former prisoners explain that the situation there was better in comparison to other concentration camp conditions because the private construction work was actually “illegal.” But even if the conditions at St. Gilgen were on the whole more tolerable than at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, lasting injuries among the prisoners did occur: SS-Kommandoführer Trenkle reportedly severely abused several prisoners for not carrying out the strenuous work fast enough. Hans Arthur Bauer remembers Trenkle slave-driving one of his fellow prisoners for a long time until the man disappeared from the construction site.

Loritz was not the only high-ranking SS officer who owned an estate at Wolfgangsee. Several former concentration camp prisoners from St. Gilgen report that from May to July 1942 they had to finish work on a property in the immediate vicinity for Arthur Liebehenschel, director of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) personnel office (Office DI) of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). The SS leaders saw the reflection of their own blood-and-soil ideology in the idyllic countryside of the Salzburg area. And while cities of Germany increasingly became the targets of Allied bombing attacks in the course of World War II, the families of SS members were relatively safe from air-raid alerts in the idyllic countryside.

**ST. GILGEN [AKA SACHSENHAUSEN/WOLFGANGSEE]**

The idyllic town of St. Gilgen lies just a few kilometers east of Salzburg, on the northwest tip of Lake Wolfgangsee. Dachau Commandant Hans Loritz acquired a large plot of land there in April 1938. Shortly after the purchase, he had nine Jehovah’s Witnesses and one political prisoner chosen from among the Dachau prisoners brought to St. Gilgen. Officially, the SS-Führer disguised the journey as a transport to the new “St. Gilgen outside detail.” The prisoners actually began with preparation work for the building of a private villa for Loritz; they had to clear, shovel, move stones, haul, and pour concrete.

The SS guards locked up the slave laborers overnight in the St. Gilgen community jail. The local public was perfectly well aware of the deployment of slave laborers; the comings and goings of the prisoner transports were noticed in the community detention cells, for example, and pedestrians stopping at the construction site received instructions to move along quickly.

Loritz had his reasons for choosing primarily Jehovah’s Witnesses for the construction detail. Most of the “serious bible students,” as they were called until 1931, viewed their concentration camp imprisonment as a test from God. To be sure, they rejected with remarkable steadfastness any activity that went against their religious principles. But Jehovah’s Witnesses fulfilled those tasks that they could reconcile with their consciences with great care. Cynical SS leaders at other camps also repeatedly took advantage of this attitude.


H. Conrad Willeke wrote about his time as a prisoner in Stephanskirchen in “Die Hölle von Dachau” (Munich, 1945). The essay is held in AG-D, Signatur A 391, Nr. 36139/4. Other relevant documents at AG-D are to be found in Signatur A 82 (Aussenkommandos—Stärkemeldungen). A Tätigkeitsbericht for the BMW-Werk for Allach 1945 is held in Ordner A391 Stephanskirchen, Nr. 24577, P-9429. Leo van der Tas, a former prisoner in Stephanskirchen, described the camp in *Overleven in Dachau. Ervaringen in duive Gevangenschap* (Kampen, 1985). Investigations by ZdL on the Stephanskirchen (BMW) subcamp are in File IV 410AR 1219/69 at BA-L.

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In September 1942, Loritz was due to receive the Kriegsverdienstkreuz First Class for the mass murder of at least 12,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) that took place under his supervision at Sachsenhausen. But the planned honor was canceled after the widespread corruption and illegal private constructions became known, leading to disciplinary proceedings against the commandant in the summer of 1942. He was subsequently transferred as a penal demotion to Norway as a Higher-SS and Police Leader (Höherer SS und Polizeiführer, HSSPF) “for the duration of the war.”

Thus, the use of concentration camp prisoners at St. Gilgen ended. Most of the prisoners were brought back to Sachsenhausen, and a smaller group, which had worked until the summer of 1942 on Loritz’s garden grounds, went to Dachau. The spacious estate, where in the meantime the SS officer’s wife and two sons lived, remained the property of the family.

The racist National Socialist ideology and the personalized power structures in the Third Reich provided Loritz with something like a justification for his corruption: the SS leader viewed himself a member of an elite and demanded corresponding special rights without any consideration whatsoever for the lives of the prisoners. Apparently, the commandant carried out his construction projects in the belief of “working towards the Führer.” Indeed, his behavior does not initially seem to have met with criticism from his superiors. Only when the working capacities (not the lives!) of the prisoners became increasingly important to the armament industry of the Third Reich did Loritz, with his unauthorized employment of prisoners for other slave labor, clash with the guidelines of SS economic politics.

After the war, Loritz, who was using a false name, attempted in vain to evade legal prosecution by the Allied administration. In 1946, he committed suicide at the internment camp Neumünster-Gadeland. Loritz’s widow returned to Germany with her children.

### SOURCES
A detailed account of the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen has appeared in Dirk Riedel, “Der ‘Wildpark’ im KZ Dachau und das Aussenlager St. Gilgen,” DaHe 16 (2000). It also contains more detailed references to further literature; but worth mentioning here is the volume from Detlev Garbe, Zwischen Widerstand und Martyrium: Die Zeugen Jehovas im “Dritten Reich” (Munich, 1993).

Essential documents on the history of the outside commando at St. Gilgen are the prisoner reports from Heinrich Lutterbach, “Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee/Aussenkommando Dachau” (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D; and from Paul Wauer, “Lebensbericht,” n.d., GAZJ. See also Leopold Ziller, “Wie ich die NS-Zeit ertrug und überlebte, durchgesehen und ergänzt von Karl Breuer sen” (unpub. MSS, St. Gilgen, 1997), held in AGe-StG. A whole series of witness statements were also recorded at that time by ZdL (today BA-L), IV 410 AR 209/73. Loritz’s judgment is available at NWHSStA-(D) ZA-K, and further reports about this camp may be found in BA-L.

### NOTES
1. See Kaufvertrag, April 24, 1938, Grundbuch 56103 Gschwand, Einlagezahl 155, Bezirksgericht St. Gilgen.
2. Heinrich Lutterbach, “Kurzbericht über das Kommando Wolfgangsee” (unpub. MSS, Munich, 1963), Nr. 53/548, AG-D.
4. See RFSS-SS-Personalamt, December 4, 1939, SSO-Loritz, BA-DH.
8. See ibid., Also see Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, n.d., p. 24, GAZJ.
11. See Lebensbericht Wauer, p. 27.

### ST. JOHANN IN TIROL
St. Johann lies in the Tyrolean district of Kitzbühel at the foot of the Kaiserergebirge (until 1945: Reichsgau Tirol).

The beginning of the St. Johann subcamp is uncertain. According to prisoners’ statements, the camp was already in existence in April or May 1940. However, the International Tracing Service (ITS), based upon a prisoner statement, puts the beginning of the camp as the end of August 1940. There were 20 prisoners in St. Johann who were to convert a farm into an SS Erholungsheim (convalescence home). The prisoners were at first accommodated in the unfinished Erholungsheim and later in a barn. They were guarded by mostly older SS men under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Wilhelm, who was later to be camp leader in Haunstetten.

Compared with conditions in the other concentration camps, the living and working conditions in the St. Johann camp appear to have been bearable. The prisoners described as relaxed their relationship with the guards and said the SS even allowed them to listen secretly to radio broadcasts.

Once the construction work was complete, the prisoners from St. Johann and other prisoners are thought to have built an asphalt road to St. Johann. According to Albert Knoll in Der Ort des Terrors, there were about 300 prisoners involved.
Egon Zill, then commandant of the Dachau concentration camp, inspected the construction project. He determined that the project was not important for the war effort, and at the end of June 1941, the prisoners were returned to Dachau.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZDL) in Ludwigsburg ceased in 1973 as no living witnesses could be located.

**Sources**

Various documents on the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol have survived and are held in the AG-D in Signatur 20508 (Letter of the former prisoners Anton Pütz, February 2, 1964) and in the NARA in Washington, DC (CIA Box 001, Interrogation of former Dachau prisoner Wilhelm Kick, August 19, 1944, particularly with regard to Lagerführer Fritz Wilhelm). Investigations by ZDL (now BA-L) are recorded in File IV 410 AR 210/73. Otto Oertel described the St. Johann subcamp in Tirol in *Als Gefangener der SS*, ed. Stephan Apelius (Oldenburg, 1990).

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**ST. WOLFGANG**
The Dachau subcamp St. Wolfgang was located in the Reich District Oberdonau at Salzkammergut. According to statements by Dachau survivors, it was established and closed in the summer of 1938. Ten male prisoners did preparatory work for 25 days for the construction of a house for the commandant of the Dachau concentration camp.

**Sources**

Scattered information on the St. Wolfgang subcamp is to be found in the files of AG-D.

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**SUDELFELD (LUFTWAFFE)**
Sudelfeld is located near Bayrischzell, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Munich, in the Miesbach administrative district in Upper Bavaria. From January 1944 on, a Dachau subcamp existed there, one that was not related in any way to the other Dachau subcamp in Sudelfeld.

Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein report that in 1943, at the latest, a high-frequency research institute opened in Dachau, where especially selected inmates—all of them with relevant professional experience—were used for research purposes. The use of high-frequency waves (10–1,000 kilohertz) was common in radio technology, and plenipotentiary for high-frequency research (Bevollmächtigte für Hochfrequenzforschung) Dr. Ing. H. Plendl repeatedly used concentration camp inmates for his research: The 20 to 25 prisoners selected in Dachau were engineers, physicists, and technicians who had experience in the field of radio technology. This top-secret work detachment, which was also called the “Dr.-Kümmel-Kommando” or “Weber-Kommando” and, later on, “Wetterkommando” (Weather Commando), conducted confidential research in the field of radio technology and, among other things, studied the radio equipment of captured Allied planes. According to Alfred Konieczny, the installation was to serve the “successful conduct of the war in the ether (the interception of messages, radio direction finding, jamming enemy signals, and offensive radio propaganda).” Most likely there was a connection between this work detachment and the subcamp in Sudelfeld, which probably was a branch of the Dachau group. Organizationally, the Sudelfeld testing installation was also related to the Construction Office for Luftwaffe Special Tasks (Bauamt für Sonderaufgaben der Luftwaffe) and its “Planning Office Sudelfeld.”

In January 1944, about 25 Dachau prisoners were taken to Sudelfeld to begin the construction of a testing station of the plenipotentiary for high-frequency research. One can only assume that the installation at Sudelfeld was to serve purposes of radar research after its completion. No detailed information is available as to what specific purposes the Sudelfeld experimental station would have to serve. Plans to destroy the installation by bombs were not realized, and some buildings survived, among them foundations, a bunker, the remains of most likely a cable train, and an antenna farm. It is unclear how long the prisoners were kept at the Sudelfeld subcamp. The inmates of the Dachau high-frequency research station were later evacuated to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and from there to Mauthausen and then to Sachsenhausen.

**Sources**
This essay is based upon information provided by Johannes Wrobel and Erhard Klein in their article in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 507–509. Research results presented there are mainly based upon interviews conducted by historian Alfred Konieczny, which are summarized in Alfred Konieczny, *Das Kommando Wetterstelle im KL Gross-Rosen*, ed. Państwowe Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Wałbrzych, 1994). For a further reference to the high-frequency activities conducted in Dachau and Sudelfeld, see Oswald Pohl, “Häftlingseinsatz für Zwecke der Luftfahrtindustrie, 21.2.1944,” in *Der Prozes gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Nürnberger Internationalen Militär-Gerichtshof* (Nürnberg, 1948) 27: 358–359.

Information in AG-D can be found in the following collections: DaA 31186 (letter of the “Bevollmächtigte für Hoch-

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NOTE


**SUDELFELD (SS-BERGHAUS AND HOTEL “ALPENROSE”)**

The Dachau subcamp Sudelfeld was located near the Bavarian town of Bayrischzell. It is first mentioned in an official report of June 22, 1940, and last mentioned in the Dachau concentration camp files on April 25, 1945. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS) and investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg, the prisoners were used for a variety of tasks.

In 1938, the SS had acquired the Berghouse, a former restaurant, and from 1940 used it as a rest and convalescent home, while the nearby Hotel Alpenrose was turned into a hospital. By early 1938, about 40 Jehovah’s Witnesses had already been brought from Dachau to build a swimming pool and garages. Jehovah’s Witnesses were a preferred group of inmates for working in subcamps since, due to their religion, they did not attempt to escape. Hubert Mattischek, an Austrian Jehovah’s Witness and Dachau inmate, stated:

A group of halfway able Jehovah’s Witnesses were chosen to construct a sport, recreation, and training camp in the Bavarian mountains at Sudelfeld near Bayrischzell. Jehovah’s Witnesses were chosen because it was thought that there was little danger of our Brothers taking advantage of the various temptations for escape offered by the surroundings. . . . Thus we also had only one guard with us. It was practical for the SS to do this. It saved the use of personnel. The Brothers who had been chosen for this task were given better food because of the hard work and because the SS wanted the sports facilities constructed quickly. The Brothers told us that they had a good relationship with the guard. 

Gradually, the number of inmates in the camp was increased to over 100, peaking at almost 150. The inmates were kept in a barn and guarded by SS. Inmates had to work on erecting the alpine hut at nearby Larcheralm, including a number of stables where livestock was held. Prisoner labor was used to build the road leading to the hut, to take care of the animals, and to dig a well that went 23 meters (75 feet) down into the rock. This group probably comprised at least 40 to 50 inmates and most likely was also in charge of clearing the roads in winter and preparing the pathways for ski runs during the summer. About 10 inmates belonged to a work detachment that was in charge of buying food and supplies for the Berghaus and the Hotel Alpenrose. Apparently most of the inmates had been chosen by their professions for work at the Sudelfeld subcamp; they were masons, carpenters, farmers, car mechanics, electricians, plumbers, painters, and tailors.

By the end of September 1939, 144 Jehovah’s Witnesses were returned from Sudelfeld to Dachau, and the camp remained temporarily empty. In February 1940, 25 Jehovah’s Witnesses were brought to Sudelfeld, and that summer 70 more inmates arrived, but this time not only Jehovah’s Witnesses. The inmates were kept now in a part of the garage building, until accommodation for them was completed. Probably from about 1941 on, the prisoners were held in a wooden barracks of about 90 square meters (108 square yards) with three-story bunk beds. They were guarded by four to eight SS men. Their command leader, Senksis, became known for his special brutality toward the inmates. At least 1 inmate died in the subcamp; opinions of survivors differ whether there were more victims. Investigations by ZdL in the 1970s found no proof for any acts of violence.

According to Johannes Wrobel, the inmates found the support of some Germans with whom they worked. This applies especially to the Jehovah’s Witnesses, who were given a Bible by one of the secretaries and were allowed to keep the book and read it in secret.

In January 1945, the majority of the inmates was returned to Dachau. By the end of April, 22 prisoners were still registered in the camp. On May 6, when U.S. troops liberated the camp, they found about 10 prisoners still at Sudelfeld.

**SOURCES** This entry is mainly based upon the essay on the Sudelfeld subcamp by Johannes Wrobel in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors,* vol. 2, *Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emstaläger* (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 505–507. The camp is mentioned in the ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945),* 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), I:97, but there is no differentiation between the two different Sudelfeld camps.

The investigation files of ZdL (held at BA-L), file designator IV 410 AR 222/73, contain a list of names of 21 former inmates, as well as a number of statements by witnesses. Scattered information on the subcamp is to be found in AG-D, for instance, in Überstellungslisten (transport lists, DaA 35672, 35674) and Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 32789). The AG-D also holds a seven-page MSS with statements by the former inmate Hubert Mattischek (prisoner number 33502), which was drawn up as part of a project revolving around witnesses to the events and in which mention is made of Sudelfeld (AG-D, No. 30.285). The subcamp is also mentioned in Sylvia Schäper-Wimmer, ed., *Das Unbegreifliche berichten: Zeitzeugenberichte ebemaliger Haftlinge des Konzentrationslagers Dachau* (Munich, 1997). Records regarding the construction of the camp can be found at Sta. Mi, collection
BPL. Miesbach, 1937/444. Statements of survivors can also be found at the GAZJ, for instance, by survivors Lehmbuecher and Bräuchle.

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NOTE

THANSAU

Thansau is located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Rosenheim in Bavaria and was part of the village of Rohrdorf. The manor in Thansau had been confiscated in 1938 by the Gauleiter of Baden-Württemberg from its Jewish owners, who had fled Germany. In May 1943, it was handed over to the Organisation Todt (OT). OT ran a farm there and employed 15 foreign laborers beside its own workers. In December 1944, the manor and the farm buildings fell victim to an air raid that killed 3 of the foreign workers and destroyed almost all the buildings. To clean up the damage and to bury the lifestock killed during the air raid, about 40 to 50 inmates from Dachau were sent to Thansau early in January 1945. The prisoners stayed at the manor for about 10 days, and survivors report poor food and accommodation, as well as the mistreatment of 1 prisoner for (alleged) theft. The detachment was under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler. About two weeks after their arrival, on January 17, the inmates were transferred back to Dachau.

SOURCES Veronka Diem describes the Thansau subcamp in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 2, Frühe Lager, Dachau, Emslandlager (Munich: Beck-Verlag, 2005), pp. 510–511. The Thansau camp is mentioned in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1:97. Some information on the manor can also be found at the AGe-Rd. The letter of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler to the camp commander in Dachau regarding the requisition of Dachau inmates for cleanup work in Thansau can be found at the AGe-Rd. The letter of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schnitzler to the camp commander in Dachau regarding the requisition of Dachau inmates for cleanup work in Thansau was transferred back to Dachau.

TRAUNSTEIN

The Traunstein subcamp, 88 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Munich, in Chiemgau/Upper Bavaria, existed from October 8, 1942. That year, the SS established a hospital and convalescent home in the former Traunstein spa hotel. Altogether 20 prisoners, the majority of them German and Austrian, were put to work. Their main tasks were the renovation of the SS convalescent home, the erection of a Finnish sauna, and the renovation of the electrical installations in the kitchen.

All prisoners employed in Traunstein had been selected by the professions they had held before the war; all of them were craftsmen. It is not exactly clear where the inmates were accommodated. Apparently they were not housed in Traunstein but arrived every day on a truck. Not much information is available regarding their working conditions. An investigation by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) came to the conclusion that no mistreatment or killing of inmates took place in the camp.

Witness and survivor statements differ as to when the subcamp was dissolved. While the International Tracing Service (ITS) states that the camp was dissolved early in December 1942, at least one survivor claims that the Traunstein subcamp existed until February 8, 1943, when the inmates were transferred to the Tyrolean castle Schloss Itter. Apparently, some prisoners were also taken to the Dachau subcamp München-Freimann (Bartolith-Werke).


The records of investigations opened in 1973 by the ZdL, File IV 410 AR 223/ 73 (now held at BA-L) contain lists of prisoners’ names and a few witness statements.

Evelyn Zegenhagen trans. Stephen Pallavicini

TROSTBERG

The camp at Trostberg, located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east of Munich, near Traunstein in Upper Bavaria, is first mentioned in the files of the Dachau concentration camp on October 20, 1944, and later referred to on April 25, 1945. According to witness statements, part of the camp was evacuated...
before the end of the war, and the remaining prisoners were freed by U.S. troops on May 4, 1945.

Investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg revealed that the camp was situated to the east of the nitrogen factory located on the street formerly called Fabrikstrasse in the vicinity of the Götzing manor. As many as 700 male prisoners worked there for Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) and the Stickstoff-und Kaliferke (Nitrogen and Potash Works, SKW). Most of them were between the ages of 20 and 30. The Dachau camp list, however, also includes the name of a 16-year-old Italian boy.

On this camp's history, historian Friedbert Mühldorfer states: “A proportion of the prisoners worked in an SKW building maintaining and repairing BMW aircraft engines. The majority, however, also worked on engines but in underground tunnels, which had been excavated into the side of a mountain not far from the SKW plant. The prisoners' living quarters were . . . in a barracks camp to the east of the SKW, about a fifteen-minute walk . . . from the underground facility. The barracks were fenced in with barbed wire and guarded by members of the SS.”

There are no reports that prisoners were murdered or any evidence pertaining to the return to the Dachau main camp of prisoners who were no longer capable of working. Several deaths did take place in Trostberg, however, presumably as a result of heavy labor, malnutrition, disease, and possible mistreatment. These dead were buried outside the Trostberg cemetery during the war and reinterred in the cemetery after the war.

**SOURCES**


Trostberg is mentioned in ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945)*, 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979, 1:97. Friedbert Mühldorfer devotes several paragraphs to the camp in his book *Traunstein: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933 bis 1945* (Ingolstadt: Panther-Verlag, 1992). His description is based on witness statements that are also to be found in the files of ZdL. On p. 89 of his book, there is a picture of the entrance to the underground tunnels in which the prisoners worked; on p. 91 is a picture of the only remaining barracks against the background of the SKW.

Some records are available in AG-D—some correspondence in DaA 32727 and transport lists (Überstellungslisten) in DaA 35676, 35677, 35678, and 35921. The archive also holds the unpublished memoirs of Miroslav Kriznar, a Dachau inmate who was at the Trostberg camp. The memoirs of another survivor, Mario Tardivo, can be found at www.testimonianzedailager.rai.it/testimonii/test_27.asp (in Italian).

The ZdL opened investigations into the camp in 1969. The records of those investigations are held in the File IV 410 AR 139/69 at BA-L. They contain a number of witness statements on the working and living conditions in the camp. The investigation was discontinued due to the lack of evidence of homicides.

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**ÜBERLINGEN**

The Überlingen subcamp was erected at the beginning of September 1944 on the road between Überlingen and Aufkirch, a community belonging to the municipal corporation of Überlingen. (In some files the subcamp is also described as the Aufkirch Aussenkommando.) In the files of the Dachau main camp, it was first mentioned on September 2, 1944.

The prisoners came in two large transports from Dachau to Überlingen, one in September 1944, the second on October 3, 1944.

“Politics” (red triangles) were the largest group of prisoners; there were also “asocials” (black triangles), “criminals” (green triangles), and isolated Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) as well as homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses in Überlingen. There were no Jewish prisoners there. The majority of the prisoners were Italians, with smaller groups from Slovenia, Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, and other countries.

The camp was established in the wake of air attacks against four armament companies: the Zeppelin airship construction plant, a gear factory, the Dornier airplane factory, and the Maybach engine factory in Friedrichshafen. After large parts of the factory in Friedrichshafen were destroyed by bombing on April 28, 1944, the armament planners in Berlin decided to erect underground facilities in which the production of missile parts, vehicle engines, airplanes, and tank engines could be accomplished. Under the direction of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production and Organisation Todt (OT), suitable sites were sought. The area between Überlingen and the western suburb Goldbach (the source of the designation Goldbach Tunnel) provided favorable conditions for building underground tunnels due to an outcropping of a special type of soft rock conglomerate (*Mo-lasefelsen*) at a location advantageous for road and rail transportation. Furthermore, the excavated earth could be deposited in Lake Constance. The building project, bearing the code name MAGNESIT, was contracted out to private construction companies under the supervision of the Siemens Baunion (Construction Union) of Munich.

For the Siemens Construction Union and on behalf of the German Reich, the prisoners had to create underground factory facilities by drilling blast holes with pneumatic drills, carrying out dynamiting operations, removing the loose soft rock composite from the pits, enlarging the blasted spaces with pneumatic hammers, and creating aeration/deaeration and drainage systems. The underground plant had not yet been completed when work ceased on April 19–20, 1945. Actual armament production had not yet taken place there.

Some 170 prisoners died at the Überlingen subcamp, in the Goldbach Tunnel or during transports. The most common cause of death was “general weakness.” Many prisoners

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**NOTE**


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died from infectious diseases of the lungs or the digestive organs, while the work with dynamite, pneumatic drills, hammers, other heavy tools, and machines without the observance of safety precautions led to fatal accidents. Prisoners were also accidentally buried alive by falling rock. There was at least one case in which a Polish prisoner was murdered by other inmates in the tunnel and one in which the SS murdered a prisoner who undertook an escape attempt. Two prisoners are buried at the Überlingen cemetery. 71 bodies of inmates were transported to Constance and burned at the crematorium there, and 97 were buried in a mass grave in Degenhardt Forest but exhumed in April 1946 and reburied in the Birnau concentration camp cemetery established especially for that purpose. Prisoners no longer capable of working were transferred to the Saulgau subcamp. Prisoners also died on the transports to Saulgau and back to Dachau.

Georg Grünberg, born on October 10, 1906, in Freiburg on the Elbe, was camp commandant at Überlingen. In 1931 he became a member of the Nazi Party (Party Member Number 690,386), the SA, and immediately afterward, the SS (SS Member Number 23,860). Beginning in 1942, Grünberg served in various concentration camps. He received special training in Oranienburg, Braunschweig, and Dachau, and he served in Auschwitz and as commandant of external details or subcamps of Dachau concentration camp in Haunstetten, Friedrichshafen, and Überlingen. In Überlingen, an average of 25 SS men assisted him in the guarding of the camp and the Goldbach Tunnel.

The Slovenian prisoner Boris Kobe produced a remarkable artistic testimony to life at the Überlingen subcamp and during the construction of the Goldbach Tunnel. An architect and artist, Kobe drew detailed depictions of camp life on 54 playing cards of a tarot deck.

On March 22, 1945, two prisoners achieved a spectacular escape from Goldbach Tunnel. Austrian prisoner Adam Puntschart (number 24313) and Ukrainian prisoner Wassili Sklarenko (number 33639) succeeded in leaving the tunnel unnoticed, concealed beneath excavation residue in a tipper wagon. After a four-day flight on foot, they reached Schaffhausen in Switzerland on March 26, 1945.

The camp was closed during the night of April 19, 1945, five days before the French army arrived in Überlingen. All prisoners were transported by train in the direction of Dachau and made it as far as Allach near Munich, where they were liberated by the U.S. Army. The camp at Überlingen was burned down on April 23, 1945, that is, before the French army reached the town. In the 1950s and 1960s the public prosecutor of Constance initiated several inquiries into the running of the subcamp, none of which led to charges being filed or trials.

**SOURCES** The organization DGS-KZ-A has published the author’s brochure *Der Stollen*, 4th ed. (Eggingen: Edition Isele, 2001), containing all relevant information.

*Der Stollen* includes information from interviews with escaped prisoners, Wassili Sklarenko. For more on the escape and on Überlingen, see the testimony of Adam Puntchart, *Die Heimat ist weit…Erlebnisse im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg, im KZ, auf der Flucht*, ed. Oswald Burger (Weingarten: Drumlin Verlag, 1983).

Oswald Burger

**ULM (MAGIRUS-DEUTZ AG)**

The cooperation between the administration of the district of Ulm and the management of the Magirus AG was already very close in the early 1930s. Even before the National Socialists seized power, various suborganizations of the Nazi Party in Ulm and its vicinity received support from the Magirus AG. The firm’s good contacts to high-ranking members of the SS in Berlin and Munich brought Magirus large-scale party commissions in 1934 and 1935, such as the construction of the Hilsfzug Bayern and the Reichsautozug Deutschland. The merger with the Klöckner-Humboldt Deutz-Motoren AG of Cologne in 1935 had a positive impact on the company in Ulm; business began to boom as a result of the economic expansion, and the Deutz vehicle engines enabled Magirus to construct new chassis. In February 1943, production commenced on the Raupenschlepper Ost track-laying tractor in Ulm, leading to the company’s reclassification as vital to the war effort. Approximately 2,000 “foreign workers,” chiefly from Russia and Holland, had already been working for Magirus-Deutz in Ulm since 1942. They were housed in various quarters outside the company grounds.

According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), beginning on January 4, 1945, 30 to 40 prisoners were sent from the Dachau main camp to perform labor at the Magirus-Deutz AG. It can no longer be determined with certainty whether the establishment of this detachment from Dachau came about as a result of the major destruction of Works II (Blaubeurerestrasse 179) and III (Magirusstrasse) during the air raid on Ulm of December 17, 1944. At least 9 prisoners— but most likely half of the prisoners in the detail—were from Italy, Ukrainians, Poles, and Czechs as well as 1 German prisoner also performed forced labor at the Magirus factory. The prisoners wore striped uniforms and could therefore be easily distinguished from the other forced laborers.

In January 1945, Miccio L. of Sorrento, Italy, was transferred from Dachau to Magirus-Deutz in Ulm because of his qualifications. He had been a skilled laborer at the Fiat Company in Naples before his arrest. Along with other prisoners, he was transported to Ulm by mail bus. The prisoners were given living quarters in a wooden barracks on a river dam. The quarters on the company grounds were fenced in. Unlike their fellow inmates at the Dachau main camp, the prisoners in Ulm slept on real beds with straw-bag mattresses and blankets. The wooden barracks also had a small stove that was in operation at night.

The factory in which the prisoners worked was located approximately 100 to 200 meters (328 to 656 feet) from their
living quarters. Parts for the one-man Biber submarine were manufactured in a large production hall. German civilian workers trained the prisoners and assigned them their duties. Other contact with civilians at the company was strictly prohibited.\footnote{7}

The guard detail consisted of older members of the Wehrmacht and the navy; only the detachment leader was a member of the SS with the rank of Oberscharführer. The guards were housed in a barracks close to the prisoners’ quarters. According to reports by several prisoners, the detachment leader was relatively humane and even spoke Italian with them. He did not abuse the prisoners, and he made an effort to have their food rations from the company canteen improved.\footnote{8}

No prisoners were killed during the existence of the subcamp at Magirus-Deutz in Ulm, but there was mistreatment\footnote{9} and corporal punishment\footnote{10} of prisoners.

A survivor reported that a “strange illness was detected” in this subcamp.\footnote{11} Several prisoners suffered from flatulence and were taken back to the Dachau main camp. Some of them later returned to Ulm. Details on this illness remain unknown.

The factory premises were badly damaged during an air raid on February 25, 1945. The prisoners were subsequently used in repairing the telephone cables.\footnote{12} The evacuation of the subcamp got under way after the bombardment of the city of Ulm on March 1 and 4, 1945. During those air raids, three Magirus-Deutz AG halls and the timber yard in Neu-Ulm were severely damaged. The prisoners subsequently could not work in the factory, which had been almost completely destroyed. They were taken back to Dachau on the company bus.\footnote{13} According to Dachau records, the Ulm subcamp remained in existence until March 11, 1945. Once back in Dachau, the Italian prisoners were transferred to the Fischen subcamp in the Allgäu.

There were no critical investigations after the war into the mistreatment of concentration camp prisoners at Magirus-Deutz.

Aerial views of the area have been preserved in British archives. These views show the factory before and after the destruction brought about by the air raids.\footnote{14} The most important evidence pertaining to this Dachau subcamp is found in records of the investigations by the Central Office of State Justice Administrations (ZdL) in Ludwigsburg.\footnote{15}


The records of the investigation by ZdL (later BA-L) constitute the most important source of information on this subcamp. They contain survivors’ statements on various aspects of the detachment. Additional archival material may be found in AG-D and DZOK. The bombardment of Ulm is documented by Allied aerial photographs and reports that can be found at TARA-KU and at PRO.

\textbf{NOTES}\n
1. \textit{ULA}, August 30, 1933; DZOK, R 1 101.
14. Before the bombardment, aerial photograph of Ulm, TARA-KU, No. 20807, Sortie 60 PR 493; Interpretation Report SA 5281 on attack on Ulm on February 25, 1945; PRO, AIR 40/812; also USSBS, Klöcker-Humboldt-Deutz AG, Ulm, October 17, 1945; PRO, AIR 48/152.
15. BA-L, ZdL, IV 410 AR 1281/69.

\textbf{VALEPP (BAULEITUNG DER WAFFEN-SS UND POLIZEI) [AKA SCHLIERSEE]}\n
The subcamp in Valepp, which is a part of Schliersee in Bavaria, existed as a Dachau subcamp for almost three years from November 1, 1942, the date it is first mentioned, to its closure on October 30, 1944. But contrary to most other subcamps, the Valepp camp was not used permanently.

The employment of inmates at Valepp was related to the hunting lodges of Heinrich Himmler. In 1937, these buildings had been erected at Valepp near Schliersee and had been in use.
as customs buildings at the border between Germany and Austria. In March 1938, after the Anschluss (annexation) of Austria, the buildings lost that original purpose, and from then on, Himmler, the Reichsführer-SS, apparently used them during hunting trips in this area. On November 1, 1942, inmates from Dachau were sent for the first time to Valepp to work in these hunting lodges, mostly doing repairs and upgrades. In the first work detachment, there were, according to Johannes Wrobel, among others, three roofers, two carpenters, one joiner, one painter, one mechanic, and six unskilled workers—the composition of the group clearly indicating the kind of tasks they had to perform. This group worked for about one month in Valepp, with the first prisoners returned to Dachau on November 21 and the last ones on December 1, 1942.

A second group of inmates came to Valepp in summer 1943. From early June until the end of August 1943, 20 political prisoners of different nationalities were taken to Valepp to perform a number of odd jobs. A third group came to Valepp from November 1 to December 1, 1943, and worked on building an access road to the lodges and a sewage system and reroofing the lodges. Two locations were usually used to house the prisoners: either the hayloft on the upper floor of the SS building or a wooden barracks on the grounds of the lodges.

In September 1944, another group of prisoners was sent to Valepp, this time 10 inmates and five SS guards. While it is unknown which tasks the prisoners had to perform, records state that all the inmates were sent back to Dachau and severely punished because one of them had tried to dance with a woman. Another group of inmates arrived in Valepp on October 5, 1944. Among these 10 inmates there were 7 Jehovah’s Witnesses and 3 political prisoners, all of them selected again by the professions they held before the war. A last group of inmates was apparently used between the end of April and early May 1945 to clear snow from the access roads to Himmler’s hunting lodges.


The only other mention of the subcamp Valepp is in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), I:98.

Archival documents are located in the collection at AG-D; see especially Überstellungslisten (transport list, DaA 35672–35678). Records of the investigations of ZdL (now BA-L) conducted in the late 1960s can be accessed under File IV 410 AR 1214/69. At the Sta. Mű, there is a collection of statements regarding the Valepp subcamp: Akte Valepp, 1945–1950, StanW 34434. Information on Jehovah’s Witnesses as prisoners at Valepp can be found at Lebensbericht Paul Wauer, in GAZJ, and in Erhard Klein, Jevovas Zeugen im KZ Dachau. Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Erlebnisberichte (Bielefeld, 2001).

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WEIFSEE

During the National Socialist era, two hydroelectric power plants were built in the Hohe Tauern at Kaprun and Weissee. The construction sites in Stubachtal were under the control of the Deutsche Reichsbahn (German Railways), but the work was done by an industry association, which was usual in the construction industry. The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke consisted of several firms. It was headed and guided by the Union-Baugesellschaft Universale-Hoch-Tiefbauaktien-gesellschaft.

Unlike Kaprun, where there were two “Jewish camps” for the construction of the power plant, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stubachwerke did not want to rely on Jewish labor. It was only when Viennese Reichskommissar Josef Bürckel made enquiries with Friedrich Gärtner, president of the “Ostmark” branch office of Reich Labor Ministry, as to how the use of unemployed Jews was likely to develop that the Arbeitsgemeinschaft changed its mind. Stubachwerke then declared that it was prepared to experiment with the use of 30 Jews. By the end of May, the number of Jewish prisoners had increased to 61.

At the beginning of the war, there was an increase in the number of prisoners of war (POWs) in the region. The Landrat Zell am See situation report (Lagebericht) dated February 2, 1940, states that 50 Slovaks and 75 Polish POWs were engaged in the construction of the Stubachwerke.1 The numbers were to increase during the course of the war. Accommodation barracks were constructed in Utendorf as well as in Wirtenbach, Wiesen, Fellern in der Schneiderau, Enzingerboden, Tauernmoos, and Weissee.2

The living conditions for the workers varied according to where they worked. The most difficult place was Weissee, because it was located high in the Alps at a height of 2,300 meters (7,546 feet).

The first labor camp with accommodation barracks was constructed in the Weissee area in 1939, and the first forced laborers and POWs were accommodated in these barracks from that time. They were Poles and, from 1941, Soviets. The camp was expanded in the autumn of 1942 with a residence and an office barracks. Additional barracks were to be built by the spring.3 By the spring of 1943, there was room for around 400 workers living in three barracks. There were mostly civilian foreigners, mostly Ukrainians and Poles but also Soviet POWs, in Weissee until 1943. From 1943 on, the Weissee camp was an independent subcamp of Dachau. From there the workers were taken to work at Weissee.

The Weissee camp held people of many nationalities but they all had one thing in common: they had to do heavy labor at a high altitude, often under murderous conditions. Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, French, Greeks, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Belgians as well as Germans and Austrians were imprisoned here. Only a few had experience in mining or the construction of power plants. In addition, they were not used to working at high altitudes. Summer temperatures below zero Celsius (32°F) were common; the air at these al-
Attitudes was thinner and made physical work much more difficult.

The usual prisoner clothing for the workers at Weisssee was made of linen or cotton. The prisoners wore thin leather or wooden shoes. Some also were given gloves, pullovers, and coats. Austrian political prisoners were not allowed these items.

Most of the inmates' clothes were marked with targets made out of a red cloth. These were affixed to prominent parts of the shirts. The prisoners were readily visible and easy targets.

Upon arrival in the Weisssee camp, the prisoners were "received" by the camp commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Maier, then assigned to their work. Each work detachment consisted of between 10 and 15 people under the supervision of an Austrian, German, or sometimes a Dutch foreman. The SS was in charge of camp security. They were based in the Rudolfshütte, an alpine hut.

The concentration camp inmates' accommodation was sparse but well secured. There were three barracks in a row, secured by a massive amount of barbed wire to prevent escapes. Each barrack consisted of two large dormitories with three-tiered bunk beds. Each bunk bed was equipped with straw sacks. In the middle of each room there was a small stove, which was inadequate for the task. Regardless of the weather, storm, snow, rain, or sunshine, the prisoners awoke at 5:00 A.M. Half an hour later, after a communal toilet, the prisoners had to attend roll call. Following a short breakfast—bread with a little margarine—the prisoners marched to work. By the time the sun rose, the prisoners were at work. A loud siren signaled lunch. If lunch was eaten in the barracks, the prisoners had to march for about 30 minutes back to their barracks to eat the soup and black bread. If lunch was eaten in the open air, they were exposed to the wind and the cold. To protect themselves, they dug holes in the snow. But this meant they were using their physical strength. After a "break" for about an hour (often there was no break), the work continued without rest until sunset. Work for 12 to 13 hours a day was the norm, day after day, excluding Sundays, when there was no work in the afternoon unless one "volunteered" for work.

From 1943, the majority of the prisoners worked in a quarry and not in the excavating tunnels. Others had to march daily in the direction of Tauernmoos to work on the road. Work was done here regardless of the weather. Sometimes it happened that a few prisoners worked during the day in the valley. In the morning the workers were taken by means of a goods cable car into the valley. They returned the same way in the evening. Four prisoners and two SS men made up each detachment. It often happened that the cable car got stuck, which meant that the workers had to undertake a difficult march by foot, returning to their barracks in the middle of the night. The camp was surrounded by mountains around 3,000 meters high (9,843 feet), all of which had glaciers. The chances of a successful escape were zero. The only possibility was to escape in the direction of the valley, but here the chances of being caught were high. However, for some the despair was so great that they attempted to escape. One morning, there was great excitement because during the night six Frenchmen had escaped. It did not take long, however, before five of them returned. On the evening of the same day the prisoners "freely" returned to the camp. One was never found. The others arrived at the painful realization that there was little chance of escape. The camp commander did not tolerate such behavior, and the prisoners who returned were beaten. They were beaten by hand and foot and with oxtail whips on their whole bodies. As if that were not punishment enough, they had to remain outside, stark naked. Their punishment lasted for two days. When it ended, they had frostbite, wounds, bruises—their faces and bodies were swollen and their shaved heads red from sunburn. Their skinny bodies had been further weakened.

As in many other camps, there were prisoners who worked for the SS and guarded their fellow prisoners. In many cases, it was the camp elder who had this role and was given an ox whip. Many of these henchmen believed that they could buy their freedom by working for their overlords. However, this
was not the case in the Weissee camp. In the end, they too were taken to Dachau. It was only with the arrival of the Americans in May 1945 that the Weissee hell ended.\(^9\)

For many, the events at Weissee and the surrounding areas would haunt them for their whole lives. It was only in the middle of the 1960s that investigations began to determine whether homicides or other crimes had been committed at Weissee. Eight witnesses were asked about their time at Weissee. Not one of these witnesses had personally seen a homicide or could recall a homicide. The investigations ended before they had really begun, as most of the crimes were covered by statutes of limitations.\(^\text{10}\)

**SOURCES**


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**NOTES**


3. BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, Schlussvermerk.


10. BA-L, Akte AR 245/73, Schlussvermerk.

**ZANGBERG**

Most likely Zangberg was not a subcamp of Dachau—or of Mühldorf, as the International Tracing Service (ITS) mentions it. As Edith Raim states, Zangberg near Mühldorf was the location of a monastery that during the war had become the home of the SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH. This “company” was run by Martin Weiss, former commander of the Dachau, Neuengamme, and Lublin-Majdanek concentration camps and plenipotentiary of Office Group D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). But the name SS-Weingut-Betriebs-GmbH was misleading: No wine was produced in Zangberg; rather, it was the center of cooperation of 42 companies that were involved in the production of the Messerschmitt (Me) 262 jet fighter. Among these companies were Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG), Siemens & Halske (S&H), Siemens & Schuckert, Telefunken, and Carl Zeiss.

Approximately 60 inmates were held at Zangberg, probably from 1944 on. It is unclear what their tasks were. No doubt, they were part of the Mühldorf subcamp complex, but since they were not employed by Organisation Todt (OT) as the inmates in this complex were, rather by the SS itself, they were listed separately in the official files and reports of the Dachau concentration camp. Still, on March 3, 1945, the Dachau strength report lists 60 male inmates at Zangberg. It is unclear what happened to the Zangberg inmates at the end of the war. Most likely they joined the evacuation transports of the prisoners of the Mühldorf subcamp.

ITS lists Zangberg twice, but in either case only for short periods in 1945—which is rather unlikely, considering the history of the Mühldorf subcamp complex. As dates when the Zangberg camps were last mentioned, ITS lists April 15 and April 25, 1945 respectively.

**SOURCES**


Archival documents are held in the collection at AG-D under Stärkemeldungen (strength reports, DaA 404 and 32789).

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