As soon as the Stutthof concentration camp began operating, its administration created subcamps outside the camp proper to put prisoners to work in industry, farming, or other services. There were two main motivations that caused the camp authorities to form new units under central command. On the one hand, sending prisoners off the camp premises was an effective way to ease the overcrowding at the main camp and to obtain funds and other resources that would keep it operating. On the other hand, there was a more or less constant demand for labor by government institutions, companies, and private individuals from 1939 to 1945. SS-Obersturmführer Albert Schwartz, who was the farm camp director from 1940 to 1941, filed the following account before an investigating officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising on September 12, 1945:

The Stutthof camp maintained its own agricultural farm, growing most of the vegetables needed for the [sub]camps there, and also had its own cattle and slaughterhouse. Big shops were constructed in which work was done for private companies in Elbing and Danzig. The money paid for this work amounted to such large sums that not only the upkeep for the camp, the food, and clothing for the prisoners could be fully paid, but considerable means were left over to build a big administration office from this money.1

The organizational history of the subcamps is a complex reflection of the Stutthof main camp's changing circumstances. Some started out as independent camps in their own right, operating as transit and detention camps parallel to Stutthof under the Danzig Prison Camp Command (Kommandantur der Gefangenlager Danzig) and the SS-“Vis<br>
tula” Main Sector Office (Oberabschnitt “Weichsel”), and were later absorbed into the Stutthof system. Other sites began as subcamps of those parallel camps, while still others were under the Stutthof main camp from the start. Likewise, the life cycles of the camps varied; they opened and shut down at different times and sometimes reopened later. In all cases the authority to open a subcamp lay with the commandant of the main camp, in consultation with his superiors. Labor assignments were based on contracts made between the Danzig or Elbing employment office, the army command, police headquarters, and a government agency, company, or private individual. The contracts set forth the type and duration of employment, the terms of work, and the conditions for lodging, prisoner supervision, and compensation.

Each of the subcamps operated with a large degree of independence. The central command in Stutthof coordinated economic and financial business and maintained central prisoner records, while the subcamp staff handled the day-to-day operation of the camp and monitored the working conditions.

It is not difficult to establish the names of all the permanent camps operating under one central command, but it is considerably harder to determine the names of the small work groups, generally called external labor detachments (Aussenkommandos), which were poorly documented because of the duration of their work, the number of prisoners in each group, and the detachment’s distance from the main camp. The documentation chiefly consists of prisoners’ files and correspondence with the Danzig Gestapo about prisoners, recording when and where they worked, as well as the testimony and accounts of former camp prisoners filed after the war.

An examination of the subcamp essays that follow establishes that 28 subcamps throughout the province of Danzig-West Prussia belonged to the Stutthof camp in the period from autumn 1939 through the end of 1941. Except for a few instances, that number does not include the Bauernkommandos, the farm detachments that, according to Schwartz’s testimony, employed approximately 3,000 prisoners in the autumn of 1939. (Some 700 people were working on farms in January 1940.)2 The detachments were named after the employers to whom they were hired out and the localities the farms were in, and they can be identified through the camp administration’s notes on prisoner employment or financial records. In April 1940, the Stutthof camp assumed the central command of civilian prisoner camps; it took over the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp as well as the subcamps (Matzkau, Westerplatte, and external detachments in Danzig, Oliva, and Gdynia) of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, which was being shut down.

The greatest number of Stutthof subcamps were formed from 1942 through 1944, after the camp had been incorporated into the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which consequently brought the camp into the range of influence of SS economic policy and resulted in the intensive exploitation of prisoner labor. Stutthof’s commandant made the decision to organize the subcamps, in consultation with and with the consent of the WVHA. Of Stutthof’s 66 documented subcamps, 38 were created between early 1942 and the end of 1944: 28 of those in 1944, including 19 camps with Jewish prisoners from Stutthof from June to October 1944.3

A total of 26,251 Jews were sent to the new camps in 1944; and including non-Jewish prisoners, there was a total of approximately 33,000 prisoners at all the subcamps—the height of employment outside the main camp for the entire period the camp was in operation. They were put to work manufacturing and repairing weaponry, repairing tracks and military airfields,
building fortifications, clearing bombs, and performing other hard labor. They were chiefly hired out to Luftwaffe airfields, the Organisation Todt (OT), and private businesses. As of January 24, 1945, just before Germans began to evacuate the subcamps, there were still more than 22,500 prisoners in them, of whom over 18,500 were Jews.4

The subcamp entries that follow do not represent the entire external workforce at Stutthof. The entries do not include the stationary or semistationary external detachments (in the latter case, the prisoners returned to the main camp every day). Most of those were associated with farms and were formed annually by the dozen in the Danzig–West Prussia Reich District from 1939 through 1945. Each one of the farm camps employed from a handful to more than a dozen prisoners for a fee.

In many instances, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners make up for the gaps in the archival records or vestigial information in camp records. They are the only source portraying the living and working conditions in those detachments and their effects on prisoner life. The main principle in those detachments was to derive maximum benefit from slave labor, benefiting both the camp administration who collected fees for each day of work and the employers to which prisoners were hired out at artificially low prices.

SOURCES There are a small number of historical essays devoted to the history of the subcamps of Stutthof. However, there is no synthetic historiography, which would deal holistically with the issues, except in the unpublished dissertation by Józef Matynia, written in the late 1960s: “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Pedagogical College, Gdańsk, 1969). The organizational system of the subcamp and employment of prisoners were researched by Miroslaw Gliński: “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” SZeMu, no. 3 (1979); and by Marek Orski, Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945 (Gdańsk, 1999). The German edition incorporates this issue in a monograph of the Stutthof concentration camp. The following publication includes papers by Miroslaw Gliński and Marek Orski: Stutthof: Das Konzentrationslager (Gdańsk, 1996) (translation of the Polish edition from 1988: Stutthof, Nazi Concentration Camp). Monographs of some larger subcamps have been published; among them are Brusy-Dziemiany, Gdynia, Elblag, Nadtrzeze Near Elblag, Police, Słupsk, Subcamps for Jews, and these were written by Danuta Drywa, Maria Elbieta Jezier ska, Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, Marek Orski (and the co-author in the paper about Gdynia: Elbieta Grot), Zygmunt Szultka, and Tadeusz Wolski. The monograph about the subcamp in Brusy-Dziemiany (Bruss-Siphenvalde), by Marek Orski, appeared in English: The Jewish Subsidiary of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy Dziemiany (1944–1945), vol. 12 YVS, (Jerusalem: YVS, 1992).

Most archival materials relating to the organization and functioning of Stutthof’s subcamps, as well as files of the former Stutthof camp, files of the Gestapo in Danzig, and central authorities of SS including the WVHA, are located in the AMS in Szutowo in original form or copies of originals or transcripts of documents from other archives, especially from BA-BL. Other important sources are the stenographs of proceedings against former staff of the camp and prisoner-functionaries as well as the proceedings of the Nuremberg Trials, which took place in front of the IMT and AMT. Part of the documentation relating to trials against perpetrators from the Stutthof concentration camp is kept in the IPN in Warsaw.

Testimonies of the former prisoners, memoirs, statements, and materials of interrogations constitute a large source of documentation. These are located in different institutions dealing with the commemoration of crimes committed in the former concentration camp in Stutthof, mainly in the AMS in Szutowo, in the IPN, in the AZIH in Warsaw, and YV in Jerusalem.

Marek Orski trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES


2. Ibid; AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-1, Nurnberg Document NO-2275, Hildebrandt’s report to Himmler on the operations of SS-Wachsturmabn Mann.

3. This has been determined from the list of the ITS at Arolen and the dossier of the AMS at Szutowo. Source publications as well as essays on the Stutthof concentration camp provide discrepant numbers of Stutthof subcamps. The author of the first monographic publication on the camp’s history, K. Dunin-Wasowicz, Oboz koncentracyjny Stutthof (The Stutthof Concentration Camp) (Gdynia, 1970), pp. 128–136, mentions a total of 28, also including the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser and the camps in Smukala, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, which were not subcamps of the camp. Miroslaw Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” SZeMu, no. 3, (1979): 165–180, notes about 38 subcamps and major external detachments. Marek Orski, Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–45 (Gdańsk, 1999), pp. 346–349, concurs, thus increasing the number of permanent subcamps as well as external detachments. The ITS at Arolen list of concentration camps and subcamps—Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Ausenkammandus sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979)—accounts for 107 camps including some farm detachments, labor detachments formed within one subcamp, or transit camps from the time of the land evacuation. On the other hand, Józef Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof 1939–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Pedagogical College, Gdańsk, 1969), established that there were 61 subcamps and external detachments, including Smukala, Thorn, and Lebrechtsdorf, transit camps formed during the prisoner evacuation not qualifying as subcamps, and other camps and detachments that also cannot be regarded as such.

4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIIB-6.
ADLERSHORST

The first reference to a detachment of prisoners put to work in the Orłowo section of Gdynia (formerly Orłowo Morskie; Adlershorst from 1939 to 1945; aka Gdynia Orłowo) dates from September 13, 1939. The date is derived from an entry on a prisoner’s file card, although it cannot be equated at all with the existence of an organized group of prisoners assigned to Orłowo for a specific labor purpose at the time. No other records have confirmed the existence of a subcamp of the Danzig-Neufahrwasser, Grenzdorf, or Stutthof civilian prisoner-of-war (POW) camps in Orłowo at the time.

The first Wehrmacht divisions entered sections of Gdynia (Gdinen, then Gotenhafen during the war) by September 13, 1939. Poles fit for military service were arrested and held at two main internment camps set up by the military authorities: Gdynia Redłowo (Gotenhafen-Hochredlau) and Gdynia Grabówek (Gotenhafen-Grabau). Their identities were checked, and they were interrogated. A special committee operating at those camps from the 16th Security Police Unit of the Danzig Gestapo checked to see if the prisoners were listed in the “wanted registry” (Fahndungsbuch). Some of those interned wound up at the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser at the beginning of October 1939, or in mid-October at the latest, after the police had taken over Gdynia Redłowo and Gdynia Grabówek.

The next references to a prisoner detachment at Gdynia Orłowo noted on prisoner registration cards appear between September 18 and 28, 1939. There is no information on the number of prisoners, where the camp was housed, and what work the camp was assigned. According to the testimony of Bolesław Przytuła, in the spring of 1940, about 50 prisoners were sent to do cleanup work at the Gdynia Orłowo City Government, where they worked until the summer of 1942. (That certainly was not the Gdynia City Hall building, which was located in Gdynia proper on Marchauer-Pilsudski-Strasse. Perhaps Przytuła meant the city offices in Orłowo or work contracted out by the municipal government to be done in Orłowo.)

According to an entry in a prisoner’s personal files, another prisoner detachment was established at Gdynia Orłowo between September 9 and December 30, 1940. Political Branch personal files contain a detachment name: Weges Hans, Adlershorst. It is not known what type of work the few prisoners in the detachment did, nor how it was set up and how it operated. Other data indicate that it was only in December 1940 that the first detachment of a dozen or so people was assigned to the Gdynia Orłowo concrete plant (Betonfabrik Adlershorst). It was disbanded in April 1941.

Another large camp formed by the command of the civilian internment camp in Stutthof began operating in March 1941. About 20 prisoners from the Stutthof camp, mostly specialist tradesmen such as woodworkers, carpenters, painters, parquet layers, and upholsterers, were put to work rebuilding and finishing the home of Stutthof camp commandant Max Pauly. The home was at 6 Seebadstrasse (later Ulica Prze-

bendowskich), which leads to the sea; the house was reportedly a present for “good service” from Albert Forster, Gauleiter and Reich governor of Danzig–West Prussia. Earlier it had belonged to an attorney from Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) named Maciaszek. The detachment’s population varied as work progressed and prisoners with specific specialties were replaced. For example, prisoner Andrzej Domagała, a bricklayer by trade, worked at Adlershorst from March 8 to April 12, 1941. With the roof on, they started doing the finishing work in late autumn 1941. The interior contained such features as larch parquet floors and paneling.

The prisoners were quartered in the private home of a Polish woman named Brydzyńska. SS-Rottenführer Johannes Wall became camp commandant on March 5, 1941, and remained so until the detachment disbanded. He went through recruit training from January to March 1941, then was enlisted into the Waffen-SS. Witnesses testifying at Wall’s trial in 1947 emphasized his kind attitude toward prisoners. After work and on Sundays, he would make it easier for family members or friends to visit them by making sure no one else was approaching. Witness Franciszek Perchen, who had been sent from the Stutthof camp in March 1941 to work at the house, testified that Wall treated them kindly and let his father visit him. Nevertheless, both that witness and Wacław Lewandowski pointed out that prisoners were beaten, although they heard this from other people. Besides his crimes at the Stutthof camp, the indictment also listed crimes committed at Augsburg, a subcamp of Dachau, where Wall had been transferred on September 22, 1942. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced him to five years in prison and a five-year prohibition on holding public or honorary civic offices. He died in prison in 1948.

There is some uncertainty as to the date on which the subcamp was disbanded. Some records indicate a date as early as the end of 1941, but other records contradict that. Józef Kucharski, who testified as a witness at Wall’s trial in 1947, said that in February or March 1942, he and 35 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to Adlershorst, where they stayed until July, and that Wall was in command over them. Unless there is an error in the date provided, that would mean that the detachment was disbanded only in mid-1942, that is, when the 2nd Guard Company stationed at the police barracks in Adlershorst returned to the Stutthof camp.

Records on the escape of prisoner Piotr Dziedzic also indicate that the camp was shut down in mid-1942. He had been sent from the Lehrechtsdorf camp (with which Stutthof was associated through commandant Pauly, who was overseeing the operations of that camp and two other educational labor camps in Bydgoszcz’s [Bromberg’s] district of Smukala [Mühltal] and Toruń [Thorn]) to the house in Aldershorst on December 1, 1941. He escaped on May 25, 1942.

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Adlershorst subcamp: AK-IPN: SOGd, Catalog Numbers 94, 181; Gdańsk Provincial Court, Catalog No. 37, records of the criminal case against Johannes Wall; SSK Gd, Catalog No.

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**NOTES**


2. AMS, sygn. I-III-41175, personal files of prisoner Marian Brawat.


5. Ibid., *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Accounts and recollections) (Gdańsk, 1939), account of Ryszard Wolbisz, 18:9–10.

6. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35, testimony of witness Józef Kucharski at trial of J. Wall in 1947; also, M. Gliński, p. 168; and M. Orski, p. 92.


9. AK-IPN, SWGd, Catalog No. 37.

10. AK-IPN, SOGd, Catalog No. 94, p. 35.

11. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-43016.

**SOURCES** The following source contains information on the Bohnsack subcamp: AMS, sygn. I-III, personal files of prisoners. Also see many of the other sources listed in the Stutthof main entry.

**NOTE**


**BROMBERG-BRAHNAU (DAG NOBEL)**

**[AKA LAGER 15]**

The Bromberg-Brahna subcamp was formed at ammunition factory Dynamit Nobel Aktiengesellschaft (DAG) on July 15, 1944. The prisoner camp, composed of six barracks fenced with barbed wire, was located in a forced labor camp complex near the factory premises and named Lager 15. A total of 1,000 Jewish women aged 16 to 20 were sent there to make up for the labor shortage created when a thousand workers were sent from DAG to the Magdeburg-Anhalt region for Albert Speer’s Jäger-Programm. Initially 37 SS men supervised the women; female supervisors from the Ravensbrück concentration camp took over that job on July 25, 1944. When they came to Bromberg (later Bydgoszcz), the number of SS men was reduced from 37 to 12, and the rest returned to the Stutthof main camp.

DAG’s facilities at Łęgnowo (Brahna, aka Langenau) housed the bomb and grenade divisions, while factories nearby at Zimne Wody (Kaltwasser) produced nitroglycerine, gunpowder, and nitrocellulose. A special Home Army report dated February 25, 1944, stated that the DAG factory was composed of 17 concrete buildings, one and two stories tall (usually not including the ground floor), as well as one or two underground levels. Groups of 2 or 3 buildings constituted stand-alone manufacturing facilities. The plants employed 31,617 persons, including 3,015 Poles, in January 1944. The work at the factory was especially dangerous because of the contact with easily oxidized chemicals, which could cause powerful explosions.

Besides one account and fragmentary archival records from Stutthof concentration camp, we have no other materials about the Jewish women’s working and living conditions. The only account, that of Teresa Mittelmann, a Hungarian Jew, described the general conditions in the Jewish camp and working conditions in a factory production department filling bombs with chemicals. Mittelmann noted that the work was dangerous because of the contact with chemicals and lack of work safety measures and that the camp commandant behaved brutally toward prisoners.
We arrived on August 1, 1944, to Brahnau. The older women were sent to work in the kitchen. We got a very good lunch, so we hoped for the best. But we were disappointed. The camp was small. The Lagerführer was a beast. He used torture instruments. Often we were closed in bunkers without reason. He lived in Brahnau with his family. I worked in a munitions factory. I had to fill fifty-nine bombs daily. Later we had to carry the shells to a store. The food ration was fairly good, comparing it with the other camps where we had been. Once I got ill. I inhaled poison gas, from the shells, and fainted. A Lithuanian woman doctor treated me. The factory was hidden from strangers. Nobody knew what important things were manufactured here. We worked mostly at night. One morning as we came from work, we were told to pack immediately. As we marched off, many began to escape.3

DAG settled accounts with the camp command and indirectly with the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) for the prisoners' labor pursuant to the regulations of the time, based on rate schedules set by the SS authorities. The rate for private companies was 6 and 4 Reichsmark (RM) for each full day of work on plant premises by skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. Jewish women were put to work for each full day of work on plant premises by skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. Jewish women were put to work outdoors. The commandant stated in a report, because most of the women were put to work outdoors. The commandant's letter to the director of the Administration and Management Division in Stutthof dated December 12, 1944, states that there was a shortage of winter clothing and repair materials. The commandant wrote that approximately 80 percent of the clothing was in very poor condition and required repair materials. The commandant wrote that approximately 80 percent of the clothing was in very poor condition and requiring repair was not helping much; a corresponding rate of illness due to colds was reported.

The camp population in mid-December 1944 was 996 women, as indicated by the amount of winter clothes they received.4 In the five weeks up until evacuation started, 1 person died in the camp. Preparations to evacuate camp began on January 20, 1945. The prisoner count reported for January 24, 1945, was accurate only for the initial days of evacuation; after that the population dropped with every passing day. The group of 995 female prisoners merged into one column with the women from the Bromberg-Ost subcamp to form a column of 1,290 people. The destination of the evacuation was the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.5

The evacuation route, leading toward Koronowo (Krone), then to Mąkowarsko (Monkowarsk), and toward Sępólno Krajeńskie (Zempelburg), was marked by the graves of female prisoners shot by SS men from a Latvian escort, who killed women who were not up to the hardships of the march. Witnesses testified that “in the evening of January 21 Gestapo with dogs escorted approximately one thousand women and men from Bydgoszcz toward Koronowo. They set their dogs on the weak, who could not go on any longer, and beat them with their gun butts, shooting anyone who could not go on.”6 Near the village of Lucim, SS men shot several female prisoners to death, and 4 women were killed near Mąkowarsko.

Some of the women tried to break away from the column and escape, which was risky under those conditions. Teresa Mittelmann, and a group of 16 girls, hid in a village where she was liberated three days later.7 The primary column of women got to the town of Flatow (Zlotów) on foot without any food. There, they were loaded onto open freight cars, in which they were transported to Tempelburg (Czaplinek). Mortality rose because of the cold and snow. In Tempelburg on January 29, 1945, the Latvian escort handed the women over to Volkssturm units that conveyed the column to Falkenburg (Złocieńce). There, the 40 survivors of the original group stopped at the local brickyard to spend the night. During the stopover, 4 prisoners disguised as male railroad workers, Erna Valk among them, escaped successfully. They reached Dramburg (Drawsko Pomorskie) after a 14-kilometer (8.7-mile) march. Posing as fugitives from the East, they joined with German refugees and received money, ration cards, and identification documents, as well as a place to live in the abandoned house of a local party leader. They and the other refugees left three weeks later for Germany, where the Americans freed them.8 The remaining female prisoners were liberated in Falkenburg on February 4, 1945.9

SOURCES The following sources contain information on the Bromberg-Brahnau subcamp: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIA-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944; Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population reports; Catalog No. Z-V-57, materials on the Łęgnowo camp investigation, 1970–1975, in the resources of District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (now the Bydgoszcz branch of the AK-IPN Gd, transcripts in AMS); Relacje i wspomnienia, Erna Valk, vol. 8 (Warsaw, 2004); AP Gd., Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreußen, Catalog No.
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2651/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Be- richtsmonat Juni 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6: 51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial. Also see the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyoszatal, account of T. Mittelmann; J. Grabowska, Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja pięciu więzień KL Stutthof i jego podbozów 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945 (Gdańsk, 1992); K. Leszczyński, “Eksterminacja ludności na ziemlach polskich w latach 1939–1945 (woj. łódzkie, pomorskie i dziemskie)” BGKBZHuP 10 (1958); J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); and M. Orski, Nie- wolnica praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945 (Gdańsk, 1999).

NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 125–128, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeitslagers Bromberg-Brabhau dated July 14, 1944; APMO, Proces Maurera, 6:51, a list of companies using the labor of concentration camp prisoners compiled by R. Höss, included as evidence in the Pohl and Maurer trials; 6:156, list of Nazi concentration camps compiled by J. Sehn for the Maurer trial.

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIA-4, lists of Jewish female prisoners sent to the Bydgoszcz subcamp on July 15, 1944, including 850 names divided into 10 groups of 100 persons each (150 names are missing from the fifth and eighth group of 100); Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 1, Anschriften der Aussenlager; AP Gd, Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreussen, sygn. 2651/1083, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitseinsatzbericht für den Berichtsmonat Juni 1944.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 254, testimony of Stutthof concentration camp Schutzhaftlagerführer Theodor Meyer; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, p. 50, testimony of Wanda Steinhoff, SS woman from the [camp’s] Bydgoszcz subcamp.

4. AMS, Catalog No. Z-V-57, pp. 69–70, materials on the Łęgowo camp investigation, report of examination of witness Oskar Kufel (transcripts from the resources of the Bydgoszcz branch, AK-IPN Gd).

5. Ibid., Intelligence Report dated February 25, 1944.

6. For example, according to Intelligence Report 12/44, about 50,000 sacks of gunpowder were burned in a warehouse fire on March 20, 1944.

7. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyoszatal, account of T. Mittelmann.


9. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the population of the subcamps dated January 24, 1945. The surviving fragments of hospital records on the mortality rate at the subcamps do not contain any figures on deaths.

10. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 4–15; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp status reports, January–April 1945.

11. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and recollections), 8:143, account of Erna Valk; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report of subcamp population on January 24, 1945.

12. Ibid., 8:212, J. Matynia; SMA, Catalog No. Z-V-57, witness examination reports in the Łęgowo camp investigation.

13. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dokumentacios Ogyoszatal, account of T. Mittelmann.

14. AMS, Accounts and Recollections, 8:144–145, account of Erna Valk.


BROMBERG-OST (REICHSBAHN)

Pursuant to a special order of the commandant of the Stutt- hof concentration camp dated September 12, 1944, two more subcamps for Jewish inmates were instituted effective September 13, 1944: Aussenarbeitslager Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) and Aussenarbeitslager Russoschin bei Praust (Rusocin near Pruszcz Gdański). In both subcamps, the Jewish women prisoners were put to work at German Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn) sites, laying and repairing rails and loading and unloading railway ties and basalt. On Sundays, they were forced to work digging trenches. Often in the winter months, even in the late evening hours, they were forced to remove snow from the tracks and switches at the Bromberg- Ost junction.

Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Bromberg; they had been selected from Jewish transports that came to the camp in July from Kowno (Kaunas) and in August from Riga and the Auschwitz concentration camp. SS-Scharführer Anton Knifke was named commandant; 34 members of railway security who had been trained in handling prisoners were in charge of supervision, along with 7 female supervisors including Gerda Steinhoff and Ewa Paradies (sentenced to death at a trial in 1946), who had completed a two-week course for female supervisors held on September 14 at the Stutthof camp. The female prisoners were placed in Ober-Bautrupp 1822, a collective camp located in the Bromberg-Ost (Bydgoszcz-Wschód) section. Two barracks were allocated for them. In November, construction was started on a small third barrack for an infirmary and an office for the prisoner foremen.

The detachment primarily worked laying rails and repairing trackways for the German national railway, the Reichsbahn. The work was done under difficult climatic conditions, especially in late autumn and the winter. In his report dated November 13, 1944, on a camp inspection that he conducted, SS-Hauptsturmführer P. Ehle of headquarters staff noted the hard work of the female supervisors, who had to take the prisoner detachment out in the early morning in an open train and stayed on duty through the 40-kilometer (25-mile) route. The report went on to say that they stayed at their posts all day regardless of wind or rain, with no opportunity to have something hot to drink or eat. In another place, he stated that they had “no lights, no kitchen utensils, warm coats, or even winter stockings.” The camp commandant had already sent...
reports about the supervisors to the chief of the Administration and Management Division.

Of course, the female prisoners experienced the same conditions or worse, but they were not the target of so much concern. Of their circumstances, Ehle stated tersely that approximately 10 percent of all the women were unfit for labor because of colds and should be replaced. The women who had been put to work at the main train station in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), where they could warm themselves, were in the best situation, while those who worked outdoors replacing railroad ties, laying rails, and unloading and loading cars were in the worst. This state of things is confirmed by correspondence between the subcamp commandant and the Administration and Management Division at the main camp, headed by SS-Obersturmführer (becoming SS-Hauptsturmführer in November 1944) Engelbrecht von Bonin. Reports about the detachment’s poor provisioning had already reached Stutthof a month after the camp was formed. There was mainly a shortage of materials to mend clothing, as well as a shortage of stockings, which were torn by the wooden shoes (Holzschaue) prisoners wore. Instead of stockings, the commandant urgently tried to get cloth leg wrappings as well as gloves, dresses, jackets, and garters.

Subsequent reports from the subcamp again concern the great damage to clothing and lack of materials to mend the prisoners’ clothes, as well as a shortage of underwear. The death rate at the camp was not high; 2 inmates died over the first two months, as is confirmed by underwear orders; a third woman died in November. The population stayed the same for the first two months, as is confirmed by underwear orders; a third woman died in November. The population stayed the same at least until January 5, when the commandant asked the Administration and Management Division to send armbands with 297 prisoner numbers, which the camp did not have, due to a material shortage. Then 2 more people died at the camp over the next three weeks up until evacuation began. There were 295 women in the subcamp as of January 24, 1945. They were evacuated along with the Stutthof subcamp in Bromberg-Brahnau.

**SOURCES**

The following sources contain information about the Bromberg-Ost subcamp: AK-IPN, SSK Gd., sygn. 418, records of criminal case against John Pauls; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IJVH-7, correspondence of subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp command regarding supplies; Relacje i wspomnienia (Erna Valk, vol. 8).

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**NOTES**

2. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and recollections), vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.
3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 418, p. 78, testimony of supervisor Ewa Paradies; AMS, Catalog No. I-IJVH-7, p. 23, extract of P. Ehle’s report made on November 13, 1944, after an inspection of the Bromberg-Ost labor camp.
4. AMS, Accounts and Recollections, vol. 8, account of Erna Valk.

**BRUSS-SOPHIEWALDE**

The Bruss (Polish: Brusy) subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 24, 1944. The camp began operation that day and was also known in correspondence as Truppenübungsplatz (troop exercise grounds) Bruss in Sophienwalde (Dziemiany). The Germans formed the camp because of the demand for labor on the construction site of the SS-Westpreussen (West Prussian) training ground. The construction work included building a special training ground for the Waffen-SS and Wehrmacht, barracks, garages, parking lots, and transportation infrastructure. Those projects were contracted out to a dozen or so private German companies from the Danzig–West Prussia district.

Sophienwalde was home to a major base for transshipping materials, as well as the SS-FAU 128 (Frontarbeitenunternehmung), the code name for the design office for expanding the training ground. All projects for developing the training ground originated at that office. This was the site of Bruss, formed in late 1942. Various groups of prisoners passed through the camp until the end of 1944: Russian, English, Dutch, and Italian prisoners of war (POWs); Jewish women from the Stutthof concentration camp; women from the Lebrechtsdorf displaced persons and labor camp; and Poles deported from Warsaw via Pruszków and the Stutthof camp after the Warsaw Uprising. Bruss was really a holding point, from which respective groups were sent to different work sites on the premises of the training ground.

SS-Oberscharführer Willy Schulz was named commandant of the subcamp; since June 29, 1944, he had been serving in the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion at Stutthof. The female prisoners were supervised by 15 SS men designated by the training ground administration and belonging to the local garrison. Jewish women were supervised by women from the Stutthof staff: Charlotte Rose, Emilia Löscher, and Marta Müller.

A transport of 500 Jewish women, mostly from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and Romania, was sent directly to Bruss, where the detachment was divided into two basic groups: the majority (400–450) were sent to a makeshift camp in Dziemiany on the shore of Lake Rzuno, while 50 to 100 people were placed in Bruss. Only on January 4, 1945,
was part of a new building opened in Dziemiany, in which there were rooms furnished with bunks for the women. All the Jewish women were moved to the new building within a month.4

The Jewish women were put to work mostly in auxiliary jobs, frequently with the forced laborers from Lebrechtsdorf and the Poles expelled from Warsaw. Their main occupation was building barracks and roads. Some of the hardest labor was roofing under the supervision of the Zemke company, which meant working at great heights, with a corresponding danger of injury; 10 women were put to work doing this, including Gertrude Schneider.5 Many of the Jewish women were assigned to unload trucks of bricks transported from the Bruss brickyard or freightcars. Although it was not as dangerous as the roofing work, it required great physical strength.

The hard labor unloading bricks and building roads and military barracks, as well as the poor state of their clothing and shoes and the minimal food rations, although they were the same as at Stutthof but with little opportunity for getting extra food, caused diseases to spread, primarily spotted typhus and dysentery. Sick prisoners were murdered in the forest near the lake or during work.6 The subcamp commandant’s requests for warmer clothes and clothing repair materials were not always filled completely. In one letter, the commandant wrote that “if you do not provide the clothing we require and urgently need, there might be a drop in labor because of colds, and productivity could decrease.”7 Mainly there was a shortage of stockings, bandannas, and gloves, which served as protection from the cold as well as hand protection during work. Instead of gloves, the Jewish women used rags and newspapers that Poles from the neighboring camp provided to them.8

The camp diet was another drain on the women’s health. For breakfast and supper, they were issued a slice of bread weighing about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces), rarely with some margarine, and a cup of unsweetened black coffee; for lunch they got 0.5 liters (2 cups) of thin soup made of rutabagas and potatoes with a trace amount of fat. Dishes and eating utensils were also in short supply—one set for every five women. Poles from the neighboring camp came to the Jewish women’s aid by making spoons and cups from wood and secretly providing them to the Jewish camp.9 The death rate in the camp was considerable, although firm statistics are lacking. There are only 3 names on the incomplete lists of prisoners who died at the subcamps; Schneider rated the conditions at that camp as the worst that the women had encountered so far.

On the morning of February 10, 1945, the camp was evacuated. Schulz probably received an order to march toward Lauenburg (Lębork), which was the destination for the prisoner columns led out of the Stutthof camp and was nearest to the Dziemiany subcamp’s evacuation route; 86 women, mostly ill, were left in the camp. Schulz assured them they would stay there, but they were actually taken in trucks to the village of Leśno-Wybudowiany, where they were shot and their bodies burned.10

Of the group evacuated from Dziemiany (including Jewish women from the other detachments, mainly Bruss, who had been moved to Dziemiany earlier), 347 prisoners reached the town of Gotentof on February 17 after marching 83 kilometers (51.6 miles); there they merged with columns of prisoners evacuated from other Stutthof subcamps. They were to spend several days at the Gotentof camp to merge with other prisoner groups. Schneider rated the conditions at that camp as the worst that the women had encountered so far.

Only on March 9 were the prisoners again put in columns in the evening and sent further on their way. They covered 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) during the all-night march, reaching Chynów. Many other Jewish women who had arrived earlier were in a huge barn and on the roadside. Russian tanks entered the village the next day, March 10, 1945. No more than 250 Jewish women were still alive.11 The Russians shot all the guards escorting the women, including commandant Schulz. The fate of the three women supervisors is unknown. Schneider reported that soldiers took two of them away in separate tanks; the third one disappeared.

SOURCES The following sources contain information about the Bruss subcamp: AK-IPN Gd, sygn. Ko 4/85, witness examination reports (Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk); AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation; Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of crime committed by Germans against a group of women in Lesno on February 9, 1945; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Relacje i wspomnienia, affidavits (Alice Block, Gertrude Schneider); G. Schneider, Unfinished Road. Jewish Survivors of Latvia Look Back (New York, 1991); B. Breza, “Pod hitlerowską okupacją,” in Lipusz-Dziemiany, ed. J. Borzyszkowski (Gdańsk, 1994), pp. 330–372; M. Orski, Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, fila obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej z Włocławek (Gdańsk, 1992); Orski, “The Jewish Subcamp of the Stutthof Concentration Camp (Konzentrationslager Stutthof) at Brusy-Dziemiany (1941–1945),” YVS 12 (1992): 273–286; Orski, “Cień Sophienwalde,” Pom, no. 5 (1995).

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NOTES
1. M. Orski, Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, fila obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej...

2. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. OK. By. Ds. 106/67, materials from Brusy camp investigation.


5. Ibid., p. 11.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IV-7, lists of prisoners who died in the subcamps; Schneider, Unfinished Road, pp. 12–13.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IV-7, p. 162, Schulz to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated October 29, 1944. G. Schneider corroborated these facts in her camp memoirs.

8. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ko. 4/85, report of examination of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk; Orski, Poligon, p. 115.


10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIIB-6.


12. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz branch, Catalog No. Ds. 11/67, report of investigation of witness Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk.

13. According to the estimates of Gertrude Schneider’s mother, G. Schneider, Unfinished Road, p. 23.

Danzig (Betonfabrik)

Beginning on June 28, 1940, 70 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser were sent to work at the concrete plant (Betonfabrik) in Danzig-Langfuhr (Gdańsk Wrzeszcz), at what was then 235 Adolf-Hitler-Strasse.¹

The owner of the plant was a Polish ethnic German (Volkdeutscher), a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) who changed his name from August Roszkowski to August Röskau (Volksdeutscher), a member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) who arrived in May from Pawiak prison and from transports from the Danzig and Gdynia (Gotenhafen) area and hoped to have contact with their families, as well as to escape from the camp. The group included Poles arrested in late 1942 for belonging to underground organizations such as the Home Army’s Armed Combat Union and the Gray Ranks; in 1944, they were joined by Varsovians who arrived in May from Pawiak prison and from transports sent to Stutthof during the Warsaw Uprising.

The subcamp was shut down on December 1, 1940.⁴

DANZIG (DANZIG-WERFT) [aka DANZIG-TROYL, LAGER TROYL] ¹⁴³³

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and Recollections) (Tadeusz Masio, vol. 9); Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeindeten Förten und Zappot (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów” SiZeMu, no. 10 (1992); J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969).

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NOTES


3. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 1:139, account of Tadeusz Masio.

4. According to various authors, this occurred between the spring and autumn of 1941. We can establish an exact date, December 1, 1940, based on the labor assignment entry for prisoner Grzegorz Marszalkiewicz. M. Glinśki, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” SiZeMu, no. 3 (1979):168, situates it in Danzig Suchanino, not in Wrzeszcz, which the account of Tadeusz Masio, former prisoner of this subcamp, clearly indicates. The same error was repeated after that publication in a monograph on the camp published in 1988. They were two different detachments, although they did a similar type of work. Stutthof. Das Konzentrationslager, (Gdańsk: Wydawn, 2003) p. 230.

Danzig (Danziger-Werft) [aka DANZIG-TROYL, LAGER TROYL]

The Danziger-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order that the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp issued on August 25, 1944. The subcamp began operating a day later.¹ Besides the work detail (Aussenkommando) Danziger-Werft, there was also an external work camp (Aussenarbeitlager), Danziger-Werft. Initially 300 non-Jewish men were sent to work at the government shipyard; they had been picked from among skilled fitters, lathe operators, mechanics, and metalworkers, mostly recruited from people working at the German Equipment Works (DAW) shops, especially the gun repair shops. Most of the people who “volunteered” for the work detail were from the Danzig and Gdynia (Gotenhafen) area and hoped to have contact with their families, as well as to escape from the camp. The group included Poles arrested in late 1942 for belonging to underground organizations such as the Home Army’s Armed Combat Union and the Gray Ranks; in 1944, they were joined by Varsovians who arrived in May from Pawiak prison and from transports sent to Stutthof during the Warsaw Uprising.

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The prisoners helped to build new warships; they were to replace German specialists called up to the Wehrmacht. SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke was the subcamp’s commandant from August 26 to November 13, 1944; when he was transferred to the Stoboi subcamp, SS-Oberscharführer Willy Redder took the position. The guard unit consisted of 15 SS men assigned from the Stutthof camp and an unknown number of German navy sailors. Subsequent prisoner transports arrived on August 25, 1944 (300 people); September 19 (100); and October 5 and 31 (120 and 100, respectively). The last transport documented was sent on November 21, 1944, and it included 170 people. Thus, a total of 795 prisoners were sent to Danziger-Werft.

The camp was located in the Danzig-Troyl (Gdańsk-Przeróbka) section of Danzig, so the prisoner detachment has also been called Danzig-Troyl or Lager Troyl, the name used for the camp address. Each prisoner column was taken by narrow-gauge railway to the mouth of the Vistula River in Nickelswalde (Mikoszewo), then by a large riverboat to Danzig. They were quartered in a complex of seven wooden barracks previously occupied by civilian shipyard workers who had been moved somewhere else. The prisoners’ job was to fence the grounds, then to erect watchtowers. Each barrack was furnished with double-decker bunks, and one barrack housed the kitchen. Each separate room in the barracks was numbered in sequence. According to a former prisoner of the subcamp, the camp was located “right on the street that ran from the canal to the city,” from where prisoners were ferried daily to the workplace.

Knowing the area where the Danziger-Werft shipyard was located, which was on the left bank of the Motława River north of the mouth of the Radunia, the camp had to be on Przetocznà Strasse.

The day after the arrival of the first group of prisoners in Danzig, the entire transport was sent to the shipyard. Here, civilian engineers briefly spoke with the group to ascertain the skills of the prisoners assigned to work in specific departments at the shipyard. They were mainly put to work in the foundry, the forge or fitting shop, in earthmoving, transport, cleaning the camp, and clearing the city of rubble. Work at the shipyard was done in two shifts of 12 hours each. Prisoners worked at the shipyard in the same workstations as other forced laborers; for instance, Zbigniew Raczkiewicz was put in a four-man Polish-French group (two prisoners and two French prisoners of war [POWs]), assembling fans in one of the submarine sections. Besides their work, they also shared a common plight, and the Frenchmen expressed their solidarity by sharing what they received in International Red Cross packages with the Poles.

Camp chronicler Raczkiewicz rated conditions in camp and at work as better than, or at least no worse than, those at the Stutthof camp. Each prisoner occupied one bunk and could move freely about the entire camp. There were no harsh discipline procedures, and the camp supervisors were not brutal, with two exceptions. The first was Max Musolf, the first camp elder, who was replaced in November 1944 by Czesław Gdaniec, a Pole from Danzig who treated the prisoners more decently. The second exception was the second commandant, Willy Redder, who was especially brutal and often beat prisoners himself.

The shipyard was in charge of camp food supplies; it delivered food and issued dinners, which were low in calories and meager in portions. Meals were made in camp on the free Sunday. It is no wonder that many prisoners looked for opportunities to get something extra to eat, availing themselves of the assistance of family and friends—especially those from Gdynia, who supplied prisoners with food through civilian workers who risked exposure and severe punishment. The prisoners also took advantage of help from corrupt SS men, who let them meet their families to obtain cigarettes or gifts of food. After awhile, people could also leave food packages for inmates in the camp office, although the packages were searched thoroughly before reaching their recipients.

The prisoners were not well provided with shoes or clothing. This is evidenced by correspondence of the subcamp’s commandant to the clothing warehouse at the main camp. The commandant’s justification for requesting 600 pairs of shoes was that “this camp has no capability of providing prisoners with shoes. The workshops we have can only provide the most urgent shoe repairs.” The chief of the clothing warehouse, SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott, refused the request, saying there was a shortage of shoes.

In September 1944, the camp records list the first escape of three prisoners, who fled during the night shift at the shipyard and were caught 14 days later and sent to the Stutthof camp. There is no information on their punishment. Two more prisoners escaped a month later; there is no information on whether or not they were caught.

There were several successful escapes in January and February 1945 as the camp’s shutdown was approaching and supervision slackened. Czesław Szlachcikowski escaped successfully. When the guard was not watching, he left a barracks outside camp where he was working as an electrician, unnoticed, dressed in clothes his wife had sent him. Among the other successful escapees were Edmund Wyszecki, Włodzimierz Steyer, Bogusław Popkowski, and two Englishmen, Theo Ellsmor and Thomas Mitchell. The chances of a successful escape were the greatest for prisoners who could depend on the help of people beyond the barbed-wire fence and who had civilian clothing and fake identification papers. The Russians who dared to escape failed, as did many Varsovians.

Work stopped at the shipyard on January 17, 1945. There were 789 prisoners in the camp as of January 24, 1945. Camp conditions deteriorated: there was a food shortage, and the shipyard and personnel had been evacuated, so there was hardly any chance of getting extra food from outside. Every day a transport column would take out the bodies of dead prisoners to the crematorium at the Medical Academy or the cemetery in Sąsce. The detachment’s evacuation began on March 24, 1945, in several stages; the last group of prisoners reached the Stutthof camp in early April.
NOTES

5. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:233, account of Zbigniew Raczkiewicz.
6. On the location of the camp, former prisoner Gerard Knoff is of a similar opinion (AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 6:42). He says that the camp was near the present Ul. Ku Jęziću in Przeróbka on the Kashubian Canal; Ul. Przetoczna is an extension.
7. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Kpp 42/72 (Kraków), report of examination of witness Stanisław Czarnota; AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:61, 228, 15:161, accounts of Zdzisław Kolanko and Zbigniew Raczkiewicz.
8. Of a similar opinion were Zdzisław Kolanko (see above) and Stanisław Czarnota. AK-IPN Gd, witness examination report dated November 7, 1972 (original at Katowice division).
9. Zbigniew Raczkiewicz recalls this (AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:230–231, as well as his account in vol. 15).

SOURCES


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DANZIG (SCHICHAU-WERFT)

In 1944, the Schichau-Werft AG Elbing shipyard signed two contracts to employ prisoners at the Elbing shipyard and its Danzig branch. The Schichau-Werft subcamp was formed pursuant to a special order of the Stutthof concentration camp commandant dated September 12, 1944, effective September 13, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Hans Wansel from the 1st Guard Company (1./SS-Totenkopfsturmbann KL Stutthof) was named its commandant. Some 500 Jewish women were initially chosen for the transport. They were brought to Danzig (Gdańsk) by ship from the harbor at Fischerbake (Rybina) near the camp to the Schichau-Werft shipyard harbor in Danzig. Besides the commandant, 20 female supervisors were designated who were to be assigned to Danzig upon completing a special course. Until then, 10 guards from the 3rd Company were on duty; they returned to the Stutthof camp when the female supervisors arrived on October 18, 1944.1 Navy sailors also served as supervisors at the shipyard and in the camp.

From October 16 to November 23, 1944, more Jewish prisoner transports were sent to Danzig. They were selected out of a total of 1,100 men, which increased the maximum population of the entire detachment to 1,600 prisoners. Jews from Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, and Hungary prevailed in the first transports, while in late October, Jews from the Netherlands, France, and Hungary were sent from the Auschwitz concentration camp.2

Jewish prisoners were put to work both as skilled workmen and as helpers. Since there was a shortage of German skilled workers, the prisoners were trained as welders, smelters, and plumbers. The prisoners were quartered in former prisoner-of-war (POW) barracks (Soviet, French, and Italian POWs had lived there, in that order) in Danzig Kokoszki Stalag XX A, Burggraben, which had been handed over for use by the Wehrmacht command in September 1944; therefore, it was also called SS-Aussenkommando Burggraben, Danzig Kokoszki, and SS-Lager Burggraben.3 Working conditions at the Danzig shipyard, to which the prisoners had a long and arduous trip, were hard to bear, especially on the night shift. In addition, when the prisoners finished the night shift, they were often faced with day work at the camp, such as loading and unloading material. Besides assembling submarines, Jews also worked

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building anti-aircraft shelters for the workers employed at the shipyard, which in their opinion was among the hardest labor at the camp.4

Besides the arduous daily commutes to work from Kokoszki to Danzig in unheated train cars with the windows knocked out, the prisoners received starvation food rations. The supply of clothing and shoes, as well as food, of which the administration of Stutthof concentration camp was in charge, was inadequate, which is confirmed by correspondence of the subcamp’s commandant with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof.5 At camp, they slept in unheated barracks, sleeping from five to six hours. They would leave for work at 5:00 A.M. and worked from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with a half-hour break for lunch.6

In addition to the guards and women supervisors in the women’s barracks, the prisoners were supervised in camp by Jewish foremen prisoners (Kapos). As former subcamp prisoner Josef Katz states, they were just as brutal as their counterparts at the Stutthof camp. Among the most cruel were a Latvian Jew, Glücksmann, and a Pole called Chamek (which means “brute”), who had the positions of camp elders. Katz unambiguously described both of them as “animal characters.” Just after liberation, Chamek was shot by Russian soldiers, and Glücksmann fled.7 Another Kapo, Henryk Kleiman, a Polish Jew, was tried by the Płock District Court in 1949 (at a circuit session in Płonsk). His indictment charged him with serving as a Kapo or barrack elder from late 1944 onward. In this position, he “smashed skulls with rocks, choked people, and crushed heads with his feet.” Earlier he had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he behaved just as brutally as at Kokoszki. By judgment of the district court dated July 14, 1949, and appellate court dated February 18, 1950, he was sentenced to death. The court was not persuaded by his good reputation at Stutthof, finding that the good did not make up for the wrongs he had inflicted.8

Despite the seemingly extreme conditions, many Jews treated their stay at Schichau-Werft as an improvement of their plight in comparison with the Stutthof main camp, where they were constantly in danger of losing their lives. At Kokoszki, each of them received a plate, a cup, and a spoon for his or her own use, as well as a single bunk, while at Stutthof four prisoners slept in one bunk made up of three levels.9

The difficult living conditions in camp, the exhausting work, and malnutrition caused a high sick rate among prisoners. It increased in December 1944 when an epidemic of typhus and typhoid fever broke out. According to correspondence of the camp administration of Stutthof concentration camp was in charge, which is confirmed by correspondence of the subcamp’s commandant with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof, which was directly connected with the typhus epidemic in camp. Those people went to the hospital.10 There were only 991 prisoners in the camp in late January 1945.11 The burial register at the Zaspa cemetery listed 91 Schichau-Werft prisoners, and the Stutthof hospital also recorded some deaths.12 The number of deaths must have been considerably greater than that because the central camp sent more transports to replace the sick and dead. The dead were buried in mass graves near the camp or were taken out to be burned at the Danzig Medical Academy crematorium. The people buried at Kokoszki were exhumed in May 1994, and on November 5, 1994, the remains of 20 prisoners were solemnly laid to rest in a common grave at the Zaspa cemetery.13

In its last stage of operation, the Schichau-Werft camp was designated as a collection point and evacuation transit camp for Stutthof prisoners. All work at the shipyard ceased, beginning in January 1945. The prisoners were put to work removing snow from the streets or railroad tracks. Ever-increasing hunger prevailed in camp, and the sick and death rate increased; as many as 20 people died per day. On February 10, 1945, the 991 Jews remaining in camp were evacuated toward Lauenburg (Lębork). After leaving the evacuation camps in Rybno, Tawęcin, and Goddentow (Godetowo) near Lauenburg, some prisoners from the reevacuation route along with other evacuation columns were liberated at Chynów on March 10, 1945; others went back to the camp in Stutthof via Danzig. In late April 1945, they were evacuated by sea to Germany. The death rate in the group of Jews evacuated from Kokoszki was very high but difficult to establish. The high death rate was the result of shooting the sick and weak, as well as cases of infectious diseases, starvation, or extreme emaciation from marching or digging trenches. The number of deaths is estimated at a minimum of 100 people (from the column sent to Rybno and Tawęcin) as well as several dozen people from the group that reached Goddentow.14

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK, Division II—Lombard, sygn. 203/III-6; AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog Nos. 246–249, records of criminal case against Henryk Kleiman; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; AK-IPN, witness examination reports (Aleksander Arendt); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, Sonderbefehle, Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog Nos. I-IHV-5, I-IHV-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-23, reports collected by the Polish Red Cross, Lębork, 1945; Laski, Stutthof ac.; materials on the Kokoszki camp (compiled by K. Ciechanowski); Cmentarz-Zaspa, compiled by Andrzej Chudy; K. Ciechanowski, “Los nasz dla was przestraha ma być—nie legendą,” DB, November 3, 1994; K. Doenitz, 10 Jahre und 20 Tage (Frankfurt am Main, 1964); D. Drywa, Podobozy, (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print, typescript at AMS); J. Grabowska, Marsz śmierci. Ewakuacja pieszą więźniów KL Stutt- hof i jego podobozów. 25 stycznia—3 maja 1945 (Gdańsk, 1992); M. Andrzejewski, Elbtag w latach 1918–1939 (Elbtag from 1918 to 1939) (Gdańsk, 1987); Z. Binerowski, “Materiały statystyczne produkcji okrętowej stoczni Schichaua z lat 1855–1943,” LibGed 1 (1967); S. Gierszewski, Elbtag. Przechwyt i teraźniejszość, 3rd ed. (Gdańsk, 1970); J. Katz, One Who Came Back. The Diary of a Jewish Survivor (New York, 1973); F. Mamusza, Elbtag i okolic (Gdańsk, 1987); J. Ratz, “Surviving Burgraben,” in Muted Voices. Jewish survivors of Latvia Re-
NOTES

1. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, pp. 175–176, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenarbeiters Schichau-Werft Danzig; Lasik, Stutthof ac.

2. Ibid., pp. 175–176, 218, 226, 234, Kommandanturbefehle no. 69, 71, and 73, October 15, 22, and 30, 1944; and Catalog No. I-IIVH-5, commandant’s order of November 22, 1944, regarding moving 242 prisoners to Schicha-Werft Danzig.


8. AK-IPN, SO Płock, Catalog No. 246–249.


11. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp’s population on January 24, 1945.

12. Ibid., Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population, April 1945; Catalog No. I-VB-7, lists of prisoners who died in the camp; A. Chudy, Cmentarz Zaspa (AMS); Katz, One Who Came Back, pp. 231–233.


DANZIG (SCHULEMANN)

A new work detachment was established from Stutthof on July 11, 1941. Employment entries in prisoner files confirm the date that this subcamp opened. At the Stutthof camp, the labor supply announced recruitment for finishing work at Dr. Kurt Schulemann’s private obstetrics clinic being expanded at 23 Sandgrube Strasse (later Reverend Rogaczewski Ulica) in Danzig (later Gdańsk). According to Walerean Kilanowski’s account, 25 people signed up and were sent to Danzig that day. Another account states that Dr. Schulemann personally came to the Stutthof camp and picked prisoners for construction work in the commandant’s presence.

The prisoners were quartered on the street side of the second floor of the building under construction. Guards from the Stutthof camp oversaw them; their role was limited to securing the premises where prisoners worked and preventing escapes. Conditions in the detachment were decidedly better than those at the Stutthof main camp. The prisoners wore civilian overalls without camp markings, worked under the supervision of civilian foremen, and were safe from any persecution by the guards.

After two months in camp, two prisoners, Walerean Kilanowski and Kazimierz Dębski (aka Dębczak), began to plan their escape, at first independently of one another. They carefully observed the immediate area to plan an escape route and recorded the guards’ daily shifts. They designated a farm in Stara Kiszewa near Koscierzyna that belonged to the family of Michnikowski, a fellow prisoner in the same detachment, as the first stage of their escape. As their escape date they picked Saturday, August 16, 1941, after work had ended and before the evening roll call had begun. They took advantage of the momentary absence of any SS men, who all went into town every week at the same time, except for the one who was on duty. Six days later the escapees successfully reached the Michnikowski farm in Stara Kiszewa, where they received aid. The next day, refreshed and dressed in new clothing and underwear, they set off for German-occupied Poland, where they survived until the end of the war.

The consequences of that escape for the Danzig detachment’s prisoners themselves is not known. There are no other stories on the escape except for that one account. Work at the clinic construction site continued in spite of it, and the detachment was shut down only on October 30, 1941. When the subcamp was disbanded, the prisoners were put to work by the national office of the Reich Food Producers (Reichsnährstand) in Danzig. On November 21, 1941, the remaining prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp.

SOURCEs The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Franciszek Orski, Marek Orski trans. Gerard Majka.
Studziński; AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files; Relacje i wspomnienia (Henryk Tempczyk, vol. 1); Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941 (Danzig, November 1940); Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942 (Danzig, 1942); M.E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na te dokumentów,” StZeMu, no. 10 (1992).

NOTE


2. According to Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen Vororten und Zoppot 1940, 1941 (Danzig, November 1940) and Danziger Einwohnerbuch mit allen eingemeideten Vororten und Zoppot 1942 (Danzig, 1942), Dr. Kurt Schulemann was the owner of a private clinic (Privatklinik) engaged in obstetrics and gynecology.

3. Walerian Kilanowski’s recollections in AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia (1: 326, former prisoner Henryk Tempczyk’s compilation “Kolejarze w KL Stutthof”).

4. AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Franciszek Studziński dated October 4 and November 2, 1972 (Bydgoszcz).


**DANZIG**

(SSFHAUPTVERSORGUNGSLAGER)

The operation of this small detachment in Danzig (later Gdańsk), probably composed of just a few prisoners, is confirmed by a labor assignment entry dated June 23, 1940, in a prisoner file regarding the escape of Polish prisoner Leo Miotek.1 The fugitive was apprehended two hours later in his own apartment in Danzig Orunia and punished by being assigned to a penal company and receiving seven whippings at the post of 25 lashes each. The report filed for camp commandant M. Pauly on the chase contained the prisoner’s testimony that “he only wanted to bring a couple of shirts back for himself, as there was no change of clothing at camp, and he intended on returning.”

The prisoners worked at the SS-Main Supply Depot (SS-Hauptversorgungslager), presumably helping to sort and arrange the various items being stored in the warehouse. When the work was completed or the camp commandant decided to disband the detachment, the group returned to the main camp at Stutthof.
ment Department and the Management and Administration Agency show that the subcamp operated in November 1942, then from January to February 1943, and from June through September 1943. Records are incomplete, so it cannot be established whether the subcamp existed the entire time or just during those months. It is also not known how many prisoners worked in those detachments, the type of work they did, or the makeup of the guard unit. Nor is it known exactly where the subcamp headquarters was located or where the prisoners worked (possibly at Stutthof or Danzig).

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III, prisoner personal files, correspondence of Stutthof camp headquarters with the Danzig Gestapo Office; Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

**NOTES**

1. AMS, sygn I-III-43660, Lagerkommandantur Stutthof to the Danzig Gestapo Office, November 10, 1941, and January 12, 1942, on labor assignments for prisoners Józef Frost and Bernard Sipion.
2. Ibid., prisoner Józef Frost’s personal file.
3. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIA-9, I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor.

**DANZIG-HOLM**

Beginning on October 16, 1944, 100 Jewish women were put to work at the Danzig-Holm (Gdańsk-Ostrów) naval shipyard, a subsidiary of the Danzig shipyard. SS-Unterscharführer Josef Forstner was designated as the subcamp’s commandant. Pursuant to the special order that created the camp, the staff also included seven German sailors and one trained woman supervisor from the Stutthof camp.1 There were four female supervisors: Gerda Steinhoff (sentenced to death by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946) and Lieselotte Oberauf served until December 18, 1944; and Elisabeth Thimm and Charlotte Weber from December 19, 1944.2

The Jewish women were primarily from Poland and Hungary. They were mainly quartered in workshops in a separate camp that bordered a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp. There had been a large camp complex next to it at the naval shipyard since 1942; the complex included prisoners and POWs of 13 nationalities, primarily Poles and Frenchmen but also Russians, Dutchmen, Belgians, Italians, and others. The camp had 50 barracks, in which approximately 3,200 people were quartered in the autumn of 1944, including Stutthof concentration camp prisoners.3

Before the Jewish women left for Danzig, the commandant ordered that they be issued warm winter clothing, shoes in good condition, gloves, and soap. Besides that, in October 1944, the subcamp’s commandant asked the Stutthof clothing warehouse manager to send additional supplies. They were delivered in late October 1944 and included 20 pairs of shoes and 20 pieces of women’s underwear. In his next letter of November 1, 1944, the commandant reported that the new underwear and shoes had already been expended and requested delivery of another 30 pairs of shoes and clothing, 80 pairs of underwear, as well as 100 pairs of gloves and woolen yarn for darning. Orders were generally filled meticulously. Warm winter clothing such as coats, foot wrappings, and gloves, and materials to mend clothes and shoes, were ordered in late autumn and the winter months.4 The concern with which the Stutthof provisions officer and the Danzig subcamp’s commandant strove to secure seasonally appropriate clothing and shoes for the women is striking.

A naval kitchen at the adjoining POW camp supplied the camp with food and cooked the meals. On average, the daily ration was about 170 grams (6 ounces) of bread and 1 liter (1 quart) of soup a day, with two spoonfuls of jam issued at supper with the bread.5 Such high standards were not always observed, as one of the camp’s female supervisors testified at trial in Danzig. Still, it was only due to the feeding and systematic change of clothing and shoes that the detachment had the same population in late January 1945 as it did at the outset, with no loss of life. There were still 100 people in the camp on January 24, 1945, the same people who had arrived there in mid-October 1944.6

The special care for the inmates’ physical fitness was doubtless due to the fact that they were put to work in a shipyard that made submarines for the Kriegsmarine, along with the manufacture of rocket weapons, the production of which was supposed to be a major trump in the decisive phase of World War II. That is how the Germans intended to regain naval superiority.

The origins of the industry at Ostrów (Holm) date back to the early years of the twentieth century, when a special railway line connecting the island to land was built in 1905 for freight traffic. The line was closely associated with the electrical engineering works that had been established and the railroad shops at Przeróbka (Troyl). A submarine base was established on the island during World War I, and two new wet docks were built for the base.

The Jewish women worked for the Marine-Bauleitung Danzig-Holm, which was in charge of the navy site on Ostrów Island. The women were not put to work in direct production of the submarines but in earthmoving projects. G. Steinhoff testified at trial in Gdańsk in 1946 that the women worked crushing rock and doing earthmoving work, which could have been for workshop expansion projects in the shipyard and adjoining areas. She thought the work was easy compared with the conditions at camp, where Jewish women were more liable to be treated badly. Here are some excerpts from the stenographic record of the trial:

**Judge:** What kind of labor did the prisoners do?

**Gerda Steinhoff:** They crushed rock and did earthmoving work.
Judge: Did you ever hit a prisoner?

Gerda Steinhoff: No, because I ran the entire camp office and had no direct contact with the prisoners. The Lagerführerin supervised the prisoners and sometimes beat them.

Judge: If the Lagerführerin did not punish a prisoner who was working poorly, would you punish such a woman and how would you do so?

Gerda Steinhoff: I would keep the prisoner in camp as punishment.

Judge: Which means that it was worse at camp than at labor?

Gerda Steinhoff: Yes, labor was a relief.7

The detachment was evacuated to the Stutthof camp in late March and early April 1945, at the same time as the two remaining Danzig subcamps, that is, the Danziger-Werft and Schichau-Werft shipyards. We do not know how many prisoners reached the main camp. Some of them perished during the bombings of Danzig, some escaped, and the rest reached the Stutthof camp in reduced numbers. They were faced with another evacuation by sea in late April 1945.

SOURCES Trial proceedings of the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court are held at the AK-IPN. See, in particular, SSK Gd, sygn. 7, records of criminal case against Gustav Zuchaschewski; sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff and others; sygn. 422, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others, sentences of judgment; and sygn. 423, stenographic record of criminal case against John Pauls and others. Documents containing information on the Danzig-Holm subcamp can be found also at AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 79–83. Stutthof ac; “SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu,” DB, April 28, 1946, stenographic records of G. Steinhoff’s testimony. 3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn.7, pp. 9–10, testimony of Wachleiter Gustav Zuchaschewski. 4. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 79–83. 5. G. Steinhoff’s testimony at trial in Gdańsk, “SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu,” p. 3; AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 423, G. Steinhoff’s testimony at trial in Gdańsk. 6. AMS, sygn. I-IIIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population. 7. “SS-frauen-megery ze Stutthofu,” p. 3

DANZIG-LANGFUHR

The archival materials surviving from the former Stutthof camp recorded another Stutthof external detachment set up in Danzig’s Langfuhr section (Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz). It operated from January 2, 1940, to December 2, 1941.1 The employer was a police headquarters, to which prisoners were hired out to build barracks for a Police School (Führerschule, Truppenwirtschaftsleiter der Waffen-SS, Danzig-Langfuhr, TWL-Langfuhr). There are more details on this detachment in the stenographic record of the 1949 trial of Bogdan Wilhelm, who was put to work in the Wrzeszcz detachment as a cook from June to August 1940.2

The detachment numbered considerably over 100 people. Wilhelm said there were approximately 100 to 120 prisoners; other witnesses say as many as 180 prisoners. The prisoners worked building barracks for the Police School training center. They were quartered in barracks on the construction site. The police provided the detachment’s food, which Wilhelm transported in and distributed. The standard evening meal consisted of 0.5 liters (2 cups) of soup per prisoner, which did not always serve everyone because of limited rations. Witnesses have testified that Wilhelm would beat prisoners who demanded additional portions on the arms with a ladle in order to restore order as dinner was being issued and would also put sand into the soup. The defendant testified that he did so “out of concern that there would be a scabies infection” from sick people taking remnants of food out of the kettle and also to discipline prisoners while keeping their infractions secret from the SS men, whom he thought would employ much more repressive measures if the infractions were reported. Sometimes as dinner was being given out, Wilhelm was accompanied by Józef Reiter, a Polish foreman prisoner, who would beat the crowding prisoners with a tree root approxi-
prisoner files have not corroborated the existence of another detachment at Danzig-Langfuhr, which began on November 18, 1941.6 This reference is to the same type of labor and the same subcamp operating continuously from January 1940 but with many prisoner exchanges between Stutthof and Danzig (especially in summer and autumn 1941).


NOTES
2. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 167.
3. Józef Reiter was tried at the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court in 1946 and sentenced to death. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 417, report of examination of Józef Reiter, dated 1945.

DANZIG-MATZKAU
A work detachment in Matzkau (later Maćkowy), a section of Danzig (Gdańsk), was first a subcamp of the Neufahrwasser civilian detention camp set up on the premises of Danzig’s SS-Heimwehr barracks. The initial group of approximately 20 prisoners arrived on or around September 20, 1939. According to a prisoner in that transport, a “sizable” group of prisoners—Poles arrested in Danzig at the beginning of the war—was sent out of Neufahrwasser. More transports were sent to the subcamp in subsequent months; there were already over 250 people in the camp in early November 1939. They were housed in a large empty space where they slept on a layer of straw on the floor. SS-Rottenführer Hans Rach was the group’s commander.1

The earliest references to the detachment’s existence in prisoner files are from February 1940.2 When the camp headquarters was moved from Neufahrwasser to Stutthof, the Matzkau detachment was made into a subcamp under the Stutthof camp commandant. Its population was unstable; small groups of prisoners were frequently moved to other sites, such as Danzig-Westerplatte, Grenzdorf, or the Stutthof main camp. These changes are confirmed by prisoner files marked with entries on transfers about where they lived and worked.3

Initially, the prisoners were put to work laying foundations and then expanding the barracks and utility buildings of the Matzkau structure. The barracks were then designated as a penal camp for SS members (Strafvollzugslager). The prisoners also did household and cleanup work on barrack premises; for example, there were 18 prisoners in the Wehrmacht clothing warehouses; others did gardening or worked in the kitchen. They began installing new shooting stations, as well as central heating pipes and a sewage system in the expanded section of the barracks in the spring of 1940. The work was done in the open air, regardless of weather conditions such as rain or strong winds. In early April 1940 (according to entries in prisoner files in May 1940), approximately 250 prisoners were selected from the Stutthof camp and transported to Matzkau. Another group of 50 prisoners was delivered from Stutthof in August 1940, and yet another transport was sent in the autumn of the same year. The camp’s population grew to approximately 300 prisoners in late 1940. Construction work at the barracks was reaching its end in January 1941; thus, a few weeks later the camp population was reduced to 100. The population also kept dropping regularly as prisoners were released from camp.4

Initially, in the autumn of 1939, camp conditions were exceptionally hard. The prisoners slept on the damp straw, with no coverings. They were not provided with a change of underwear and could not perform daily hygiene, which contributed to the spread of lice infestation. Food rations were no different than those received at the Neufahrwasser camp. The prisoners were each issued 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of claylike bread, a bit of beet jam or margarine, and a cup of bitter coffee for breakfast and lunch. For dinner they each got 0.75 liters (3 cups) of watery soup with some flour and sometimes a herring. The food situation improved after the administration granted permission for food packages from families to be delivered to camp. They were divided freely among all the prisoners. At the end of the year, each prisoner received a pair of wooden shoes and a blanket when an officer from Danzig Prisoner Camp headquarters inspected the camp. But there was a shortage of warm gloves and sweaters.

A Polish clergyman from the Pelplin seminary escaped from the detachment in early December 1939. His escape was successful and caused no repercussions among the other prisoners; there are no references to this escape at all in the documentation of former prisoners.5 Another effective way of getting out of camp was through self-injury. One prisoner
used a reed to perforate his nasal septum, causing a hemorrhage. He reported to the foreman and was released from Matzkuw and sent back to Stutthof.6

The Danzig firm of Römer u. Dehlerst Danzig, Unternehmung, Hoch u. Tiefbau was in charge of the construction work. Several prisoners worked in the firm's engineering office as construction engineers. They lived in appreciably better conditions than those who were put to work at manual labor: they were better fed, they slept separately with the kitchen staff, and they were permitted to move about the entire camp. Prisoners who came to the camp in the summer of 1940 stated that the working conditions and food were tolerable; the guards did not persecute them as they did at Stutthof; moreover, Leo Römer, the firm's owner, saw to it that the prisoners were well fed, for which he paid in the entirety.7

During the autumn of 1940, several dozen prisoners were sent out to do farmwork. A list of prisoners with occupational skills was compiled at camp in March 1941, and 30 of them with specialties in the trades were chosen and moved to Stutthof. On April 1, 1941, the entire group was released from camp and moved to the Jost barrel factory in Danzig as hired laborers.8

SS men from the Stutthof camp supervised the detachment beginning in mid-1940. The names of several of them are known: SS-Rottenführer Otto Arnold, Max Scholl, and Emil Wenzel, as well as SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Friedland. No information on the camp staff in 1941 or the subcamp's management is available. Two staff members were held responsible after the war: Wenzel was sentenced to 10 years in prison at a trial in Gdańsk in 1947, and the Toruń District Court sentenced Arnold to 3 years in prison that same year.9

The camp was shut down when all contracted work had been completed in August 1941 and the prisoners returned to Stutthof. The last record concerning labor at Matzkuw in prisoner files ends on August 11, 1941.10

SOURCES In addition to the sources mentioned in the Stutthof Subcamp system entry, the following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; SOF; Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AK-IPN/Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, camp prisoner files and staff personnel files; Relacje i wspomnienia (vol. 15, Edmund Nirkiewicz); R. Duzik, Wspomnienia. Los obróbców po kapitulacji Westerplatte (Łódź, 1981) (typescript at AMS); AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia (15:114–115, account of Edmund Nirkiewicz); Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu, pp. 21–29.

1. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); Gdańsk 1939.

2. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-49929, I-III-49945, files of prisoners Mieczysław Pklechawski and Czesław Nowakowski. They were sent to Matzkuw on February 19, 1940; ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstäten unter dem Reichsführer-SS, p. 287.


5. Gdańsk 1939, account of Stanisław Szymański; Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu, pp. 23–27.

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).

7. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 1:114–115, account of Edmund Nirkiewicz.


9. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 76, 79; SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold.

10. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49917, personal files of prisoner Tadeusz Piszyczyk.

DANZIG-OLIVA (REITSCHULE)

A Stutthof subcamp, Danzig-Oliva (Gdańsk-Oliva) consisted of several prisoners who worked at the Huth Riding School (Huth-Reitschule). Prisoner employment records show that the subcamp was in operation from July 16, 1940, to June 21, 1941. Huth subleased the prisoners from the civil prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser, and the prisoners probably worked keeping the premises clean. The business is not listed in the Danzig address directories surviving from 1927–1928 and 1941–1942.


NOTES

1. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); Gdańsk 1939.

Marek Orski

trans. Gerald Majka

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945
From April 7 to November 11, 1941, a group of tradesmen prisoners (bricklayers, metalworkers, painters, toolmakers, etc.) were put to work on the premises of the Higher-SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) headquarters for Danzig–West Prussia at 2 Opitzstrasse in Danzig (later ul. Orzeszkowa in Gdańsk’s Wrzeszcz section). The detachment’s name, Opitzstrasse (or Opitzstrasse/Gruppenführer), appears in prisoner files. All the prisoners working there were Poles who had been arrested in September 1939 in Gdynia and Danzig and then put in a Danzig prison. All the prisoners working there were Poles who had been arrested in September 1939 in Gdynia and Danzig and then put in a Danzig prison at Danzig-Neufahrwasser.

The Danzig–West Prussia HSSPF administration, whose area of control was the same as that of the military Defense District XX (Weichsel), started operations when SS-Gruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt was named to his post on September 21, 1939. It was initially located at the police headquarters on Karrenwall Strasse (later Okopowa) and later, from April 1940 at least, at 2 Opitzstrasse. The same building also housed the SS and police court facilities (SS- und Polizeigericht IV) as well as those of the Reich Commissariat for the Employment of a small detachment at the Hans Carstens private meat import-export company contains notes on prisoner files dated from March 27 through July 30, 1940. Poles Henryk Raczyński and Leon Wojański were put to work in the Carstens company as master butchers. The business was located at Engelscher Damm 16. No exact data on the number of prisoners assigned to this work are available. They were dispatched by the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser and probably housed on-site due to the continuous nature of the business.

SS-Rottenführer Oskar Gottschau, a Stutthof concentration camp staff member, testified at trial in 1947 that in the spring of 1940 he supervised the work of 30 Stutthof camp prisoners in a factory in Schellmühl. That could have been the Carstens company. In that same trial, the Danzig District Court sentenced him to 10 years in prison.


Two prisoner detachments were created in the Schellmühl (Młyniska) section of Danzig (Gdańsk) from 1940 to 1944. The first was organized in 1940. The information on the employment of a small detachment at the Hans Carstens private meat import-export company contains notes on prisoner files dated from March 27 through July 30, 1940. Poles Henryk Raczyński and Leon Wojański were put to work in the Carstens company as master butchers. The business was located at Engelscher Damm 16. No exact data on the number of prisoners assigned to this work are available. They were dispatched by the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser and probably housed on-site due to the continuous nature of the business.

SS-Rottenführer Oskar Gottschau, a Stutthof concentration camp staff member, testified at trial in 1947 that in the spring of 1940 he supervised the work of 30 Stutthof camp prisoners in a factory in Schellmühl. That could have been the Carstens company. In that same trial, the Danzig District Court sentenced him to 10 years in prison.


(Fassfabrik). Based on the fragmentary documentary materials available, a group of prisoners hired out for labor at the factory was put to work there at two different times. The first period was from late December 1940 to August 1941; then again from October 23 to December 7, 1944.¹ The first and last dates in the prisoners’ files reflect these times. Based on the surviving documentary materials and records on former prisoners, no additional information on this detachment is available.²

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted for this entry: AMS, sygn. I-III-, prisoner personal files; Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and recollections), (AI), tape recording of I. Andrzejewski’s account; listing of transports of prisoners sent from the Stutthof main camp to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941; Danzig wirbt für seine Industrie, Alphabetisches Stichworterverzeichnis der Danziger Industriedenkmale. Die Firmen der Danziger Industrie und Handwerk, ed. Handelskammer zu Danzig (Danzig, 1933); A. Duzik, Wspomnienia. Los obronców po kapitulacji Westerplatte (Łódź, 1981), pp. 6–7 (copy at AMS).

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**NOTES**

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49852, Catalog No. I-III-43070, personal files of prisoners Alojzy Usarek and Stanisław Dziuba; see M. Orski, Verzeichnis der Nebenlager und grösseren Aussenkommandos des KZ-Stutthof (Gdańsk, 1996), p. 275; AMS, AI, account of Izydor Andrzejewski (tape recording, 1999); and AMS, Z Collections, a listing of transports of prisoners let out of the Stutthof camp and sent to the Jost factory on April 29 and October 30, 1941, n.p.


**DANZIG-WESTERPLATTE**

The first group of 1,200 prisoners from the civilian prisoner camp at Danzig-Neufahrwasser was sent to Westerplatte on September 15, 1939.¹ Initially, the group was a semistationary work detachment. For the first two weeks the prisoners did not return to camp, sleeping in the ruins of destroyed buildings in the summer clothing in which they had been arrested. Among them were Polish priests and Jews.

The prisoners worked in groups to clear the premises of the former garrison at Westerplatte, which had been the scene of heavy fighting during the German invasion. The prisoners’ labor consisted of removing bombs, unexploded shells, and barbed-wire entanglements; leveling the site; and demolishing destroyed buildings and repairing damaged ones.² Clearing the premises of unexploded shells was among the most dangerous jobs because there were often explosions that wounded prisoners and tore their clothes to shreds. Later, all the building material (bricks, wall tiles, and so on) was loaded onto barges at the port canal and hauled by tugboat to the Stutthof camp, which was then under construction.

Young men from the Reich Labor Service (RAD) aged 17 to 18, as well as SS men from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, supervised the prisoners. The inmates remembered one of them well: SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius, of whom one prisoner wrote that he was “Lord of life and death in Westerplatte at that time.”³ Many prisoners were murdered by SS men as they were working. In addition, the young German supervisors from the Labor Service would often beat prisoners with their gun butts and bats for no reason.

The prisoners were not given any food during their workday except for a piece of bread and coffee for breakfast. They ate what they found in the ruins of the barracks, such as moldy bread, canned foods, and vegetables from the garden, although some of the young men from the Labor Service took pity on the Polish Catholic priests and gave them some of their food rations. Many prisoners became ill due to the low temperatures and their insufficient clothing, which was inappropriate for the season and ragged from work. Some 400 to 500 prisoners normally worked at Westerplatte each day.

On September 18, 1939, due to Hitler’s planned visit to Danzig and Westerplatte, all the prisoners were removed from the peninsula and held on the seashore, surrounded by a cordon of SS men, for a period of one to three days (depending on the account). Following a triumphal entry into the city on September 19, during which he received the cheers of crowds of enthusiastic Germans, Hitler, in the company of Hermann Göring, visited the section of Westerplatte that the prisoners had cleared.⁴ On September 28, 1939, after the detachment had been operating for two weeks, the prisoners were taken back to the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp.⁵ New prisoners were sent in their place, although they were not quartered at Westerplatte but were returned to camp each evening after work.⁶ The new detachment numbered approximately 500 people in December 1939.⁷ SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Mathesius became the subcamp’s commandant in January 1940. SS-Unterscharführer Oskar Gottschau and four SS men supervised the detachment; Gottschau’s duties also included guarding Westerplatte from entry by any civilians.⁸ At the Stutthof Trial in 1947, Gottschau received a sentence of 10 years in prison.

The subcamp operated as an external detachment with brief pauses until late February 1940, when Stutthof camp headquarters created a permanent subcamp (Aussenstelle Westerplatte) at the Westerplatte site. Commandant Pauly selected 300 Polish prisoners for the transport on March 2, 1940. They were loaded into trucks and moved to Westerplatte.

The prisoners continued to remove rubble and put the site of the burned barracks in order. Some of the buildings that were in danger of collapsing were dismantled; the others were repaired and turned over to the army. The work had probably been ordered by the army, to which the barracks had belonged until World War I. Some of the building material reclaimed from the battlefield was taken to Stutthof to be reused in the camp’s expansion.

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945**
The work, which lasted from 6:00 A.M. until dusk on weekdays and until 4:00 P.M. on Sunday, required great exertion. The workers had to maintain a fast pace; if anyone slowed down or left for a moment, he could be shot for feigning work or attempting to escape. Camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer Paul Ehle (who took over command in March 1940) and the dozen or so staff members were held responsible for those killings. Stanisław Matuszczak witnessed one such event:

Some of us were so emaciated that they did not have the strength to stand. At a roll call, Oberscharführer Binke said that those who could not keep up were staying inside were to go out into the fresh air, which would do them good. He assigned them to the job of cutting wicker. After the roll call, we had to escort them out to the work site. There were sixteen of them. I heard shots at about twelve o’clock. As we returned from our labor detachments, we saw Peters and two other SS men standing where the prisoners had been cutting wicker, and the shot prisoners lying on the ground. All sixteen had been shot.9

The prisoners were quartered in former army barracks, which had damaged roofs that leaked. There were no panes in the windows, and the empty spaces were filled with barbed wire. The floor was lined with hay that had been there since the previous winter. The prisoners were not provided with even the most primitive sanitary necessities for washing or shaving. The SS men finished off extremely emaciated prisoners with their guns. There was no infirmary at the subcamp; sick people were not given medical care. The most emaciated and disabled were taken back to Stutthof. The prisoners were not provided with their own clothes in which they’d been taken. Although it was sometimes shabby, the clothing did not draw attention like the camp striped uniform did.10

Several SS men from Stutthof served as supervisors in the Danzig-Westplatte subcamp. These SS men were among the 13 supervisors confirmed in the records.11 The subcamp was shut down in mid-June 1941 when the entire Westplatte site was cleared. Approximately 30 prisoners were sent to work at the sawmill and chemical works in Danzig’s Stogi section; the others returned to the Stutthof main camp.12

**NOTES**

1. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 4:98, account of Władysław Konarzewski. On the other hand, Franciszek Szwirze testified at Albert Forster’s trial that on September 15, 1939, approximately 2,000 prisoners were sent to work from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp, AP Gd, sygn. 49/IV/5, p. 374. According to Franciszek Racławski, the first cleanup group had been sent to Westplatte on September 10; see AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 2:33.


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4. See AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:351, account of Mieczysław Filipowicz; Gdan’s 1939, accounts of Antoni Leszczyński and Paweł Wohlerdt; Duzik, Wspomnienia.


6. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 5:156, account of Anzelm Rudłowski, 31:235–236, Stefan Stachura; Kazimierz Brzuszkewicz’s letter to the Stutthof Museum, December 5 and 20, 2000; Gdan’s 1939, account of Alfonz Olszewski.

7. Gdan’s 1939, account of Mieczysław Szymański.

8. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, p. 259.


11. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.


**DANZIG-ZIGANKENBERG**

From May 15, 1940, to April 30, 1941, a group of prisoners worked at the city brickyard (Städtische Ziegelei Zigankenberg) on what was called Gypsy Hill (Cygańska Góra) in Danzig-Zigankenberg (later Gdańsk Suchanino). The subcamp was listed in camp records as Aussenstelle- Zigankenberg. The prisoners were quartered on the premises of the brickyard. Employment assignment notes in prisoner files confirm the subcamp’s existence.

No accurate data are available on the number of people in the detachment or on the working conditions.

**SOURCES** See “Stutthof Main Camp” for sources and other bibliographic information.

**NOTE**

1. AMS, sygn. I-III-49930, I-III-50079, personal files of prisoners Aleksander Paradowski and Feliks Zielinski. Based on these records, we can establish that the subcamp operated between May 15, 1940, and April 30, 1941.

**DOMACHAU**

From October to November 1939 the Danzig Prison Camp Command and the civilian prisoner camps under it, especially the Stutthof camp, organized many “farm detachments” (Bauernkommandos) to help with the root crop harvest and cultivation. According to the testimony of A. Schwartz, the camp farm manager, in 1939 approximately 3,000 people from all of the civilian prisoner camps were assigned to work on farms located in villages in the Danzig Highlands (Danziger Höhe) and Danzig Lowlands (Danziger Niederung) as well as in Zuławy (Weder).

Among detachments of this type was one at the estate at Domachau (later Domachowo) organized from March 12 to August 29, 1940. The estate was close to Danzig (Gdańsk) near Grenzdorf (Graniczna Wieś). It was owned by the German Rittergut, a subsidiary of the SS. Prisoners who specialized in farmwork were probably sent by the Grenzdorf civilian prisoner camp. There is no other information on the detachment except for labor assignment entries made in prisoner files. Besides prisoners, during the height of fieldwork and harvesting, Rittergut also employed regular paid workers and Russian prisoners of war (POWs). Stutthof prisoners also worked on the estate in the following years.

The campaign to hire out prisoners to German farmers on a mass scale and for a fee began in early October 1939. Approximately 700 prisoners were still doing farmwork in January 1940. Detachments averaged in size from 10 to 20 people; on smaller farms, there were just a few working inmates. The camp provided partial escort and supervision of prisoners while they worked. This job was also done by local SS or SA members. Farm owners were responsible for housing prisoners and guards from the camp and providing them with food for the entire day.

Prisoners worked harvesting potatoes and sugar beets, threshing grain, and doing general farm chores. Their average period of employment was from four to six weeks. After they were done, they went back to the camp at Danzig Neufahrwasser or were sent straight to the Stutthof or Grenzdorf camp.

Prisoners were hired out to work on farms for several reasons: the first was the mass influx of prisoners to the camps, which could not accommodate such large numbers; there was no way to house them. Second, there were also problems with provisions. In his testimony before an officer of the American Military Court (AMC) in Freising in 1945, Albert Schwartz said in English:

In the first days of September the number of interned people went up to about fifteen thousand (15,000) men,
of which after an initial screening, about six thousand (6,000) remained to be examined in detail by the Gestapo. Since the Stutthof camp... could not house so many people at that time, large groups of prisoners were sent to several large farms in the rural counties of Danzig to help in harvesting. About three thousand (3,000) men were employed this way, and the farms had to house and feed prisoners and guards and also pay a fee of one mark daily for each prisoner.”

Another reason was the new farm structure in Pomerania. All Polish farming estates and smaller farms were requisitioned and confiscated by the Nazi authorities. They were allocated to local Germans, then to the German nationals (Reichsdeutsche) and ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) brought in from the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Putting prisoners to work in agriculture made up for the outflow of hired labor caused by the displacement of Polish families and by warfare. In the initial months of the civilian prisoner camps’ operation, prisoner labor on the farms was also a means to obtain funds to maintain the camps, which were just being set up.

Prisoners were assigned to work under a contract between the camp command and local farm directors (Ortsbauerführer), who were the lowest organizational level for farms in the Reich. The procedure for hiring out prisoners for labor was extremely simple. Prisoners were escorted by several SS men to the township offices, where selection for labor at respective farms took place. Many Pomeranian township directors, who were in charge of agriculture for their areas, applied for prisoner labor. Their duties generally included all administrative and occupational farm business involving government agricultural and animal-breeding requirements, especially seeing to it that work was done on time and deliveries were made as agreed. The allocation of farm machinery, tools, fertilizer, sowing and breeding material, and labor was up to them.

Recruitment for the work was generally voluntary and met with no resistance from Poles, who preferred the considerably more peaceful labor in the fields to staying in camp where they were exposed to brutal treatment by SS men. Most prisoners thought the farmers’ attitude toward them was positive, pointing out that the supervision was benign, that the food was good, and that some farmers even attempted to keep them on permanently at their farms. In general, conditions at the farms were better than at the main camps. As Bruno Zwarra stated, at some detachments prisoners were given a bit of freedom outside of work; they could do such things as go outside the farm premises to the inn or even to the movies, but, as he points out, “not all Germans were so tolerant toward Poles. I later learned from friends that there were also Germans who constantly prodded and beat the people working in the field.” There were even extreme instances of their drastic treatment by the Germans, especially if the farm owner was a fanatic Nazi official.

The practice by Pomerania’s German landowners of hiring laborers for seasonal work had already existed for some time. Mainly Poles hired themselves out for that work. There were at least 10,000 of them in the Free City of Danzig. The German aggression against Poland and the resultant warfare had caused delays in the root crop harvest and autumn sowing because the Polish army’s mobilization had drained the land of workers and the combat itself had caused dislocations in the initial weeks of the war. Over the long run these delays could cause food shortages in the Reich, whose domestic agricultural output before the war had not fully supplied the market with farm and livestock products (they made up for that by importing food). German propaganda demanded that Polish workers be assigned to that work and that a food “granary” be created for all of Germany out of the lands annexed to the Reich, thus making it independent of foreign countries.

Many Jewish women were sent to work on the land in the summer and autumn of 1944, probably because there was no work for them at the central camp and its subcamps. Leaving camp meant an improvement in their situation and a greater chance of survival, as hunger and a high sick rate prevailed there. The accounts of Lithuanian Jews Cyla Kajcer-Perla, Maria Rolnikajte, and many others hold dramatic descriptions of selections for work, which only a small group of women could get. Those who were in good physical condition were selected for the work, first and foremost being tall enough and having strong, healthy legs with no traces of ulceration. Because work groups for grain or potato harvests were only organized from time to time, that was the only opportunity to leave camp and get away from the brutal supervisors. Work lasted from 4:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M., with an hour’s break for breakfast and dinner. Besides fieldwork, they also did all the farmwork and housekeeping chores such as milking the cows, chopping wood, pumping water, sweeping the yard, and so on, including on Sunday. They were issued food irregularly. Rolnikajte stated that once a week they were rationed one loaf of bread and a quarter kilo (approximately nine ounces) of margarine, plus a cup of coffee for breakfast and soup at dinnertime. There were no arduous roll calls, daily persecutions by SS men and foremen prisoners, mindless killings of Jews, or selections in the barracks.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, PMW-BZW, sygn. 327, testimony of A. Schwartz, Freising, September 12, 1945; SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Anna Makarska, Wroclaw); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-III/A-9, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Relacje i wspomnienia (vol. 4, Władysław Konarzewski; vol. 5, Feliks Sadowski; vol. 14, Józef Szarkowski); Brunon Zwarra, Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdan’czan, Wybór i opracowanie (Gdańsk, 1984); M., Rolnikajte, Ja dotzna raszkazat (Moscow, 1965).

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A subcamp was formed on November 20, 1944, pursuant to the commandant’s order issued that same day. The chief of Amtsgruppe D at the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) had given permission for the camp to be formed on November 10, 1944.1 SS-Oberscharführer Wilhelm Werner was designated camp commandant (Lagerführer); he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Albert Paul Höldtke on November 18, 1944. Some 24 guards sent by Elbing military headquarters (Wehrmachtskommandantur Elbing) were assigned to the detachment’s transport and supervision, and SS women Margarete Okon (starting December 19, 1944) and Edith Thews and Johanna Wisotzki (January 1945) were also assigned from the Stutthof camp.2

In official correspondence the camp was called Aussenarbeitsslager Stoboi bei Elbing. The name Brückenkopfbau was also used.3 This was the name used for the military fortifications in the outskirts of Elbing (Elblag). The detachment was headquartered in Stoboi (later Kamiennik Wielki) near Elbing. The prisoners worked under the direction of the Organisation Todt (OT). There were male French prisoners from POW and labor camps also working in the same area, as well as Polish workers and Germans from the German Labor Front (DAF). The OT supervised the construction work.

Upon the commandant’s order, 500 female Jewish prisoners were sent to Stoboi in the first transport. The population increased by 500 more Jewish women who were sent in late November or early December 1944. This is confirmed by Werner’s letter of December 2, 1944, regarding sending additional clothing, because “the second transport of five hundred women is very inadequately clothed.” The detachment’s population has been confirmed by Eugenia Kacówna, a prisoner of the subsidiary, who testified in 1945 that “on November 18 [or] 20, 1944, I was selected and sent to Elbing, where I worked on anti-tank barriers. A total of one thousand of us women worked there.”

Food supplies for the guard staff and prisoners were provided by the OT administration, which operated its own kitchen. In the camp, whose exact location and prisoner housing conditions are unknown, there was an infirmary, as evidenced by Werner’s letter to Stutthof main camp headquarters dated December 2, 1944, in which he asks that three white smocks and 20 towels be sent at once for the camp infirmary. The difficult winter conditions and considerable physical exertion expended on digging antitank trenches were made worse by the already inadequate supply of warm clothing and shoes.

According to a report of January 24, 1945, 341 women were in the camp. However, Kacówna stated in her account that, one day later, about 400 women went to the main camp in Stutthof, and the rest were evacuated three days later. There may have been two transports, the first with 400 women who reached the Stutthof camp before January 25, and the second with the number mentioned in the report—altogether 741 persons. If that is in fact the case, it would indicate a roughly 25 percent drop from the initial camp population of approximately 1,000.

The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; AMS, sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; sygn. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; sygn. I-IVB-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; Lasik, Stutthof ac; D. Drywa, Podoboz (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, File obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na terenie miasta Elbląga w latach 1940–1945 (Gdańsk, 1992).

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NOTES
3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, p. 69, testimony of E. Foth given at Gdańsk District Court in 1947.

ELBING [AKA BRÜCKENKOPFBAU, STOBOI BEI ELBING]

ELBING [OT ELBING COMPLEX] [AKA KOMMANDO BEFEHLSSTELLE STRASBURG]
correspondence about the camp. Kommando Befehlsstelle Strasburg was another name for the camp: that was the location of the subcamp’s main office and the headquarters of the guard company that watched the prisoners (the 36th SS-Standarte, SS-Stadtwachtkompanie). Bülow was named camp commandant and staff officer. To help him, he was assigned five junior officers from the 1st SS-Wachbataillon and 95 SS men from the Allgemeine-SS.

The subcamp initially received 5,000 Jewish women from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Lithuania. Upon arrival in Elbing (later Elbląg), an OT representative divided them into work groups of several hundred and placed them in towns along the Vistula Bay, where they dug ditches and built bunkers and other military fortifications. They changed their places of work and lodging frequently, depending on the status of the work the OT assigned them. The conditions in which the women lived were primitive at first: makeshift lodgings (barns and tents) and meager food. When they left the Stutthof camp, they had been outfitted with just a blanket and a bowl and spoon. The summer clothing in which they left, adequate for that time of year, proved to be totally insufficient for the autumn and winter months.

After the work planned for that region had been completed, the women were moved to the Brodnica (Strasburg) and Toruń (Thorn) area, along the Drwęca (Drewenz) River. In mid-August 1944, a second prisoner transport of 1,500 women arrived. In early October 1944 the camp population was 6,440 women, and on January 24, 1945, it was 5,036. In early September 1944, Brodnica headquarters was put in charge of eight camps located in Brodnica, Lubawa, and Toruń counties.

One of the hardest labor detachments was at Gutowo (Gutowo). The first group of 1,000 to 1,200 women there lived in makeshift tents; later they were moved to 13 heathound round barracks housing up to 100 prisoners each. The barracks had no foundations or finished floors; the prisoners slept on straw. Their food consisted of lukewarm water in place of coffee and a slice of bread at noon. When the detachment returned from work, it was issued soup cooked from unpeeled potatoes. An infirmary in one barracks served only as a typhus isolation ward, where the patients usually died, due to the lack of medical or professional care.

The camp staff was extremely brutal; they tormented the prisoners and meted out harsh punishments for trivial offenses. According to Elżbieta Deutsch’s account, a Jewish woman was placed under a running faucet of cold water in bitter cold weather for stealing two potatoes. The prisoner died as a result. Among the most brutal SS men were the local camp director Bier, his assistant Bittner, and Engel (he would kill off sick Jewish women), Zibber, Mokk, Schmidt, and others of the staff.

Work was done from dawn until dusk, under difficult weather conditions, especially in late autumn and in winter; it was extremely strenuous, driving up the prisoners’ sick rate and causing numerous deaths. It is estimated that approximately 170 to 200 Jewish women died at Gutowo, including the four or five infants born there. They were buried in a nearby meadow.

The Gutowo camp was shut down on January 17, 1945. Some of the sick, about 140 persons, were left in the barracks. The staff tried to kill them by injecting them with toxic substances, which proved to be ineffective. According to the testimony of witnesses—village residents and former prisoners—the prisoners were taken out of camp into a field and killed off with gunshots. Few managed to escape. According to the account of witness Leonard Dmochewicz, 104 women perished then, whom he buried not far from the camp. When Russian units entered Gutowo, the sanitary section took care of the Jewish women and recorded a special report on the topic: “We have discovered a female camp. One hundred sixty-three women in a state of ultimate devastation, with frostbitten legs, some of them had wounds, 140 had phlegmon and ulcers on their arms from injections of some sort of toxic fluids intended to kill them. . . . Besides that, we also discovered a mass of female bodies in the camp, in canvas tents or nearby, varying in age from twelve to fifty-five. We managed to count 120 corpses upon a rough count.” Working and living conditions at the other detachments were also difficult and did not differ much from each other.

Throughout the Elbing complex, the prisoners’ situation was especially dire in late autumn and winter. They still spent nights in tents or barns, without warm clothing, gloves, or any footwear. In a letter to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters dated September 4, 1944, Commandant Bülow reported that almost every camp director was reporting inadequate prisoner clothing and underwear supplies to him, and he indicated that a lack of footwear was reducing work output. In another letter of October 6, 1944, he reported that he only had 1,000 pairs of shoes for 6,440 prisoners; 80 to 90 percent of prisoners urgently needed a change of shoes. His appeals did not lead to any immediate improvement, however.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters’ staff inspected five camps near Toruń on November 13, 1944. He confirmed the poor state of clothing and shoe supplies, which he thought affected productivity. There were 6,200 women in all the camps at that time. Most of them were in poor condition, 10 had died so far, and approximately 300 were in a state of extreme exhaustion. He recommended that the most ill and emaciated be transported to Stutthof and that the camps be provided with footwear, warm sweaters, pants, and other needed clothing.

The evacuation of the existing labor camps took place in mid to late January 1945 when the prisoner population totaled 5,036 women. The groups working closest to Elbing returned to the main camp and then were evacuated on January 25 and 26. The other ones located over 150 kilometers (approximately 93 miles) from Stutthof were evacuated to Praust (Pruszcz Gdański) (one of the stages in the central camp’s evacuation) or directly toward Lauenberg (Lebork), the evacuation’s destination. The casualties were very high in
all the detachments. In most camps, selections were performed even before the evacuation columns were formed, and sick prisoners were excluded, killed with injections of lethal fluid, shot, or finished off with blunt instruments (such as gun butts). Only a few managed to survive. Many prisoners perished on the march route and were buried in common graves; some were shot, but in most cases their fates remain unknown.

**NOTES**


2. No headquarters command is available on the transport of mid-August 1944. Stutthof concentration camp Administration and Management Division records document the transport’s arrival: labor assignment figures at OT Elbing for August 1944 (6,500), a letter dated October 6, 1944, from the subcamp’s commandant on clothing supplies (6,440), and a report on the camp’s population on January 24, 1945. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-9, p. 15; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 83; Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 141–142, Sonderbefehl über Aufstellung des Baukommandos Ostland.


5. According to prisoner testimony included in the report of the Sanitary Unit of the 48th Army, 3rd Belarussian Front, as well as that of witness L. Dmochewicz (AMS, vol. 14).

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 1/67, report of examination of witness Stanisław Ruciński (Olsztyn).


8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5.

9. Ibid.

**SOURCES**

The following sources were consulted for this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Stanisław Ruciński, Margita Sztraus, Teresa Tkaczik, Helena Milder, Elżbieta Deutsch, and others); AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; sygn. no. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; sygn. I-IVH-9, lists of camp receivables for prisoner labor; sygn. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Relacje i wspomnienia, (Bateria Berkowicz, vol. 7, record dated January 30, 1945; report of Sanitary Unit, 48th Army 3rd Belarussian Front, Leonard Dmochewicz, vol. 14); D. Drywa, Podoboz (Aussenarbeitstager) KL Stutthof dla wieniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print, typescript at AMS); M. Orski, The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp (Gdańsk, 1997); J. Grabowska, Marsz śmierci. Evakuacija pięsia wieniów KL Stutthof i jego podobozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945, (Gdańsk, 1992).

**ELBING (SCHICHAU-WERFT)**

On September 20, 1944, the Germans transported 100 prisoners to a new camp at the F. Schichau-Werft GmbH in Elbing (Elblag), pursuant to a special order from the Stutthof commandant and a preliminary contract signed with the shipyard. Three more transports of 500 prisoners each followed on September 25 and 29 and October 3, bringing the number of prisoners to 1,600. Half of the population were Poles; the rest were German, Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian—including a group of 15 to 20 former Latvian policemen who had been put in Stutthof for deserting the SS and for criminal offenses.

The subcamp’s commandant was initially SS-Obercharführer Willy Redder; then from October 27, 1944, SS-Untersturmführer Friedrich Walter was in charge. The guard staff was composed of 9 SS men from the 1st Guard Company. The staff grew as subsequent prisoner transports arrived at Elbing. Another 20 SS men were assigned to the camp on September 25 and 29, 1944. On November 2, there were 12 civilian personnel in camp. In addition, factory guards supervised the prisoners.

The prisoners lived in barracks in back of the Schichau-Werft facilities on Krafoldsdorfweg (later Radomska Ulica in Elblag) as well as in another camp on the premises of the machine and locomotive factory on Boelkestrasse (in a group of camps for forced laborers of Schichau Werke), in which prisoners of Stutthof’s first subcamp had lived, beginning in April 1941.

Most of the prisoners were qualified lathe operators, mechanics, and fitters. The shipyard, where they built and fitted out submarines, was their primary workplace. When there was no work there, some of the prisoners were sent to the Schichau Werke machine and locomotive factory located by the railroad station (called Trettinhotf or T’hof), where they manufactured such things as armored locomotives, combat vehicles, tanks, and ships’ guns.3

The prisoners worked in a 12-hour daily shift system, with a 1-hour break for dinner, and worked until noon on Sundays. In contrast to the 1940–1942 period, prisoners were put to work directly on the production lines, with strict output quotas (for instance, assembling one vehicle body per day). Failure to reach quota was treated as tantamount to sabotage, for which an order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) provided harsh punitive sanctions, including the death penalty, when someone was charged with deliberate destruction and holding up production.4

The hard and dangerous labor, the poor supply of clothing and shoes, and the low-calorie food increased the rates of sickness and death. A former prisoner of the camp described conditions there as considerably worse than those at the main camp. The food for an entire day provided no more than 1,000 calories. The production line quota system and watchful supervision by SS men, prisoner foremen, and factory guards did not provide much opportunity for getting extra food from other sources. Although the Schichau Werke
administration was in charge of food supplies, the subcamp's management ran the kitchen. Prisoners stole food items frequently, as confirmed by surviving forms recording punishment by whipping for stealing. In addition, fatal accidents often occurred at work; for example, some died of wood alcohol poisoning when painting locomotive bodies.

The supply of clothing and shoes was inadequate, especially in wintertime. Before leaving for Elbing, prisoners handed in the clothes they had been wearing and received replacements to wear until they were supplied with striped uniforms. The commandant made the camp administration agree to supply prisoners with warm clothing and winter footwear. When the cold weather came, thin jackets did not protect prisoners against colds, which also sometimes ended in death.

The promised jackets and warm clothes reached camp late and in a smaller amount than had been demanded. In early November 1944 the commandant again asked for the delivery of camp clothing, including 250 vests and pairs of shoes, as well as 1,593 pairs of stockings.

In the surviving report of November 25, 1944, the subcamp's commandant asked for the immediate delivery of 7,200 items of clothing, footwear, and towels, mainly including warm jackets, pants, long underwear, foot wrappings, gloves, and so on. The order was not filled until December 2, and it contained almost 3,000 items fewer than what was asked for. The order for 1,600 gloves or towels indicates that the target prisoner population had been maintained and that several new prisoners had been sent to the camp.

One more of the commandant's letters, dated late December 1944, has survived. The letter shows the disastrous state of prisoner provisions. There was a shortage of gloves, winter jackets, shirts, long underwear, pants, camp caps, footwear, and belts. The prisoners' shoes were no longer repairable. Of the 10,000 items of clothing or pairs of shoes that the commandant had requested, he only got half.

The camp had an infirmary whose personnel consisted of a prisoner doctor and two orderlies who arrived at Elbing in the first transport. Dr. Bolesław Drobner-Kwiatkowski, a Pole, served as the doctor the entire time. However, patients reporting to the infirmary could not count on getting the proper medical care, because Dr. Drobner-Kwiatkowski had a minimal amount of medicine, bandages, and dressing materials. More seriously ill patients were taken to the Stutthof hospital.

The first deaths of Elbing prisoners were reported in October 1944. In one of the commandant's reports dated October 24, there is a list of 11 deceased prisoners, including prisoner Józef Sieroszewski, who was shot as a fugitive. The subcamp's population on November 2 was 1,593, indicating that 7 prisoners had died or had been sent back to Stutthof in under one and a half months. According to partially surviving camp doctor reports on deaths at Stutthof subcamps, 64 people died from November 3, 1944, to January 10, 1945, the greatest number of them Poles but also Russians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians. The bodies of deceased prisoners were taken away to the camp morgue near the infrastructural barracks. They were later buried in the woods outside Elbing.

Based on surviving records, we can establish that chiefly Russians and Poles attempted to escape. They were not all successful. By September 29, 1944, there had already been a successful escape by Pole Czesław Sowiński. Another escape by two Polish prisoners occurred on October 23; one of them was caught. On December 17, another Pole, Stanisław Pędzisz, escaped successfully.

The other escapees were Russian prisoners. In their case, preparing for escape involved overcoming many difficulties, mainly getting civilian clothes and provisions, as well as establishing contacts outside of camp in order to compensate for their poor knowledge of the area; 13 Russians tried to escape, of whom 8 were successful. The camp command had to report every escape to Stutthof headquarters and also pursue the fugitives. When an escapee was caught, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin was informed and subsequently issued sentence. Accounts of former prisoners of the Elbing subcamp show that death sentences were sometimes issued. Jan Pięta recalls such an event; during a special morning roll call, he was an eyewitness to the hanging of 3 persons who had attempted to escape from camp.

The subcamp was disbanded on January 20, 1945. All the prisoners returned to Stutthof. Several days later some of them were in the evacuation on foot heading toward Lauenburg; the others left the camp in April 1945. In the four months of the Elbing subcamp's operation, at least 1,800 prisoners passed through the camp (including the rotation of the sick and the dead), with a death rate reaching approximately 5 to 10 percent of the camp's population.

**SOURCES** The following are sources used for this entry: AAN, Division VI, records of the KG AK; AK-IPN, ATW (American Military Court IV), sygn. Pd 5, collected records of American Military Court No. II in Nürnberg, trial 4 against the WVHA and Oswald Pohl; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Eugeniusz Gałą, Jan Pięta, and Tomasz Wazdawski; AMS, Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIID-3, I-VB-7, hospital records (Krankenbau); Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Relacje i wspomnienia (Jan Koczewicz, Stanisław Pędzisz, and Walfrid Wallit); M. Borowski, Szczęślarz. Wspomnienia z lat wojny (Gdańsk, 1994); M.E. Jezierna, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” SłZeMu, 10 (1992).

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trans. Gerard Majka

**NOTES**

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 87, commandant Redder to Stutthof camp headquarters dated November 2, 1944.
ELBING (SCHICHAU WERKE)

Stutthof prisoners began working in private businesses in Elbing (Elblag) as early as September 1939.1 Prisoner files of the time contain the names of the companies that employed them most often, which were chiefly the Schichau Werke and its associates, as well as city agencies. Prisoners were quartered either in what were called “collection camps” or on company premises. In early January 1940, the Elbing detachment was reinforced by a group of 75 Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who had been at Schichau Werke doing construction and wiring work since October 1939. The POWs had been captured at Modlin and then sent from Königsberg prison in late September 1939 to work in Elbing. They were quartered in an inactive brush factory that had been owned by Jews between the wars and had been taken over by Schichau Werke. In early January 1940, 75 people were arrested, charged with sabotage for cutting electric wires. Their POW status was removed, and they were made civilian prisoners of the Stutthof camp.2

The decision to use the existing detachment as the basis for a single subcamp was hastened by the evacuation of the Neufahrwasser camp in February 1940. In mid-March 1940, prisoners were selected for use at outside workplaces, mainly for the purpose of acquiring funds to maintain the Stutthof camp administration. Approximately 200 prisoners were brought by barge to Elbing via Vistula Bay. Predominantly Poles were selected for the transport, as well as smaller groups of Danzig Germans, Czechs, and Russians.

The camp had six commandants in its six-year history. The position was successively held by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Wilhelm, Fritz Meier, and Erich Müller and by SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Dittmann, Willy Redder, and Fritz Weber. Besides them, the staff was made up of 40 to 50 SS men acting as supervisors at camp and escorts to the workplace. The SS men’s attitude toward prisoners was different from the inhumane behavior of the Stutthof camp staff, although it was not totally lacking in repressive and violent elements. Commandant Müller and his deputy Max Michelsen were among the most brutal. The former, along with other SS men, were responsible for killing a Polish physician from the infirmary, Dr. Franciszek Gabriel, who dared to try to improve camp sanitary conditions through official channels by drawing attention to the prisoners’ poor state of health. Michelsen, along with the camp senior, Stefan Plombom, often carried out shootings personally.

The majority of prisoners were hired out to F. Schichau-Werft GmbH Elbing. They were quartered in the aforementioned brush factory at Tannenberg Allee 75, and when it was shut down in April 1941, the prisoners were moved to a new camp on Boelkestrasse in the back of Schichau Werke. The camp neighbored several other camps for forced laborers who were deported from many German-occupied European countries.

Prisoners worked not only at the shipyard but also at other Schichau company plants in Elbing, such as the machine and locomotive factory and the iron and steel foundry. They were put to work at the shipyard as helpers, doing such things as sorting materials to build the hulls of seagoing vessels and transporting them to the shipyard production facilities. The shipyard assembled warships—torpedo boats and “pocket” submarines.

The Schichau locomotive factory was also an important part of the company’s production. In 1942, the factory started building what were called “war locomotives,” which had considerably higher engineering specifications designed for military transports, as well as armored vehicles and replacement parts.

The prisoners at Schichau-Werft’s direct disposal were also hired out to its numerous associates that did construction and assembly work in the port and shipyard, such as the construction companies Gaedies Fritz und Co. Hoch und Tiefbaugesellschaft, Philipp Holzmann AG, Baustelle Schichau Elbing, the hemp and wire rope factory of Carl Stephan, Mech.- und Drahtseilfabrik Elbing, and others. Some prisoners were lent out to city agencies when there was no work at the shipyard or locomotive factory. They also worked installing city sewers, building a housing project, at a plywood
factory, and at the city sanitation company. From time to time they were also sent to do farmwork and drainage work.

The contract signed by Schichau-Werft Elbing GmbH provided for the employment of a regular group of several hundred employees. That population ranged from 200 people at the very beginning of 1940 to about 500 in the summer of 1941. The average prisoner population in October and November 1941 was 400.1 In his business and financial performance report of late October 1941, Niemann, the camp business chief, listed 420 persons working at the Schichau company. There were 376 prisoners in camp as of December 11, 1941.4

Living conditions in the camp on Tannenberg Allee were decidedly different from those at the Stutthof camp. Although there was crowding in the production hall, where two or three prisoners slept in one bunk, they were not starving. The meals given to prisoners chiefly consisted of porridge issued at lunchtime, and bread with margarine or jam mornings and evenings. The prisoners’ ragged, stinking clothes were replaced by World War I Austrian army uniforms: gray jackets made of light material and blue-green pants, as well as round rimless caps.

Living conditions further improved when the prisoners were moved to the site on Boelkestrasse, which Schichau Werke owned. The food quality improved, but the amount was still inadequate for hard labor. Some German civilian employees and forced laborers helped prisoners get extra food, and prisoners’ families sent packets illegally if they knew their relatives’ whereabouts. Then in November 1940, Commandant Wilhelm began allowing correspondence, including food packages, into the camp.

Working conditions at the shipyard and other companies were very difficult. Safety precautions were not observed; accidents were common and sometimes fatal. The camp infirmary only treated less serious injuries that did not require complicated procedures or absence from work. People who had serious accidents were taken to the city hospital in Elbing and from there to the Stutthof camp hospital. Their chances of survival and returning to health were very slim.5

Some prisoners decided to escape from camp, not because their lives there were intolerable but for fear that they would be moved to the main camp, where conditions were worse. Prisoners who decided to escape were in danger of being killed by SS men or the prisoner surveillance staff. The first documented escape attempt by a prisoner named Mironowicz ended in disaster: he was caught and murdered by the search party. Three other escapes were successful.6

The first Stutthof subcamp at Elbing operated for about 26 months. Probably 700 prisoners actually passed through the camp in that time, when one counts replacements for those sick, injured, released, or dead. The camp shut down in February 1942. The exact date is unknown; the last surviving record, dated February 28, appears to have been written after the camp closed. The main reason for disbanding the subcamp was probably Stutthof’s change in status and its expansion—and therefore an increased demand for labor.7

**NOTES**

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IA-4, SS-Standartenführer Heinrich Willich, Danzig Sipo and SD inspector, to Himmler, dated August 8, 1941, on assigning camp staff positions; former prisoners provide different estimates of the number of prisoners in their accounts, ranging from 400 to 1,200. According to Antoni Ryszakiewicz, under its contract with Schichau Werke, Stutthof camp headquarters had to provide the works with 1,200 workers. Surviving records have not confirmed this. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 3:184, account of Antoni Ryszakiewicz, 6:86, Antoni Dulski, 9:15, 179, Zbigniew Nielepiec and Alfons Pillath; IK, electronic recordings of former prisoner accounts, account of Izydor Andrzejewski.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-4.
6. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:17, account of Antoni Dulski, 21:224, account of Stanisław Pędzisz.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VA-6, p. 15, Lager Elbing-Boelkestrasse to Lazarett—Stutthof, dated February 28, 1942, on the return of drugs.

**GERDAUEN**

Gerdauen (later Zheleznodorozhnyy in Russia) was one of five subcamps that the Germans established at Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia on September 21, 1944 (the others were at Heiligenbeil, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).1 Pursuant to a special order by the Stutthof commandant, 1,000 prisoners—900 women and 100 men, the maximum prisoner population—were sent to Gerdauen a day later. The subcamp’s first commandant was SS-Unterscharführer Friedrich Marzan, succeeded by SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Moser on October 17, then by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Tluhe from November 10 until the camp’s evacuation.2 The guard staff in each of the five camps consisted of 46 Luftwaffe soldiers from the airfield staff, plus 6 guards for the camp facilities; 2 SS


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women were assigned to supervise the women's barracks—Christel Bankewitz and Margarete Okon. They came to the camp on October 11 upon completion of training at the Stutthof camp. All the guards assigned by the airfield command had been thoroughly instructed on their duties; among other things, they were enjoined to keep secret the fact that prisoner labor was being used, and they were forbidden to speak with the prisoners at all.

The prisoners, chiefly from Czechoslovakia and Hungary (including 500 women who were moved to Stutthof from the Łódź ghetto), lived in three large barracks on the airfield compound. Many of the prisoners had been provided with winter clothing and good shoes for the trip, as well as towels and soap. The men wore striped prisoner clothing. They were also issued quilts. The camp had a prisoner kitchen supplied by the camp command. As was the case with the other East Prussian subcamps, a prisoner doctor and orderlies were sent to Gerdaun to provide basic medical care.

Prisoner accounts show that although they did hard work leveling the construction site for a future airfield, when they were done, they had a lot of freedom to move about the camp buildings, and they were not subjected to physical violence. As Rywa Cytryn related, the prisoners from one of the barracks were even regularly late for the morning roll call, which was unthinkable at Stutthof. At Gerdaun, they were punished for that offense by being deprived of morning coffee and then having to kneel until the prisoners left for work. The Luftwaffe guards supervising them did not observe the ban on talking to them. Moreover, there were communications between prisoners and civilians from outside, who would throw them sandwiches specially wrapped in newspapers, from which prisoners would find out about the current situation at the front.

Conditions at camp began deteriorating when late autumn and winter arrived. It turned out that not all prisoners had been furnished with winter footwear and clothing, which the director of the camp administration was supposed to provide. Just two weeks after prisoners had been sent to Gerdaun, Commandant Marzahn’s request for the urgent delivery of 200 pairs of shoes and materials to repair them reached the Stutthof clothing warehouse. He justified the request by saying that he could not send 105 prisoners out to work because of their inadequate shoes and the muddy ground. A day later, clothing warehouse manager SS-Unterscharführer Willy Knott allocated the camp 200 pairs of shoes, sewing tools to repair them, a roll of hemp yarn, and leather scraps (Lederabfälle), among other items.

By October 28, 1944, the camp population had been reduced by the death of one female prisoner. Commandant Moser requested the urgent delivery of winter clothing for the prisoners, which the camp received on November 8 in a considerably smaller amount, only one-quarter of the items like long woolen underwear or shirts. In November 1944, during a period of torrential rains, the commandant made a special effort to have 200 more pairs of leather shoes and 300 pairs of wooden ones sent. Instead, he received 500 pairs of wooden shoes, due to shortages at the warehouse.

The camp’s evacuation began in December 1944. Such an early evacuation was probably due to the fact that the airfield was the closest to the front zone of all those in East Prussia. The winter offensive by Russian forces began on January 12, 1945, and a week later the Stutthof subcamps in East Prussia were immediately behind the front. According to figures on prisoner population at the Stutthof subcamps, there were only 24 prisoners at Gerdaun on January 24, 1945: 1 man and 23 women. Therefore, most prisoners, excepting that small group, avoided the tragic fate of the other camps evacuated to Königsberg and Parnicken, although their return to Stutthof also took a large toll.

The prisoners were evacuated from Gerdaun to Stutthof on foot. Many lost their strength during the march due to a lack of food and water; the guards killed off the weakest of them by gunshot. For many of them, the return to Stutthof meant more struggles for survival, in camp itself as well as during the next phase in the evacuation of the central camp.

### SOURCES

The following sources were consulted for this essay: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the branch with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; R. Chirurg, *Bridge of Hope*, (Berkeley, 1994). Marek Orski, trans. Gerard Majka

### NOTES

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, special order (Sonderbefehl) dated September 21, 1944, on forming the camp, and order (Kommandanturbefehle) nos. 70 and 75 dated October 17 and November 8, 1944.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 93–95, letter dated October 6, 1944.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 96, Aussenlager Gerdaun to Stutthof concentration camp dated November 6, 1944.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-B-6.

### GOTENHAFEN

Several prisoner labor groups were formed from 1939 to 1941 in the city of Gotenhafen (Gdynia before and after the war; Gdingen from 1939 to 1940), to be put to work at German institutions and private businesses. The names of those institutions and businesses can be identified based on notes made in prisoner files by the administration of the Danzig Neufahrwasser and Stutthof civilian prisoner camps, as well as from accounts and testimony given after the war.

Between September 14, 1939, and December 3, 1941 (the first and last dates recorded in prisoner files, indicating the
length of time they were in those detachments), the prisoners were put to work by three firms primarily: the private business Thiel u. Co., the Gotenhafen City Offices, and the agency Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East, HTO). From October 1941 to January 1942, prisoners were also hired out to the administration of the Gotenhafen train station, removing rubble and expanding the train station facilities. From June 27 to October 20, 1941, 50 prisoners were hired out to Thiel u. Co. of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) to work at Gotenhafen-Kiel. There is no information available on exactly what they did. The testimony of one of the detachment's workers shows that prisoners were put to work digging peat. The prisoners were quartered at the labor camp in Gotenhafen-Kiel. For one month, from November 3 to December 3, 1941, prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen agency of the HTO. A branch was instituted in the Danzig–West Prussia district in December 1939 as an agency of the HTO formed by Hermann Göring on October 19, 1939. The Gotenhafen branch was a subsidiary of the HTO's Danzig agency. The agency was tasked with the confiscation and management of Polish government property as well as that of Poles and Jews throughout the district, until the property was transferred to German hands. The nature of the prisoners' work and the number of workers are unknown. Prisoners worked at the Gotenhafen City Offices from April 17, 1940, until December 3, 1941. They were put to work doing cleanup jobs at the Gotenhafen City Offices, as well as at the train station. The city government administration put several prisoners to work on municipal land. There is no detailed information about this detachment.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 215, records of criminal case against Edward Włościński; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Bolesław Przytuła; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; E. Grot and M. Orski, „Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni,” StZeMu, no. 7, (1990); B. Hajduk, „Gospodarka Gdańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej (1939–1945),” His Gd 4:2 (1998); Cz. Łuczak, Polityka eko

sailors. On November 9, 1944, they were joined by another 10 SS men from Stutthof. There were 49 sailors serving as supervisors in the camp and shipyard in late November 1944. Supervisory prisoners supplemented the staff. The highest position in the hierarchy, camp elder, was held by Johann Bank (aka Bankowski), a German career criminal. He also oversaw prisoners at the work site. The Poles convicted him in 1948 for abusing prisoners under his supervision and sentenced him to three years in prison. The jobs of barrack supervisors and camp office workers were generally held by German criminals and Polish political prisoners, though the former became dominant when Bock took over. Impromptu beatings and official whippings were everyday occurrences in camp. Only when the shipyard and camp were bombed on December 18, 1944, and many of the criminals were hurt, did the prisoners’ situation improve. In January 1945, after Bank was wounded, his place was taken by an Austrian, Victor Dorotic, who was more lenient, followed by a German criminal whom Dorotic had recommended for the position.

The prisoners worked at the shipyard, where they assembled submarines. They assembled type “Y300t” submarines in a system of sections at four workstations. The work was supervised by a representative of Deutsche Werke Kiel and civilian foremen from the shipyard. The prisoners worked in two 12-hour shifts, with shift changes at 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The sections, which already had been fitted out, were brought in by rail to the shipyard, where they were assembled on slip carts in the production facilities; the assembled units were transported to the Schichau shipyard in Danzig for final finishing.

Prisoners also worked in other manufacturing companies in Gotenhafen and for the city: transporting ordnance from military shelters to the nearby airfield, building shelters at the shipyard, and removing rubble from bombings. Beginning in mid-January, they were put to work at earthmoving jobs connected with the construction of military fortifications in the region. Work at the shipyard was halted after the shipyard facilities and vessels being repaired were disassembled and evacuated to Kiel starting in January 1945.

The camp was carved out of the southern part of an existing camp for French forced laborers located in the immediate neighborhood of the shipyard. The prisoners’ living conditions were generally no different than those prevailing at the parent camp, but they were even worse as far as sanitary conditions or food supplies were concerned. The shipyard provided housing and food, while the camp was responsible for supplying clothing and shoes.

The daily food rations provided no more than 800 to 1,000 calories. Prisoners who worked in the shipyard assembling submarines got additional food. Food packages were substantial help; they were sent by families of prisoners from Gotenhafen or via underground organizations operating in the city, such as the Tajny Hufice Harcerzy (Secret Scout Regiment), Armia Krajowa (Home Army) or Gryf Pomorski (Pomeranian Griffin). The same channels provided the camp with drugs and dressing materials lacking in the hospital. Food thefts by prisoners, mainly Russians, Latvians, and Italians, from the kitchen storehouses were evidence of the hunger prevailing in camp. Polish civilian workers employed at the shipyard provided prisoners with some small help.

The supply of clothing and shoes, for which the camp was responsible, was terrible. There was a shortage of warm clothes, underwear, shoes, and tools for shoe repair, as well as shaving and haircutting instruments. The surviving portion of the commandant’s correspondence with the Stutthof camp, such as his letter of January 5, 1945, in which he demanded that clothing be sent for the prisoners to replace clothes that had been destroyed during an air raid in December 1944, confirms the shortages. The death rate at camp was high due to the bombings of the shipyard and camp, exhaustion from labor and lack of food, and abuse. Prisoner losses through death and transports of the seriously ill to the hospital in Stutthof were made up with new prisoners. It can be assumed that there were about 200 such replacements. All deaths were registered at Gotenhafen’s Bureau of Vital Statistics, which recorded 52 deaths in November and December 1944 and 17 between January and March 1945.

The camp’s location and the kind of work the prisoners did were conducive to escapes, which mostly Poles and Russians attempted. The first escapes were organized as early as October 1944, and there had been three attempts by December, all failures. The most famous escape attempt was that of two Latvians, the Gajewski brothers, who were captured and hanged in public at Stutthof. Several escapes occurred from early January until the camp was evacuated on March 25, 1945. According to official camp population reports, six prisoners were involved in them, and all were successful. The greatest number of prisoners escaped during two failed evacuation attempts on March 8 and 14, 1945.

The camp numbered approximately 700 prisoners on the day evacuation began. Several dozen people escaped en route to the port; just 618 prisoners were loaded onto small passenger ships. Their evacuation route led through Hel and Świnoujście, then to camps in Hamburg, Kiel, and Sandbostel, where some prisoners were liberated, then to Neuenegame. Tragically, they next joined the evacuation from Neuenegame to Lübeck, where they boarded ships that were bombed and sunk on May 3. About 200 prisoners survived the evacuation, as well as the several dozen who had escaped from the evacuation transport en route to the port in Gotenhafen.

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted for this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 50, records of criminal case against Johannes Bank (aka Bankowski); AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-VI-4/11, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; Relacje i wspomnienia, vol. 24 (Victor Dorotic); ITS, Catalog No. Da. 294–297 I.C.1,4, transport list of prisoners brought from Dachau concentration camp to Gdynia; FGNS-H, account of Victor Dorotic; M. Filipowicz, Ludzie,
stocznie, okręty (Gdańsk, 1985); E. Grot, Rejs imiernik. Ezkaukacja morska więźniów KL Stutthof 1945 (Gdańsk, 1993); E. Grot, and M. Orski, “Aussenarbeitslager Gotenhafen, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni.” StZeMu, no. 7 (1990); Cz. Jerys, Budownictwo okrętów w Gdyni 1920–1945 (Gdańsk, 1980); M.E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Gdyni,” in Dzieje Gdyni, ed. R. Wapiński (Wrocław, 1980).

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NOTES
2. Ibid., p. 213; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944.
3. Ibid., p. 242, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 75, dated November 8, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 99, Kuhlmann’s correspondence with the clothing warehouse on sending warm clothes for 796 prisoners (no date except for the clothing warehouse initials dated December 5, 1944); FSNS-H, copy at AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, vol. 24, account of Victor Dorotic, camp senior.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle.
6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 50.

GRENZDORF

The first transport of approximately 70 prisoners arrived at Grenzdorf (later Graniczna Wies) between September 10 and 13, 1939.1 They were sent from a temporary camp for Poles arrested at the start of the war at Viktoria Schule in Danzig (later Gdańsk), after a brief stay at the delousing station in Danzig-Neufahrwasser, where their hair was cut off and they were disinfected. Until March 31, 1940, the camp was under the Danzig Prison camp command as a separate civilian prisoner camp; thereafter, it became a subcamp of Stuttgof.2 Previously, the site had housed a penal camp formed by the government of the Free City of Danzig in October 1938 for “notorious idlers,” criminal prisoners serving sentences at the Schiesstange Strasse prison.

SS-Sturmführer Hertzker became the camp’s first command; his deputy was SS-Oberscharführer Paul Anker. They had a positive attitude toward the prisoners, making conditions at the camp bearable for them. Hertzker greeted prisoners with “Kameraden” (comrades); Anker permitted them to purchase and bring to camp tobacco and cigarettes. Prisoners were able to mail news to their families, who visited them on Sundays, bringing them fresh underwear and food.3 Hertzker was dismissed shortly after the camp’s opening, and in December 1939, SS-Obersturmführer Richard Reddig was appointed to replace him as commandant. Except for a break from February 1 to April 1, 1941, when SS-Obersturmführer Fritz Meier acted as commandant, Reddig served until the camp was dissolved. Unlike Hertzker and Anker, Reddig was a cold and emotionless camp official. Roman Bellwon and others remember that when a prisoner escaped from Grenzdorf, Reddig selected two others whom he ordered to be shot.4 Reverend Henryk Malak quoted Reddig’s greeting of a group of priests who arrived in the camp in April 1940: “Actually, if it was up to me, I’d rather shoot you all today right away! . . . But since I’m short of people to work—” He gave a broad wave of his hand, not finishing the sentence, pointing at a heavy machine gun ready to fire. “This is always waiting for you! This is a labor camp! Here you either work and earn your food, or you croak! Understood!!”

Due to the hard working conditions, the Grenzdorf camp was treated as a penal detachment for the priests, political activists, and Jews from the Polish community of Danzig. Also sent to the camp in late June 1941 were 38 Soviet sailors from the ship Magnitogorsk, including 2 women.5 The prisoners worked in quarries or in the nearby gravel pit for the Danzig Senate Roads Administration.6 Their work consisted of breaking up great stones and processing the rock into basalt cubes. With smaller rock pieces, they made gravel for use in construction or as road building material. The work was not mechanized; all operations were done by hand. Gravel and sand were transported in carts pushed by prisoners; large stones were moved on what were called “stretcher.” The work, lasting about 12 hours a day, was done under the watchful and harsh supervision of guards and foreman prisoners (Kapos). Besides working in quarries, prisoners were hired out to work at farms and local companies, such as Wilhelm Thiessen’s farm at Grenzdorf B.8

Depending on the number of prisoners, the guard staff was composed of about 30 SS men. Among the most brutal SS men were SS-Oberscharführer Bruno Krumreich, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, SS-Rottenführer Johann Plicht, and SS-Rottenführer Willi Witt, who was sentenced by the Gdańsk District Court to 10 years in prison in 1947.9 Prisoners were also supervised during work and in camp by Polish Kapos, some of the most degenerate of whom were Józef Reiter, Wacław Kozłowski, Franciszek Szopiński, and Tadeusz Kopczyński. In 1946, they were tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court, which gave them the death penalty.10 The death rate at camp was very high, as accounts of former prisoners show. Many prisoners died through abuse or outright murder. Wacław Mitura recalls that there were frequent instances of suicide provoked by the SS. Some prisoners, in a state of hopelessness, crossed the white string that marked forbidden areas and were shot; others were provoked to do so by the SS men, who would take the caps from the prisoners’ heads and throw them outside the line.11 On March 20, 1940, at Grenzdorf, they buried Scoutmaster Alf
Liczmański, the commander of the Danzig Regiment of the Grey Ranks, who had been tortured at Stutthof. Liczmański had been brought from Stutthof to Grenzdorf that day by truck and was probably already dead. He was buried on the spot. His remains were exhumed and moved to the Cemetery of Merit at Zaspa on November 14, 1948. The death rate among Jewish prisoners was considerably high. Almost the entire group of approximately 40 people had been slaughtered by the end of 1940. Serious ill prisoners were taken to the Stutthof hospital, and the bodies of deceased prisoners were taken to the Zaspa cemetery in Danzig.

Few prisoners tried to escape. Three such attempts are known, which all ended tragically. Max Schindler, a Jewish prisoner, tried to escape in late December 1940; he was shot to death, probably during the manhunt. In February 1940, a Pole, Kozłowski, unsuccessfully tried to escape under the pretext that he was going to the toilet just outside the fence. He was caught by local people and returned to the camp, punished with 50 lashes with a cane, then shot three days later with three other prisoners at a public execution in camp. Another prisoner, a Yugoslavian, met the same fate in 1941.

The camp population stood at 350 persons in late 1939 or early 1940, then increased to 300 in late January. In 1941, it sank to between 100 and 200. The quarry probably ceased operating in late October 1941, when all the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof. E. Niemann’s report of October 28, 1941, confirms this, stating that Grenzdorf had been made into an educational camp. A listing of subcamps appended to a letter dated November 28, 1941, no longer includes Grenzdorf. A group of prisoners, probably the last one, left Grenzdorf on November 5, 1941. Jan Starzyński contends that the branch was shut down on November 6, 1941; others say the closing date was November 10, 1941. Dr. Julian Węgrzynowicz stayed at Grenzdorf to the very end in a group of the last 20 prisoners; he confirms the camp was disbanded in November 1941.

Sources:
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AK-IPN, SO Gd sygn. Nos. 84, 86, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirmberger and others; judgment, SSK Gd Sygn. No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; Catalog No. 418, records of criminal case against John Paul and others in 1946; AK-IPN Gd Sygn. No. Ds. 76/64, witness examination reports of Stanisław Dalecki and Antoni Janiewicz; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IA-1, I-IA-2, I-IA-4, records on the Stutthof camp’s change in status; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IVB-4, records of Stutthof concentration camp’s Administration and Management Division; Relacje i wspomnienia (Jan Starzyński, vol. 4; Julian Węgrzynowicz, vol. 6; Alfons Pllath, vol. 9); Cmentarz-Zaspa (Zaspa Cemetery), compiled by A. Chudy; Dan Vorp, July 26, 1939; Gdańsk 1939, Brunon Zwarra Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jeziernska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” SZZeMu, no. 10 (1992); H.M. Malak, Klechy w obozach śmiereć (Londyn, 1961); W. Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); M. Orski, “Struktura państwowo i skład narodowościowy obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945,” Stutthof. Zeszyty Muzeum, no. 10 (1992).

Notes:
1. Gdańsk 1939, Wspomnienia Polaków–Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984), account of Zygfryd Kurowski; see also the account of Roman Bellwon, Bruno Kobilla, Maksymilian Kempinski, and Jan Samulski; according to Alfons Pillath this happened on September 10, 1939; he provides the transport’s approximate size: from 50 to 70 people; also see AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 9:171. For other dates, see ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979), p. 282 (September 27, 1939).
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVB-4.
3. Gdańsk 1939, accounts of Roman Chrzanowski and Eryk Falów.
4. Ibid., and account of Maksymilian Kempinski.
5. H.M. Malak, Klechy w obozach śmiereć (Londyn, 1961), 1:58.
9. AK-IPN, SO Gd (Commission Archives—National Memorial Institute, Gdańsk District Court), Catalog Nos. 84, 86.
10. AK-IPN, SSK Gd (Commission Archives, Gdańsk Special Criminal Court), Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others.
11. Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu, p. 79; see also AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław).
14. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. II Ds. 76/64, report of examination of witness Antoni Janiewicz (Wrocław); AMS,
GROSSE LESEWITZ

A camp at Gross Lesewitz (Lasowice Wielkie) was first mentioned in early 1940. In his account, Reverend Alfons Muchlewski recalled that a group of prisoners sent from the Gestapo prison on Schiesstange in Danzig, including Reverend Władysław Szymański, were sent to work on a farm. They were treated with hostility and abuse. Reverend Szymański’s back was covered with bruises from beatings, and his foot was pierced by a pitchfork. When the work was completed, the prisoners were sent to the camp in Danzig-Neufahrwasser.

According to another account, in October 1939, a large number of Poles from the Danzig-Neufahrwasser camp were sent in narrow-gauge railway cars to work at farms in Żuławy. One of the groups, composed of approximately 40 Poles, worked at a farm in Gross Lesewitz. The author of the account stated that they worked under “rather decent conditions” until March 19, 1940. The detachment was reduced to 20 people after January 1, 1940. There were probably two detachments working at different times and at different farms.

In the autumn of 1944, a group of Stutthof camp prisoners, the number of whom is hard to determine, were sent to Gross Lesewitz again, where they were put to work in the local sugar mill—a branch of the sugar mill in Marienburg (Malbork). The testimony of former Stutthof prisoners confirms the detachment’s existence.

The prisoners were housed on the farms in Gross Lesewitz and Klein Lesewitz (Lasowice Małe), where they also did farmwork. No additional information is available on this detachment. The subcamp’s commandant and staff remain unidentified. The prisoners returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944.

SOURCES The following source, in addition to those mentioned in “Stutthof Main Camp,” was consulted in writing this entry: Gdan’sk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdan’ szczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984).

NOTES


2. Ibid., pp. 520, 522, account of Józef Tusk.


HEILIGENBEIL

The Heiligenbeil camp was created by special order of the Stutthof commandant on September 21, 1944, as one of five identically organized subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields (the others being Gerdauen, Jesau, Schippenbeil, and Seerappen).

The first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners (900 women and 100 men, mainly from Hungary and Poland but also from Latvia and Germany) was sent on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women arrived on October 9. SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Kleiss was the first commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Johann Mayer on October 18, by SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Carl Thulke on November 20, and then by SS-Sturmscharführer Wolföfer on January 3, 1945. Besides the 46 Luftwaffe soldiers who guarded the airfield, 2 SS women served as supervisors: Erna Beilhardt and Erna Neumann. The entire camp premises were also guarded by 6 guards at permanent posts around the camp. According to Beilhardt’s testimony given at trial in Gdańsk in 1946, she completed six weeks of training at Stutthof, then left for Heiligenbeil as a German Red Cross nurse.

The prisoners lived in 20 barracks, where they had double-decker bunks lined with straw. There were also French prisoner-of-war (POW) camps and a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp for Russian forced laborers nearby. The prisoners were put to work building a road to the airfield; the Organisation Todt (OT) supervised the engineering. Work began at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 7:00 p.m., with an hour’s break when prisoners received some unsweetened black coffee. The RAD kitchen made food for the prisoners using regulation ration amounts, which were actually half of that recommended by the SS authorities. The sole small assistance the Jews got in the way of extra food was from the French POWs and the Russians—mostly potato peels or coffee.

Thulke testified at a group trial of Stutthof staff in 1947 that while he commanded the camp from November 20, 1944, to January 2, 1945, the prisoners’ food was good; he checked it himself. He was also present when bread was distributed. On the other hand, he confirmed the fact that only half of the prisoners (600 people) went out to work and that there were 4 or 5 deaths during his tenure. This testimony is questionable, because the highest mortality at camp was in November and December 1944, when an epidemic of typhoid fever had broken out.

A lack of suitable clothing made the prisoners’ situation worse. On October 1, 1944, the subcamp’s commandant sent
When winter arrived, the prisoners’ situation got even worse. Upon taking up command of the subcamp in early January 1945, Commandant Wolfsöfer said the state of prisoner provisioning was “disastrous.” In his report of January 4, 1945, he said that 260 Jewish women could not work, as there was no footwear for them. Another 262 people were in the infirmary; their shoes had been assigned to healthy prisoners. The commandant requested machinery to set up a clothing and shoe repair workshop, but it is not known if the order was filled, since the camp evacuation date was approaching.

The records are incomplete, but considering the bad living conditions, hard labor, and epidemics of typhoid fever, the camp’s death rate does not appear to have been high. The sick rate was appreciably higher. More seriously ill people were moved to the hospital at Stutthof, where some prisoners died; the numbers are difficult to establish. A female prisoner/doctor from the camp and the airfield doctor cared for sick prisoners; 10 such prisoners can be identified based on fragmentary camp doctor reports on deaths at the subcamps, as well as studies of prisoner records. The records cover the period from late October 1944 to early January 1945.

The records also mention women wounded or killed during alleged escape attempts. A report of October 29, 1944, stated that Basia Littmann, a Jewish woman, was shot while trying to escape; another Jewish woman received a gunshot wound in the chest and died as a result. It is difficult to ascertain whether these were really escape attempts. The women may have simply left their workplace briefly, which was regarded as an escape attempt. Planning an escape under those conditions and at that time held little promise of success. The Russian front was still quite distant at this stage, for one thing.

There were 1,157 inmates in camp, including 1,064 women and 93 men, when the prisoners were evacuated toward Königsberg on January 20–21, 1945, together with prisoners from the other subcamps in East Prussia. Since there was no communication with Stutthof, the decision to evacuate the camp was probably made by East Prussian Gauleiter Erich Koch’s staff. Apparently, the intent was to send the prisoners toward the port of Pilau and then on to Hamburg, a concentration point for prisoners from Stutthof and Neuengamme. Sick prisoners were left in Heiligennel. Many prisoners became weak during the march; the weakest were driven the rest of the way to Königsberg in vehicles.

The second stage of the evacuation probably began at dawn on January 26, or perhaps a day earlier, before Russian forces surrounded Königsberg. Koch’s staff had already decided what to do with the prisoners. At the suggestion of Gerhard Rasch, the director of the amber manufacturing works in Königsberg, they intended to slaughter all the prisoners in tunnels in nearby Palmnicken. They were either going to gas the prisoners, blow them up with dynamite, or suffocate them inside the tunnels after sealing up the openings. The commandants of the camps were supposed to escort the prisoners to Palmnicken.

According to various sources, from 3,000 up to as many as 10,000 prisoners of Stutthof subcamps left Königsberg, but the high figure is probably exaggerated, considering that there were approximately 5,000 prisoners in all the East Prussian subcamps in late January 1945. However, if POWs and prisoners from the labor camps operating near Luftwaffe airfields are included in this estimate, the number could be on the higher side.

Even before the march out of Königsberg, the guards shot some of the prisoners in the Steinfurt works, where the prisoners had been accommodated; later they shot emaciated and sick prisoners during the march, pulling them out of the ranks and murdering them. A few were successful in escaping from the march column. On the night of January 26–27, approximately 4,000 prisoners reached Palmnicken. Due to the objection of amber works director Landmann and Major Feyerabend, steward of the Dorbnicken, Gross-Hubnicken, and Palmnicken estates, where the works were located, the prisoners were not annihilated in the tunnels. They were sent toward the sea in columns of 50 prisoners under heavy escort by the SS, Lithuanian and Estonian SS-Ostruppen (Hiwis), and the OT. The massacre of the prisoners began when they reached the shore. Approximately 200 prisoners managed to escape during the shooting; 13 additional people survived the massacre by feigning death.

Out of the Heiligennel staff members, Thulke and Beilhardt were held criminally responsible. In 1946–1947, Polish courts sentenced each of them to five years’ imprisonment.

**Sources**

Key resources included: AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 84, 85, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dinerberger and others, sentence of judgement; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others in 1946; AMS, Catalog No. 1-IB-3, Kommandanturbehefe; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IIVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-IVB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; Microfilm No. 215, accounts of former Jewish prisoners from the collections of the AZIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners from the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, *Podoby (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla wieżników narodowości żydowskiej* (in print, typescript at AMS); S. Krakowski, *Marsze śmierci z podobożów KL Stutthof w rejonie Królewca. Materiały sesji naukowej nt. Łozy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945* (Sztutowo, 1994); S. Krakowski, “Massacre of Jewish Prisoners on the Samland Peninsula—Documents,” *YVS* 24 (1994); S. Popiołek, “Obózowe święta w Jesau,” *Tyg Pi*, January 17, 2001.

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NOTES

1. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdaun, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 113, Wölffér to Kommandantur KL Stutthof, dated January 4, 1945.

2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls and others, report of examination of Erna Beilhardt.

3. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118; Catalog No. 85, p. 131, records of criminal case against Nikolaus Dirnberger and others, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial; AMS, Microfilm No. 215, Jewish accounts from the collections of the AZIH in Warsaw and YV in Jerusalem.

4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118.


6. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 84, p. 118, testimony of Ernst Karl Thulke at 1947 trial.

7. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records.


9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, report on the camp’s population.

10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Irena Redner.


12. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Fryda Gabrylewicz; VVA, Catalog No. 03/5690, testimony of Róża Krajkowska-Ajzenberg.


14. AK-IPN, SSK Gd., Catalog No. 422; SO Gd, Catalog No. 86.

HOPEHILL [ALSO REIMANNSFELDE]

The administrative order that specifically created the Hopehill subcamp does not exist in the Stutthof records. However, there is an order from the commandant dated May 29, 1942, that names SS men for administrative positions. SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Kuhlmann was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm and SS-Unterscharführer Herbert Korsch.1

Over 50 SS men served at Hopehill (Witowo), over half of whom were ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) from Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary; the rest were German nationals.2 Among them, the Germans—such as Kurt Janzen, Paul Wellnitz, Heinz Löwen, Alfred Tissler, and Waldemar Henke—were unusually brutal toward prisoners. On the other hand, former prisoners have emphasized their good treatment from Polish and especially from Croatian SS men.

Prisoner-functionaries supplemented the staff. Among the most cruel—just as brutal as the German SS men—were German prisoners in the positions of senior prisoner foreman and prisoner foreman (Oberkapo and Kapo), mainly Willy Narius, Tony Köhl, Hans Senger, Peter Flink, and August Sauter.

The prisoners were hired out to the SS company Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, DES). The first detachment consisted of 40 prisoners. The next group came in two transports from Flossenbürg and Mauthausen. The inmates were chiefly Germans (including numerous criminals) and Polish political prisoners. They held key administrative and supervisory positions in the barracks and work groups.

In July 1943, DES took over the management of the Reimannsfelle (Nadbrezie, later Nadbrzeże) brickyard, which was considerably more modern and efficient. At that point, the camp was expanded, and the quarters were moved to nearby Reimannsfelde.

The prisoners were initially housed in a single-level brick building. The average prisoner population at that time was approximately 60 to 70 people. A few hundred yards from the building, the prisoners could see the high smokestacks and factory buildings of the brickyard. There was a makeshift storehouse in the attic for the bodies of dead prisoners, which were carted away every 10 days to the crematorium at Stutthof. Until October 1942, living and sanitary conditions were not the worst they would become, although overcrowding and the primitive sanitary facilities precluded ordinary hygiene. The situation degenerated with the arrival of autumn weather. The sick rate rose because of upper respiratory infections, and there was an outbreak of lice due to inadequate living and sanitary conditions; an epidemic was averted only because the entire camp was disinfected, and prisoner hygiene was enforced to some extent.3

Until mid-1944, prisoner doctor Dr. Aleksander Witkowski provided only emergency outpatient treatment. As a result, the death rate in the subcamp remained high, but a separate infirmary was set up in mid-1944, when the number of deaths reached a peak. By the spring of 1944, there was an SS medical orderly on the camp staff. According to (incomplete) records, an average of three prisoners died per week; the camp lost at least the same number of sick to the Stutthof camp hospital.4

In early November 1942, the prisoners’ striped summer uniforms were replaced with winter ones, without winter coats. Their inadequate clothes provided little protection; prisoners used various materials such as newspapers or empty cement sacks to supplement their uniforms.5 Only in late 1944 or early 1945 were they issued winter clothing. In correspondence dated from November 1944 to January 1945, Commandant Korsch reported difficulties supplying prisoners with
warm clothes and footwear. In his report of January 3, 1945, he stated that the prisoners had not received a fresh change of underwear since October 4; he requested the express delivery of 300 pairs of long underwear and shirts, foot wrappings, and sewing materials to mend the winter uniforms.6

The prisoners’ food, which the Stutthof camp administration provided, consisted of starvation rations. In the initial period of the subcamp’s operation, working conditions in the kitchen were very hard due to lack of space, poor sanitary conditions, and meager food rations. The average daily intake throughout the entire period from 1942 to 1945 was approximately 1,500 to 1,800 calories; in 1942, it was less than 1,000 calories, especially because prisoners could only receive food packages beginning in late 1942.7

Approximately 300 prisoners occupied the camp as of mid-1943. That represented the peak population, although the constant replacement of dead or ill prisoners meant that the number of prisoners who lived there at one time or another was much higher—about 500. Poles constituted the largest group at the camp (approximately 50 percent), followed by Germans and Russians. There were also groups from Estonia, France, Lithuania, and Latvia.

The workday in the brickyards was 11 to 12 hours long. The group that operated the kiln worked the longest, divided into two shifts. Although the Hopelihill brickyard was a partially mechanized facility, most work was done by hand. The Reimansfelde brickyard, on the other hand, was a modern and fully mechanized plant; its output was twice that of the Hopelihill brickyard.

Conditions in the detachment improved in late 1943 when a French Alsatian, Anton Köhl, became Oberkapo, and Poles took over most functionary positions from German criminals. Living conditions in camp also improved when the infirmary was set up after Dr. Lech Duszyński became doctor in January 1944, followed in June 1944 by Dr. Stanisław Kruszewski and Dr. Roman Łoziński. Camp life had become appreciably more liberal in comparison to the 1942–1943 period, when the German Narius was camp Oberkapo and there was an atmosphere of terror and incessant persecution. Prisoner cultural activities developed semiofficially on a previously unprecedented scale, such as carving amber extracted from the clay hill, cultural evenings held in the Polish barracks (literary and musical events and political discussions based on Nazi publications to which the camp subscribed), and even wrestling and boxing competitions held on January 1, 1945.

There was not even one escape attempt in 1942, because the supervisory regimen was so strict. In 1943, three attempts were recorded. One was really a suicide (the prisoner consciously crossed the line of guard posts), and another ended when an SS man caught and shot the prisoner. Narius at the Stutthof commandant dated January 26, 1945 (although former prisoners maintain that it occurred on January 19). When the prisoners returned from the brickyard at noon, there was a final roll call; they were each issued 500 grams (approximately 18 ounces) of bread and about 127 grams (4.5 ounces) of margarine. A cleanup crew of about 50 inmates stayed at Nadbrzeże; they returned to Stutthof the next day.10

Eight staff members and prisoner-functionaries were tried by Polish courts after the war. Wellnitz received the death penalty; Martin Stagl got eight years in prison. SS men Löwen, Tissler, and Henke were sentenced to five years in prison, and Jan Alfred Wróbel received a seven-month prison sentence. Of the two prisoner foremen, Jan Breit received the death penalty, while Paul Wiechern was acquitted.11

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 78, 79, 86, records of criminal case against T. Meyer and others, sentences of judgment; Catalog No. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422, records of criminal case against John Pauls, sentence of judgment and justification; SWGD Catalog No. 37, judgment and justification in the trial of 26 accused criminals from the Stutthof concentration camp of November 29, 1947, the “Ob.” Collection, Catalog No. 105 ob. (surveys, Stanisław Wojcieszek); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbehöfe; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters; Catalog No. I-III-A-10, Arbeits­ einleitung für den 29, 31 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-2-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Lasik, Stutthof; Relacje i wspomnienia (Lech Duszyński, vol. 9; Tadeusz Cieplik, vol. 18); BA-BL, NS 3, Catalog No. 138, correspondence of DESt with Amtsgruppe W at the WVHA; Rijksinstitut Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam (account of Paul Wiechern); J. Maître, Konzentrationslager Stutthof 1943–1945, (Lyon, 1973) (typescript at AMS); W. Mitura, Za druhtami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu, 2nd ed. (Bydgoszcz, 1984); T. Niesiapiowski, Wspomnienia nauczyciela z lat wojny, okupacji i niezvolni. Czas grozy i poniesienia (Zakopane, 1984). See also M. E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,”
SiZeMu, no. 10 (1992); M. Orski, Hopehill. Filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w Nadbrzeżu (Gdańsk, 1994); Orski, The Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs in Stutthof Concentration Camp (Gdańsk, 1997).

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trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES
1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-ID-11, Stutthof concentration camp staff personnel matters.
2. See AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.
7. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 78, p. 289; testimony of Dr. Lech Duszynski at Stutthof concentration camp staff trial in 1947; Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu. Wspomnienia więźnia obozu, p. 123; Niespiłowski, Wspomnienia nauczyka, pp. 670–671.
9. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog Nos. I-III-17787, I-III-17787, I-III-16862, prisoner personal files; Relacje i wspomnienia, 11: 152–153, account of Lech Dużysnki; Niespiłowski, Wspomnienia nauczyka, p. 8; Rijksinstit Voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, account of Paul Wiechern; AK-IPN, the “Ob.” Collection, surveys, Catalog No. 105 ob., report of testimony given by Stanisław Wojcieszek at the Elbląg Office of the Polish Red Cross.
10. BA-BL, NS 3, SS-Wirtschaftsundverwaltungshauptamt, Catalog No. 138, Mummendey (DESt) to Baier (Amtsgruppe W, SS-WVHA) dated March 8, 1945 (Abwicklung der Aussenstensstelle Stutthof-Reimannsfelde); AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 27: 74, account of Tadeusz Cieplik; see also Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu, p. 152—he shifts the date that the prisoners returned to the parent camp by two days.
11. AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog Nos. 79, 86; SSK Gd, Catalog No. 422; SW Gd, Catalog No. 37, sentences of judgment and justification.

JESAU

The Jesau (later Yuzhny in Russia) subcamp was located on the premises of a Luftwaffe airfield in East Prussia (there were four other similar subcamps established on the same day, September 21, 1944, at Gerduau, Heiligenthal, Schappenbeil, and Seerappen). The first prisoner transport sent to the camp on September 23, 1944, consisted of 1,000 Jews: 900 women and 100 men. On October 9, 1944, a convoy of 250 Jewish women and 100 Jewish men arrived in Jesau.1

A fighter-bomber division of the Wehrmacht was stationed at the airfield. In February 1944, they began testing a fighter aircraft there, a rocket-powered Messerschmitt (Me) 163B interceptor designed by Willy Messerschmitt. A Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was also set up in airfield buildings, followed by a camp for 100 prisoners brought from the penitentiary labor camp at Działdowo (Soldau) in December 1944.2

SS-Unterscharführer Ernst Stock was named camp commandant on September 21, 1944. He served in that post as long as the subcamp existed. On October 11, 1944, he was assigned the help of two SS women, Erna Böttcher and Anneliese Glaw;3 46 Luftwaffe soldiers served guard duty while the prisoners worked, and 6 other guards kept watch over the camp premises.

Women prisoners were outfitted for the trip with a coat, a sweater, a dress, underwear, a bandana used to cover the head, fresh stockings, socks, and wooden shoes.4 Women prisoners from the first transport to Jesau confirm that conditions at camp were good at first. Jesau had its own prisoner kitchen, which was supplied by Stutthof, and so no one went hungry. The food was adequate: for instance, for breakfast they would receive a half a liter (half a quart) of oatmeal cooked in milk with some sugar. Every three weeks they were issued extra food, such as canned meat.5 Nonetheless, as Dina Hereberg confirms in her account, selections were conducted at the camp every few weeks—not just among the sick but among healthy people who were avoiding work.

The prisoners were housed in barracks, and each had his or her own bunk and blanket. They began work at 6:00 A.M. They were put to work clearing woods, building roads, digging antitank trenches, and laying train rails. Sewing and shoemaker shops, where clothing and shoes were mended, were set up in camp in late autumn, where older and sick people worked.6

Although the prisoners had been outfitted well for the trip, their summer clothing proved to be inadequate when the autumn rainy season and chilly winds came, and their shoes also deteriorated quickly due to the muddy ground. According to Stock’s report of October 27, 1944, there were 1,249 female prisoners and only 200 male prisoners living in camp at that time; thus, only 1 person had died or was shipped off. The problem of the lack of winter supplies applied to all Stutthof subcamps at the time. When Commandant Stock asked if the warehouse at the Stutthof main camp had winter clothing and footwear, the warehouse manager, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Knott, said that he had nothing but civilian coats and no shoes. Two weeks later the subcamp got some underwear, shirts, dresses, underclothing, gloves, foot wrappings, and leather shoes, as well as materials to mend clothing and shoes. The allotments did not fill all the shortages. A shipment of 500 pairs of women’s shoes and 100 pairs of men’s shoes arrived at Jesau on November 24, 1944.7
In late November 1944 the prisoners’ situation got even worse. A report dated November 28, 1944, signed on behalf of the commandant by Annleise Glaw, says that the clothing received in the last shipment (November 10, 1944) had only made up for the greatest shortages and was extremely inadequate in quantity. The biggest problem was the supply of wooden shoes. The shipment of 600 pairs of shoes in late November had not relieved the footwear shortage. The shoes had been delivered in poor condition, so that shortly thereafter the prisoners were unable to go out to work. The workers in the shoemaker shop labored day and night but could not keep up with the need for shoe repair, for which there was still a shortage of materials.

A Polish Jewish woman, Dora Hauptman, recalled that despite their hunger and the cold they were forced to do hard labor in light shoes and summer clothes. The guards often beat prisoners during work. They were issued rutabaga soup and a piece of bread for dinner. Under these conditions, many Jewish women died every day.

The camp’s evacuation began on January 21, 1945. The prisoner count report dated January 24, 1945, listed 1,086 prisoners, including 888 women and 198 men. That was 264 people less than the early camp population, many of whom died in camp or had been hospitalized at the Stutthof hospital. Surviving hospital records do not contain any figures on the death rate at the Jesau subcamp. Additional prisoner transports probably were not sent to Jesau to replace the dead or the sick who had been moved to the Stutthof camp. The number of items of prisoner clothing ordered in late November 1944 corresponded with the number of prisoners then living in the camp, which suggests that no replacement prisoners were sent.

The columns of evacuated prisoners were herded on foot toward Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg), escorted by Luftwaffe soldiers under Commandant Stock and the two SS women. In Königsberg, the prisoners were put in a factory bunker on the premises of the Steinfurt railroad car factory, together with prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Seerappen subcamps as well as those who were put to work in Königsberg itself. Their subsequent fates were similar to those of the Heiligenbeil prisoners (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

**Sources**

The following sources were used in writing this essay, in addition to those listed in “Stutthof Subcamp System.”

AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Microfilm No. 215, copies of accounts from the collections of the AZIH and YV in Jerusalem; Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, from http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl.

AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208; Sonderbefehle über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.

AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 207, Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.

AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Bronisława Krakauer.

YVA, Catalog No. 03/2279, testimony of Dina Hercberg.

AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Stock to Knott dated November 28, 1944.

Ibid.


AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Frida Gabrylewicz, Bronisława Krakauer, and Irena Redner.

**NOTES**

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 207–208; Sonderbefehle über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.

2. Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Aerospace Engineering (The Netherlands), Me 163B airfields and maps, from http://dutlbcz.1r.tudelft.nl.

3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 207, Kommandanturbefehle, No. 68 of October 9, 1944.

4. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, account of Bronisława Krakauer.

5. YVA, Catalog No. 03/2279, testimony of Dina Hercberg.

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Stock to Knott dated November 28, 1944.

7. Ibid.


10. AMS, Microfilm No. 215, testimony of Frida Gabrylewicz, Bronisława Krakauer, and Irena Redner.

**KÄSEMARK**

The subcamp at Käsemark (Kiezmark), a town located 26 kilometers (16 miles) from Danzig, operated between October 21, 1939, and October 25, 1941. The dates that prisoners began and ended their work on the Wagner farm are listed in prisoner files. The detachment was probably initiated during a period of intense farmwork from 1939 to 1941. It was initially under the command of the civilian detention camp at Neu-fahrwasser, and after that subcamp was shut down, it fell under the Stutthof camp.

In Käsemark, near the pontoon bridge over the Vistula River, there was a place where prisoners were collected in early October 1939. German farmers, seeking to put them to work on their farms, gathered there to collect the prisoners. A former prisoner, Bruno Zwarra, recounts the following about this: “I was put in a group of prisoners who wanted to work on their farms, gathered there to collect the prisoners. A former prisoner, Bruno Zwarra, recounts the following about this: “I was put in a group of prisoners who wanted to work on their farms, and we were loaded up and taken to Gdańsk [Danzig]. In about fifteen minutes, we stopped in a long line on Burgstrasse [later Grodzka Ulica in Gdańsk], where the local farmers were waiting for us in a meadow by the river.” Besides the entries in prisoner records, no other information has been established as to how the detachment was organized, its size, period of operation, and casualties.
KÖNIGSBERG

The subcamp at Königsberg (later Kaliningrad in Russia) was formed on August 19, 1944, pursuant to a special order that the Stutthof commandant issued a day earlier. Some 500 Jewish prisoners were selected for the subcamp from transports that had come to Stutthof in early August from Kaunas (Kovno) and Riga. The prisoners were transported from the landing at Stutthof by boat to the Schichau Werke in Königsberg. SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Tänzer was named camp commandant; upon his dismissal on September 6, 1944, he was replaced by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Böhm. The position changed hands again on October 4, 1944, when SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Weber took over from Böhm. He served in that post until the camp was disbanded and the prisoners were evacuated in late January 1945.

Initially, 15 SS men from the 2nd SS-Guard Battalion were assigned to supervise the detachment. Later, the guard staff was increased to 18 SS men. Two prisoner doctors were picked for the transport. The order stated that proper medical care was to be provided by the local SS doctor and company doctor who were assigned the help of an orderly, SS-Oberschütze Rudolf Aehs. The company kitchen was responsible for providing food for the prisoners.

The prisoners were hired out to Wagonfabrik Steinfurt Königsberg GmbH (the Steinfurt railroad car factory), which specialized in such things as constructing dual-axle second-class cars for the Prussian narrow-gauge railway lines. The company also manufactured locomotives. Narrow-gauge railways, such as the one in Treuburg, were equipped with these cars and locomotives. Prisoners were put to work at the Steinfurt railroad car factory building and repairing cars. In addition to the factory, prisoners were also hired out to work at the Schichau-Werft (shipyard) in Königsberg.

From the moment the subcamp started operating, the hard and dangerous labor and the shortages in the prisoners’ supplies of basic gear, clothing, and shoes tended to use up their strength quickly. Although the order from headquarters had promised enough cleaning supplies, blankets, and other amenities, the subcamp’s commandant struggled with great difficulty to maintain efficiency from the very start. Most prisoners were put to work as assistants, although professional qualifications for working in the factory were considered when prisoners were selected for the camp. Many of the prisoners concealed their true occupations; hoping to get out of camp, they counted on an improvement in their situations and the help of civilians. In his report of September 3, 1944, Commandant Tänzer stated that the majority of prisoners had no skills to work in specialist positions. The camp administration also abandoned the training of 28 prisoners who had initially been selected from the entire group. Since they were unaccustomed to the hard and dangerous jobs of operating machines, those prisoners would most likely suffer serious injuries on the job. For example, on August 25, 1944, a sheet-metal-cutting machine tore off three finger pads from a prisoner’s right hand, which prevented him from working for six weeks.

Letters to the clothing warehouse from October to December 1944 requested the urgent delivery of not only clothes and shoes but also hair clippers (which were requested twice to no avail) and tools to mend clothes and shoes (a shoemaker’s last, thread, nails, wire brushes, thimbles, sewing yarn, and shoe tar, for instance). On November 9, 1944, the commandant reported the pressing need for delivery of 300 new pairs of shoes to replace irreparably worn footwear. The order was filled a week later, as confirmed by warehouse clothing manager SS-Unterscharführer Knott’s initials. Subsequent correspondence shows that the camp made many more requests for additional supplies, to which it received in response mainly offers of materials and tools to mend clothing and footwear and, to a lesser extent, clothes. Among the exceptions was a delivery of gloves for the 470 prisoners living in the camp on December 18, 1944.

Prisoners who were ill or extremely emaciated from labor were removed to the Stutthof main camp, the first transport of which left within one month of the subcamp’s opening; 50 men returned to the subcamp, and former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello says that they did not even look like animals, let alone humans. He was left with the impression of randomly moving skeletons with unseeing eyes and legs dragging about the ground.

The highest death rate in camp was recorded in November and December 1944. The incomplete records of the camp doctor’s department and the camp administration confirm the deaths of over a dozen people by January 4, 1945. The most frequent causes of death were what was termed “an overall debilitation of the organism” and heart diseases.

There were 462 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945. The evacuation of all prisoners from Königsberg took place two days later, on January 26. Prior to evacuation, the

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NOTES


SOURCES

The following sources were consulted in writing this entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdańszczan, Wybór i opracowanie Brunon Zwarra (Gdańsk, 1984).

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prisoners were concentrated in a factory bunker, which also held transports from the remaining five subcamps in East Prussia. In addition to the Steinfurt plant, they were also put in a twine factory and in barracks in the Kalthof section. They were escorted toward Palmnicken (later Yantarnyy). Commandant Weber and the group of SS men from the subcamp at the Steinfurt factory were also in the columns’ escort. The subsequent plight of the subcamp’s prisoners was the same as that of the prisoners from the Heiligenbeil and Jesau camps (for details, see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil and Stutthof/Jesau).

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted in writing this essay: AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against Józef Reiter and others; AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenbau) records; ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; YVA, testimony of former Jewish prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp; D. Drywa, Podoboczy (Aussenarbeitsschläger) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print, typescript at AMS).

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**NOTES**


2. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, Nos. 60 and 67 of September 6 and October 5, 1944.


4. Aldo Coradello’s 1946 testimony indicates this (AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31), as does the fact that the transport docked at the Schichau shipyard landing.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-5, Arbeitsbericht v. 19.8.–2.9.1944 an die Kommandantur des KL Stutthof.


7. Former Italian prisoner Aldo Coradello noted that fact in his camp recollections, which were used in the 1946 trial of the Stutthof camp murderers.

8. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, p. 31.


10. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population.

11. ZdL-L, records of the investigation on Kurt Friedrichs of Palmnicken; copies at YVA, Catalog No. TR-10/1327.

**LAUENBURG [AKA SS-UNTERFÜHRERSCHULE LAUENBURG]**

The Lauenburg (later Lębork) subcamp was formed on April 1, 1942. It was located on the premises of an SS noncommissioned officers’ (NCOs) school and thus was also called SS-Unterführerschule Lauenburg. Its formation was directly connected to a labor detachment of Buchenwald concentration camp prisoners that had existed in the same place since November 11, 1941. The detachment was probably disbanded around March 20, 1942, and the prisoners went back to Buchenwald. On March 23, 1942, another transport of 114 prisoners was sent from Buchenwald to Lauenburg. An order from the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) dated March 28, 1942, confirmed that effective April 1 the Buchenwald detachment was being disbanded and regrouped as a Stutthof subcamp with the same prisoners.

Only in mid-April 1942, as Stutthof’s administration was taking over from the Buchenwald camp, were the 114 prisoners, mostly Russians and Poles, listed in the Stutthof camp personnel files under the numbers 13161–13274. The entire transport had been registered under the date of April 14, 1942. (Researchers provide different dates for the subcamp’s formation. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says it was established in the summer or autumn of 1944, while J. Matynia says autumn 1941. The others, such as M. Gilinski, think that the Stutthof subcamp was formed when a group of prisoners came to Lauenburg [or rather their registration was transferred over to the Stutthof camp's records] and provide the wrong size and numeration for the transport.) Two dates should be distinguished in the detachment’s operation: April 1, 1942, refers to the formal creation of a camp under the command of Stutthof concentration camp, while April 14, 1942, is the date that the same group of prisoners was registered in the camp’s records.

The position of camp or detachment leader changed hands often over the nearly three years of the subcamp’s operation. When the position was unoccupied, a Blockführer appointed by the commandant fulfilled this role. The position of camp leader was filled in succession by SS-Rottenführer Herbert Korsch from an unspecified date in April to October 25, 1942; SS-Oberscharführer Gottfried Heering from October 25 through December 9, 1942; SS-Scharführer Kurt Zemke from December 10 to December 28, 1942; SS-Unterscharführer Leopold Wanninger from December 28, 1942, to March 10, 1943; SS-Unterscharführer Ewald Foth to March 20, 1943; then SS-Scharführer Johannes Meyer until July 31, 1943. SS-Unterscharführer Fritz Peters was director of the camp from August 1, 1943, to October 30, 1944. The last camp leader, SS-Oberscharführer Emil Dreher, was appointed to the position on November 30, 1944.

The detachment’s population probably did not require additional guard forces. The number of prisoners, of whom there were 114 at the start, kept decreasing due to deaths or transports of the sick to the Stutthof hospital. The dead were removed to the crematorium at Stutthof or buried in common graves in the woods. There is a common grave of 28 deceased prisoners at the Lębork cemetery.

The constantly fluctuating prisoner population provides evidence of regular replacement transports, usually once or twice a year. One such transport arrived at Lauenburg in 1942. On April 27, 1942, there were 72 people in the detachment; on
March 29, 1943, there were 24; on September 15, 1944, there were 55; and just before evacuation in late January 1945, there were 53 prisoners. Perhaps young SS men from the NCO school were assigned to supervise them. Officials from the command staff also served as supervisors in the posts of work group supervisors and block leaders. For instance, up until December 9, 1942, SS-Scharführer Sebastian Schmidt was assigned as second Kommandoführer (G. Heering was the first Kommandoführer) to provide additional supervision.

The detachment was quartered in the basement of the SS NCO school; it was wet and cold because there were no windows. The prisoners were put to work expanding the school, doing building and renovating there, as well as building a shooting range nearby in the woods. They worked from dawn until night. Prisoners carried the bricks and wooden beams to build the shooting range five kilometers (three miles) on their backs. They pulled carts with sand along rails, hurried on by SS men stationed every 50 feet and by prisoner foremen. Among the most brutal SS men were Fritz Peters and Ewald Forth. The Gdańsk District Court sentenced both to death in 1947. The position of construction detachment leader was held by the German criminal prisoner Karl Kliefoth, later the camp elder and first overseer at Stutthof. He was tried by a federal court in Hamburg in 1950 but acquitted of all charges. German criminal prisoners served in supervisory jobs.

Besides the brutal supervision and starvation food rations, there were also clothing and shoe shortages. The surviving portion of the subcamp leader's correspondence with the clothing warehouse is from the final months of 1944. The correspondence reported that the summer clothing had been worn out in mid-September 1944 and that there was also a shortage of winter clothes, underwear, and shoes. The command requested the urgent delivery of tools and materials to repair shoes, as they wore out quickly in the work in the woods and construction.

On July 8, 1942, Zygmunt Pencherzewski, a Polish prisoner who had been put in Stutthof on June 27, 1942, successfully escaped the subcamp, to which he had been sent six days earlier.

There were 53 persons living in the camp on January 24, 1945. Their later fate involved the plan to evacuate the prisoners from the central camp at Stutthof beginning on January 25 and 26, 1945. Approximately 11,000 prisoners were slated to be moved by foot march to Lauenburg, 140 kilometers (87 miles) from Stutthof. Upon reaching Lauenburg, they were to be housed at the NCO school. That plan was never carried out because the school had already been occupied by the Wehrmacht (for soldiers' quarters and a field hospital). Several Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps were prepared for the prisoners, which they reached in early February 1945.

J. Matynia states that the subcamp existed until Lauenburg was liberated on March 10, 1945, and the prisoners lived at the school until the end, getting the furnishings ready for evacuation. Other source materials indicate that the detachment was disbanded earlier. Former prisoners who were living at evacuation camps near Lauenburg in February 1945 say that a food distribution point for prisoners evacuated from Stutthof was set up at the school.

**Sources**


Primary sources for this subcamp begin with AK-IPN, SO Gd, Catalog No. 75, records of criminal case against Kurt Dietrich and others; Catalog No. 76, records of criminal case against Theodor Meyer and others; Catalog No. 79, sentences of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Bronisław Nogajski, Bolesław Przytuła); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-1, I-IB-2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IB-5, Einsatzbefehl no. 3; Catalog No. I-IIIE-2, Einlieferungsbuch; Catalog No. I-IIIA-10, Arbeitseinsatz, Arbeitsteilung für den 29 März 1943; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, camp population reports dated January 1945; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. Z-V-20, recollections of T. Meyer; Relacje i wspomnienia (Antoni Rzyszkie- wicz, vol. 3). At BA-L, ZdL, there are reports of the examination of Stutthof concentration camp commandant P.W. Hoppe. ITS Arolsen holds a transport list of prisoners moved from Buchenwald concentration camp to Kommando Lauenburg dated March 23, 1942 (copy available at AMS).

The West German investigation of this camp may be found in Justiz und NS-Verbrechen (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), 8: 435–450.

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**Notes**

1. ITS Arolsen, Namentliche Liste des Kommandos Lauenburg, 23.03.1942 (copy at AMS, Catalog No. Z-VI-2/13).

The Libau subcamp for Jewish prisoners was formed in East Prussia in November 1944. The camp was set up for 330 Jews, men and women, in the town of Liepāja (German: Libau), attached to the Wehrmacht’s Army Group North. The prisoners were put to work building fortifications. The first mention of the detachment’s operation was in a hospital record of prisoners who had been inoculated for typhus on December 2, 1944. Next to the prisoners’ names and numbers, the list provides such information as the work group names and the institutions and companies to which the prisoners were hired out.1

The December 2, 1944, record established that the subcamp began operating in November 1944. It lists prisoner Oskar Zirkmann as being prisoner foreman (Kapo) of the detachment. There are other references to the subcamp in camp population reports from late January 1945. There were 227 prisoners in camp on January 24, 1945, including 140 men and 87 women. The next report dated January 30, 1945, lists an increase to 327 female prisoners.

The last record confirmed by sources dated February 17, 1945, regarding sending the prisoners to the Stutthof camp, lists 307 Jewish women out of the detachment’s population of 315. It is not known what happened to the Jewish men, who were still at the subcamp on January 24. Based on the surviving records, it cannot be determined if the difference of 100 persons was due to an error in the report (twice) or whether some prisoners had already returned to Stutthof, replaced by another group of Jewish women.2

The subcamp operated until February 17, 1945. On that day, 307 Jewish women were sent back to Stutthof; 8 women were left behind, having been excluded from the transport. It is assumed that they died in their final weeks at camp.

SOURCES The primary sources of information included AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus dated December 2, 1944; D. Drywa, Podoboz (Aus- senarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print; typescript at AMS); M. Orski, Niezłomnica praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945 (Gdańsk, 1999).

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-15, list of prisoners inoculated against typhus, dated December 2, 1944.
2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

MÜGGENHAHL

A subcamp of Stutthof was created in the town of Müggenhahl (later Rokitnica in Gdańsk County) near Praust (later Pruszcz Gdańsk). Based on labor assignment entries in prisoner files, we can establish that it operated from October 21, 1939, to August 19, 1940.1 The prisoners were hired out to several employers who owned farms in the area: Claassen, Dirksen,2 and Voss. Notes made in the records do not provide any information on the type of work the prisoners did.

Another work detachment was instituted in the same place in July 1942. According to the testimony of a prisoner who was assigned to Müggenhahl, a group of approximately 20 people were sent from the Stutthof camp to do work for local farmers. Paul Schulz was one of them; and we know that a group of prisoners worked at that farm until the end of the war.3 They were lodged in a barracks under the supervision of SS men from Stutthof. The prisoners were divided up among several farms, to which they went unescorted every day, returning to the camp in the evening. The detachment was supervised by one elderly SS man named Günter Paul (who is not listed in the partially surviving Stutthof concentration camp staff index). The employers provided the food for the prisoners.

SOURCES In addition to those sources mentioned in “Stutthof Subcamp System,” the following were consulted in writing this entry: AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports of Antoni Janiewicz, Wrocław; AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files; Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927–1928.
From January to April 1942, 21 prisoners were put to work in Neuteich (later Nowy Staw), compressing hay and straw as well as loading and unloading compressed bales. The prisoners were taken to Neuteich by narrow-gauge railway, escorted by four SS men. Dinners for the detachment were brought in from Stutthof. When the detachment’s work was completed and the subcamp was disbanded in late April 1942, the prisoners returned to Stutthof. No references have survived in camp headquarters dated July 3, 1940, in which he expresses his thanks for the prisoner labor done under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Schierer-Skierka.

The subcamp in Pölitz (later Police), near Stettin (later Szczecin), began operating on June 25, 1944. It was one of several camps that housed labor for the city’s two largest industrial plants: Hydrierwerke AG (of which IG Farbenindustrie AG

### NEUTEICH

From January to April 1942, 21 prisoners were put to work in Neuteich (later Nowy Staw), compressing hay and straw as well as loading and unloading compressed bales. The prisoners were taken to Neuteich by narrow-gauge railway, escorted by four SS men. Dinners for the detachment were brought in from Stutthof. When the detachment’s work was completed and the subcamp was disbanded in late April 1942, the prisoners returned to Stutthof. No references have survived in camp headquarters dated July 3, 1940, in which he expresses his thanks for the prisoner labor done under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Schierer-Skierka.

### PELPLIN

From May 15 to June 30, 1940, 24 prisoners were put to work in Pelplin, building a road on the premises of the closed Pelplin Theological Seminary near Tczew (Aussenkommando Pelplin). The buildings had been adapted to become an Auxiliary Police School (Hilfspolizeischule der Ordnungspolizei). SS-Unterscharführer Leo Skierka was camp commandant until July 3. He changed his name to Schierer on June 3, 1941. The prisoners were quartered in one of the seminary buildings. They received their food, which was relatively good in comparison to that of the main camp at Stutthof, from the police school kitchen. The prisoners’ basic job was to build a macadamized road on the seminary premises. They packed a layer of small broken stones with a roller pulled by six—later two—prisoners. Three prisoners escaped from the detachment on the night of May 9, 1940. The search party sent out the next day produced no results. Four other prisoners whose beds were next to those of the escapees were arrested and interrogated by the police. They were accused of not having done anything to prevent the escape, of which they really knew nothing. They were given the death sentence, which was to be carried out that same evening. The fugitives were then caught, and one of them was shot to death. The fate of the two surviving prisoners is unknown.

Besides Commandant Skierka, the prisoners were supervised by students at the police school. The Pelplin detachment was disbanded on June 30, 1940.

### SOURCES

The following were consulted in writing this entry:

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-IE-1005, personnel files of SS man Leo Schierer-Skierka.
3. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 14:108, account of Jan Gulczyński.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-44292, files of prisoner Jan Gulczyński; Catalog No. I-IE-10005, personnel files of Leo Schierer-Skierka, letter of the commander of Hilfspolizeischule Pelplin to the Stutthof camp civilian prisoner camp headquarters dated July 3, 1940, in which he expresses his thanks for the prisoner labor done under the supervision of SS-Rottenführer Schierer-Skierka.
had a large share) and Norddeutsche Mineralölwerke GmbH, producers of synthetic gasoline and other products. A maximum of from 25,000 to 28,000 workers lived in all the surrounding camps, including concentration camp prisoners, prisoners of war (POWs), and forced laborers. According to the fragmentary source materials, the Hydrierwerke plant requested that the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA) grant permission to put prisoners to work at the factory and house them in a labor camp it would build at its own expense. The prisoners were initially housed in tents next to the Hägerwelle penal camp. Work was begun at the same time on the construction of a permanent camp in the woods near the train station at Messenthin (Mścięcin). The prisoners arrived there in the autumn of 1944.

The number of people at the subcamp ranged from 800 in June 1944 to 2,800 in late August. That number dropped to 2,364 between August and mid-December, and to 2,065 in April 1945. Besides Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Germans, there were also Frenchmen, Yugoslavians, and Greeks at Pößnitz.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kuhlmann was camp commandant from June 25 to August 5, 1944, followed for the short time until August 18, 1944, by SS-Hauptsturmführer Ernst Sette, who was followed by SS-Untersturmführer Kurt Volkmann. Initially, the camp staff was made up of 30 SS men from Stutthof and a medical orderly. The number of SS men increased to 43 in August 1944 because the camp population had gone up. Wehrmacht soldiers and Ukrainians from auxiliary formations also served as supervisors, replacing Germans called into the army. There were 50 people on the camp staff on November 11, 1944. There was also a system of supervisory prisoners including work group overseers (Vorarbeiters) and prisoner foremen (Kapos), mainly German criminals. The post of camp elder was held by Waclaw Kozłowski, a Pole who had been a barrack chief at Stutthof, where he proved to be one of the most brutal prisoner-functionaries. After the war, he was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death. Besides him, there were over 12 German criminal prisoners serving as prisoner foremen, 4 of whom stood out due to their brutality: Richard Friedrich, Bruno Neumann, Alfred Hölzel, and Gustaw Lüge. They died in the camp on December 18, 1944, after drinking ethyl alcohol.

The permanent camp was made up of about 30 barracks. The sanitary conditions, housing, and supplies of food, blankets, clothing, and shoes in the camp were satisfactory only for a few weeks at the beginning. Later, 8 people shared one loaf of bread, and the prisoners were issued a watery soup made from weeds for dinner. The factory management would sporadically provide the camp with raw carrots and soup from the factory cafeteria. The exhausting labor, hunger, and abuse weakened the prisoners and contributed to the camp's high death rate. The hospital records show 106 prisoner deaths at Pößnitz from October to November 1944, but given the regular transfers of prisoners in and out, the true total must have been much higher. Prisoners who were too weak to work were often selected for transport to Stutthof, where many of them were killed with phenol injections, their death certificates falsified.

Dr. Boleslaw Kaczyński served as camp doctor; he managed to save over a dozen prisoners despite the primitive conditions in the infirmary. Dr. Heidecke, nominally designated by the factory as doctor, was not interested in the prisoners and only signed death certificates. The bodies were transported to the crematorium at a Stettin cemetery; later, when it was closed, they were buried in common graves in Messenthin.

Conditions deteriorated with the colder weather, as indicated by the commandant’s reminders to the Stutthof supply warehouse to send warm clothing (jackets, ear protectors, gloves, etc.) and shoes for the prisoners and SS staff, as well as materials to mend them. The prisoners experienced some improvement after the visit of Stutthof assistant commandant SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Meyer.

The prisoners were put to work expanding the synthetic gasoline factory in Pölitz for Hydrierwerke AG. Hydrierwerke AG worked with local construction companies to build the camp and factory, prepare the site, and so on. These companies included Grün & Bilfinger, Dyckerhoff & Widmann AG, Betonwerke Gossebäude, and Westermann & Co. The prisoners worked at construction work for 12 hours a day in groups of up to 100. They were also hired out for various jobs in Pölitz or subcontracted out to other city firms or businesses, which was common practice for IG Farbenindustrie and other big companies. Some of the most dangerous work was the construction of giant bunkers on factory premises or disarming unexploded bombs from the raids that had begun in July 1944. Prisoners in the bomb disposal detail left the factory premises mostly in groups of 6 to 8, escorted by one SS man and a German civilian bomb disposal expert. For disarming one bomb, a prisoner would get 10 Juno-brand cigarettes or a liter (four cups) of soup from the company kitchen. However, the work killed an estimated 80 percent of the prisoners who had to perform it.

The records indicate the attempted escape of approximately 40 prisoners, mainly Russians, between July 1944 and February 1945, of whom fewer than half were successful; there were probably many more undocumented attempts as well. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz says that the greatest number of escapes from the entire camp was in Pölitz; he estimates that number at 20. The most spectacular event at Pölitz was an attempt to kill Kozłowski, the camp elder, in October 1944. The attempt failed because Kozłowski defended himself with a bayonet that he kept in his boot. Six of the attackers escaped through a hole in the wire, another was wounded in the attempt, and several others had to stay behind. When the accused did not come forward, the commandant selected nine prisoners at random from a transport from Warsaw and hanged them, along with the wounded man. The evacuation of prisoners westward began on April 17; there was no communication with the Stutthof camp, so Sachsenhausen assumed command over the prisoners when
they left Pöltitz; 184 prisoners were sent to Barth and Bergen-Belsen in two transports. Those who were the most ill and unable to march, approximately 100 people, were shot on April 25, 1945; the rest, approximately 400 prisoners, were sent toward Rostock. 18

**SOURCES** Information on the Pöltitz subcamp can be found in the AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 422, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Józefowi Reiterowi i innym, sentencje wyroków; and Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pöltitz. Information on this subcamp can also be found in the AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Commandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; Catalog No. I-VB-7, hospital (Krankenhaus) records; Relacje i wspomnienia (vol. 4, Jan Nowicki). See APMO, Proces G. Maurera; and the APSz, Bauabteilung nr. 1488a: Entwässerung des KL Lagers in Messenthin zum Krieklans-Bach. Bau nr. 903. Additional information on the Pöltitz subcamp can be found in the following sources: ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979); Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, Ruch oporu w hitlerowskich obozach koncentracyjnych 1933–1945 (Warsaw, 1979); Bogdan Frankiewicz, Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej (Poznań, 1969); J. Grabowska, Marsz śmierci: Ezekucja pieza więźniów KL Stutthof i jego podbozów 25 stycznia–3 maja 1945 (Gdańsk, 1992); M.E. Jezierska, “Obozy w Policach,” BGKBZHStP 15 (1965); Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” SzZeMu, no. 10 (1992); J.L. Jurkiewicz, Police: Filia KL Stutthof (Szczecin, 1998) (typescript at AMS); J. Nowicki, “Od Stutthofu do Sandbostel,” PL, no. 1 (1968); Marek Orski, Italiani nel KL Stutthof: Włosi w KL Stutthof (Gdańsk, 1996), and Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, Police (Warsaw, 1974). See also Hydrierwerke Pölitz Aktiengesellschaft, www.Politz.republika.pl.

Marek Orski
trans. Gerald Majka

**NOTES**

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung des Aussenlagers Pöltitz b. Stettin.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, pp. 151–152, monthly reports of the subcamp’s commandant for Verwaltung/KL Stutthof, dated July 31 and September 1, 1944, on the status of prisoner provisioning, numerical lists (Verpflegungsstärken); AK-IPN, Konzentrationslager Stutthof, 74, pp. 1–2, lists of prisoner population at Pöltitz; APMO, Proces G. Maurera, 6/21, Dok. Nor. NI-1065, K. Sommer’s testimony on prisoner labor at Police.

PRAUST (FLUGPLATZ)

The Praust subcamp began operating on July 7, 1944.1 Pursuant to a special order issued on July 3, 1944, by camp headquarters, 500 Jewish women were sent to a military airfield (Flugplatz) located along the road to the village of Kochstedt (later Roszkowo) near Praust (Pruiszcz Gdański) to do building and cleanup work; the camp’s population grew by another 300 women on August 6, 1944. (There were four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields, at Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen.) SS-Hauptscharführer Otto Berger of headquarters staff was named camp commandant. The staff included seven SS men from an SS-Guard Battalion and seven from a Wehrmacht Training Battalion composed of soldiers unfit for duty at the front (on July 6, 1944, they were joined with the newly formed Stutthof concentration camp II SS-Guard Battalion,

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then moved to Guard Companies I–III on September 6, 1944, when the battalion was disbanded. In addition to these men, an SS man in charge of feeding the prisoners and a medical orderly were assigned to Praust. When the prisoner population increased, six more SS men and several SS women were assigned to the staff. Some of them had come with prisoner transports from other concentration camps; the others were recruited in an operation conducted by the Danzig employment agency. They underwent special training at the Stutthof camp, then were assigned to guard duty at the main camp or subcamps. One such recruitment operation in late October 1944 included 60 women, 7 of whom were later assigned to Praust.1

The Hungarian Jewish women selected for the original transport arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz concentration camp on June 29, 1944; 40 of the weakest women were replaced just three weeks after the subcamp had been formed.3 Another transport of 300 women was assigned to the subcamp on July 25, 1944. Two SS women, moved from the Kauen concentration camp, Emilie Macha and Anni Scharbert, arrived with them.3 Jewish women from Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Austria were selected for the transport. They had previously been at the Terezin and Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camps.

The prisoners were quartered on airfield premises in three wooden barracks. Reveille was at 5:00 A.M. Every day started with roll call, which sometimes lasted 15 minutes and sometimes went as long as 60 minutes. All they were issued for breakfast was hot coffee-colored water. Some women ate a piece of bread they had saved from the day before. Then they left camp, went to work on leveling the terrain of sandy hills. They were watched at work by guards; several construction companies (e.g., Kieferling, Metzer & Co.) supervised the project. There were extreme differences in the way the SS men treated the women so that in a short time the prisoners could tell good days apart from bad. Some SS men gave them some freedom of movement during the day, even allowing them to pull turnips from the fields. Some of the SS men were work fanatics who did not let the women have the slightest interest in work but in inflicting extra torture on the prisoners. Their favorite form of persecution was to drive the women into a ditch and aim their guns at them, ready to fire.3

The kitchen set up by the subcamp’s management was in charge of food supplies for the staff and prisoners, assisted by the junior officer from Stutthof camp headquarters in charge of food supplies. The food consisted of starvation rations: some hot coffee, which was coffee in name only, for breakfast and supper; a piece of bread in the evening; and some soup with low-caloric content for lunch. When autumn came, problems began with supplying prisoners with warmer clothing and shoes, which deteriorated quickly. In mid-October 1944 the camp received such things as 800 pairs of wooden shoes and the same number of foot wrappings, 168 dresses, 500 pairs of long underwear, and 400 shirts. In late December 1944, Praust again received wooden shoes and foot wrappings, which indicates the camp’s great demand for those items and the rate at which they wore out.6

The subcamp numbered 800 women on January 24; thus, it reached its level of mid-August 1944. There is no surviving information on the death rate, so it cannot be determined what the size of the prisoner replacement transports were that arrived from the main camp.3 Presumably the death rate was not too high, but there were considerably more sick people who later could not cope with the hardships of the evacuation march and were shot by the guards.

The camp was evacuated together with the subcamp at Russoschin beginning around February 11, 1945. Upon reaching the vicinity of Lauenburg (Lebork), pursuant to the Stutthof general evacuation plan, the prisoners were placed in two Reich Labor Service (RAD) camps at Gnewin (later Gniezno, Poland) and Burgsdorf (later Berezovka, Russia) as well as at a newly established camp in Kolkau (Kolkow). Upon liberating the Kolkau camp, the Russians found 600 exhausted women. According to the accounts of Norwegian prisoners liberated on March 11, 1945, at the nearby Jenzow estate, the owner of the Kolkau estate was shot when the Russians entered. The common grave of 143 people who had been shot in the back of the head was found in the camp after the war. The remains of the slaughtered victims were moved to the cemetery at Rybno.8

Transport of women prisoners evacuated from the Organisation Todt (OT) Elbing camp were put in the abandoned Praust airfield camp between late February and early March 1945. Several hundred starving andrick women were imprisoned here, many of them severely frostbitten. Every so often the sickest of them were taken away from the camp, presumably to be put to death. The camp was liberated on March 23, 1945.9

Only one of the SS women from the Praust camp staff stood trial in a Polish court after the war. Emilie Macha (née Wawoczny), who came from Silesia, was sentenced by the Kraków Criminal Court to 12 years in prison on November 16, 1948 (she died in prison on February 4, 1949). She had served as a camp guard at the Auschwitz, Lublin, Kauen, and Ravensbrück concentration camps before coming to Stutt-
of.10

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Praust subcamp include AK-IPN w Warszawie, SO Kr, 433, akta sprawy karnej przeciw Emili Macha; SSK Gd, 418, akta sprawy karnej przeciw Wandzie Klaff. See also AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIA-2, Arbeitseinsatz; Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; Catalog No. I-IIV-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; and Relacje i wspomnienia (vol. 7, Miriam Ejszyszok, Sonia Szogan-Etkin; originals in YV). Additional information on this subcamp can be found in the following publications: ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Ausenkommun-
dos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Arolsen, 1979); H.

**NOTES**

2. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, 418, pp. 18–21, protokół przesłuchania oskarżonej Wandy Klaff; SO Kr, 433, p. 12, akta sprawy karnej przeciwko Emile Macha, protokół przesłuchania Emilie Macha.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle, nr. 49, dated July 25, 1944.
7. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

**PREUSSISCH STARGARD**

The subcamp in Preussisch Stargard (prewar: Stargard; postwar: Starogard Gdański, both in Poland) was formed in March 1942. No archival materials on the camp’s establishment have survived, and there is no accurate information about its organization and operation.¹

The only source providing information on the detachment’s operation is the testimony given during trial at Gdańsk District Court in 1947 by two SS men of the same rank, SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle and Erich Jassen, who supervised the prisoners’ work. Based on their testimony, we can establish the period in which the detachment operated, from March to at least October 1942. SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle was sent to Preussisch Stargard in March 1942 with a group of 150 prisoners. The prisoners were hired out to a construction company (name unknown) to build a road between Preussisch Stargard and Gutowiec (possibly Schwarzwasser). The company provided housing and food for the subcamp’s staff and prisoners. The camp was located in Preussisch Stargard. When they had completed their job in the Preussisch Stargard region, the prisoners were moved on toward Czersk, where until October 1942 they continued building the road in the vicinity of Łąg (German: Königsried and Gutowiec (German: Gutenwirt)).²

SS-Unterscharführer Erich Jassen and six other SS men were assigned to the detachment in Preussisch Stargard in August 1942.³ Both Eberle and Jassen were tried as defendants at the Gdańsk District Court in November 1947 and were sentenced to 10 years in prison.⁴

**NOTES**

2. AK-IPN, SO Gd, 85, pp. 117, testimony of SS-Unterscharführer Gustav Eberle at 1947 trial in Gdańsk.

**PRÖBBERNAU**

The subcamp at Pröbbernau (later Przerbno) was formed near Stutthof for the construction of a dike on the Vistula Bay side of the peninsula. The first documented references to the detachment are from October 31, 1939. The camp commandant’s report for the Danzig Gestapo on Polish prisoner Jan Hryniewicz contained information on his labor assignment at the Pröbbernau subcamp from October 31 to December 15, 1939.

The camp’s first commandant was named Lenau. No information on him has survived in the Stutthof camp staff personnel records. He was probably removed from his position for alcohol abuse and illegal dealings with the company building the dikes. He was less brutal toward the prisoners than the second commandant, SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz, a man with sadistic tendencies. Mielenz served as commandant from September 24, 1940, to April 1941. The prisoners were supervised by SS men. The commandant and guard staff were quartered in a farm owner’s building.
The prisoners who arrived in the first transport to Pröbernau were initially housed in a township shed. The group was taken to its destination in trucks and probably numbered from one to several dozen prisoners. Their first job was to build the camp, to quickly put up a living-quarters barrack, farm buildings, and sanitary facilities, and to fence in the entire site with barbed wire. The camp was designed for a maximum of 200 to 300 prisoners. Approximately 200 people lived there on average. It was located on the leased part of a farm near the Evangelical cemetery. The first work erecting new levees was begun only upon the arrival of a group of approximately 200 or 300 prisoners from the Neufahrwasser camp in early November 1939; they were Poles arrested in Gdingen (later Gotenhafen, then Gdynia) in mid-September 1939.1

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (the Elblag company Dike Unit of Elbing District). Four engineering foremen from the company were in charge of the work. The work consisted of raising levees—carting in wheelbarrows of sand, building an embankment, and reinforcing it with sod. The prisoners who worked building the embankment stood waist deep in cold water. They were hurried on and beaten during work by the guards and especially by a foreman named Aleksy, who, according to a witness account, “always tried to outdo the guards in cruelty, with a bat, and a gnarly one at that, whether it be at morning roll call, or at work, beating prisoners himself and inciting the guards to beat them.”2

The living conditions in the camp, especially the food, were as poor as at the main camp. The prisoners slept directly on the floor, strewn with a fresh, clean layer of straw, which was covered by canvas. Each prisoner had one blanket. The company to which the prisoners were hired out provided food, but the daily food rations were inadequate, and moreover the kitchen’s chief cheated the prisoners in their rations, selling scraps of food such as potato and rutabaga peels to the local farmer as feed. There was no infirmary in the camp. More serious illnesses were treated at the hospital in Stutthof.

Hungry prisoners searched on their own for other sources of sustenance, availing themselves of nearby farms. At first the local population tried to supplement the prisoners’ diet by bringing food such as bread into the camp, but the commandant quickly prohibited that. For a while, the families of the Pröbernau prisoners also provided them with food. In extreme instances, determined prisoners decided to escape. One attempt, in which two persons were involved, ended with the fugitives being caught. During a special roll call, those prisoners were shot before the eyes of the entire detachment.3

The work at Pröbernau was halted with the coming of winter 1939, when the cold weather made the work impossible. Most of the prisoners were sent back to Stutthof on December 15, 1939.4

A group of approximately 50 prisoners was kept at Pröbernau; they probably did additional work to protect the levee during the winter, under the supervision of company engineers. The detachment was reactivated on April 18, 1940, according to assignments to Pröbernau noted in the prisoners’ files. Recruitment for the labor was done at the Stutthof camp. The 203 prisoners were sent on foot to Pröbernau, about 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Stutthof. The group included many prisoners who were emaciated and unfit to do the hard physical labor of raising the levees. Many of them died at Pröbernau. When the construction foreman complained, 50 of the weakest prisoners were sent back to Stutthof a day later. The population was replenished by additional prisoner transports sent to Pröbernau from Stutthof as needed.1

The housing, sanitary, and food conditions were basically unchanged in this second season. The prisoners occupied the same barrack as in 1939. Sanitary conditions were better than those at the Stutthof camp. Although the toilets were still outside, on Sunday afternoons the prisoners were escorted to bathe in the sea about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from camp. The food most often consisted of unpeeled potatoes and codfish heads. Sometimes pea soup was issued. Because of the prevailing hunger, after a while the prisoners were allowed to receive food packages. By September 29, 1940, the camp population had dropped to 129 prisoners due to the high death rate. There was no infirmary at the camp, even though special space had been designated for a doctor’s office, and there was a doctor, Julian Węgrynowicz, in the detachment. The doctor had no other medical supplies at his disposal than aspirin and paper bandages. His job was just to determine what condition a patient was in, while the commandant made the treatment decisions. From time to time, the sickest people were sent to the hospital at Stutthof, and new prisoners were brought in.6

Several prisoners attempted to escape from the camp. The first attempt was in June 1940 by a prisoner named Mośko. He was caught a few hours later because he had taken a bad escape route toward Kahlberg (later Lysica, then Krynica Morska), where he was beaten by SS men and escorted back to the camp. If the escape had been successful, 10 other prisoners were to be put to death. After another unsuccessful attempt by the same prisoner, the SS men tortured him to death. His body was buried outside the camp fence. In vain, 3 other prisoners attempted to get out of the camp; all the escapes ended badly for the fugitives. They were caught and sent back to Stutthof, where they were put to death publicly. The only escape that was successful was by camp carpenter Czesław Majewski on September 26, 1940, partly because he had taken a long time to plan his escape route carefully.7

The work at Pröbernau ended on December 19, 1940, due to severe frost, just as the year before, and the basic group of prisoners was sent back to Stutthof, except for 50 persons moved directly to do similar labor at the Zeyersniederkampen subcamp.8

There is no archival information on whether the detachment was reactivated in subsequent years. However, the accounts and testimony of former prisoners show that groups of prisoners were sent to Pröbernau, as well as to Zeyersniederkampen, Terranowa (later Nowakowo) on the Nogat River to do the same work in 1944 and perhaps even earlier.9 The work erecting the levee was continued by a youth camp
NOTES


2. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 12: 242, account of Antoni Dulski; see also Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu, pp. 54–55.


4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-49996, personal files of prisoner Jan Hrynczewicz; Zwarra, Wspomnienia Polaków- Gdan’czan, account of Franciszek Mokwiński.


8. AMS, Catalog Nos. I-III-43070, I-III-49889, personal files of prisoners Stanisław Dziaja and Jan Jonczyk; Lasik, Stutthof, ac., personnel files of SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz; Relacje i wspomnienia, 12: 252, account of Antoni Dulski; Mitura, Za drutami Stutthofu, p. 62.

9. AK-IPN Gd, Kppp 43/72/M, report of examination of witness Franciszek Adamczyk; Majewski, Ucieczka z piekła, p. 103.

NOTES

1. R. Andersen and H. Larsen, Vi blev reddet denne gang (Copenhagen, 1945), p. 49.

RUSSOSCHIN [aka Reichsbahn Russoschin]

The subcamp at Russoschin bei Praust (later Russocin near Pruszcz Gdański) was formed on September 13, 1944. The prisoners were hired out to work for the German National Railways (Deutsche Reichsbahn, DR)—thus, the camp was also called Reichsbahn Russoschin. Some 300 Jewish women were sent to Russoschin. They were mainly from Hungary and Germany. SS-Unterscharführer Willi Engler was the first camp commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Döring on October 22, 1944.

Seven SS women supervised the prisoners, as did an unknown number of railroad security guards (Bahnschützen). SS women candidates were employed at the German Railroad Administration in Danzig until October 1944, after which they were delegated from the Railroad Administration via the Danzig employment agency to the Stutthof concentration camp to train for guard duty at the parent camp or the subcamps for women. As railroad employees, they were subject to conscription into military duty.

Training began at the beginning of August and lasted more or less until mid-November 1944. Most candidates were German. According to the 1945 testimony of prisoner Zofia Jackowska, 150 SS women candidates were trained over three months; 60 of them remained at the central camp, and the rest were sent to its subcamps.

The training program involving the 7 SS women who were posted to Russoschin began on October 27, 1944, and lasted three weeks. A total of 60 women attended that course. According to the testimony of Elisabeth Becker and Wanda Klaff, who attended the training program, the first Schutzhaftlagerführer T. Meyer’s main focus in the instruction was on the SS women’s communications with the prisoners and on punishing the prisoners for any transgressions. They were strictly forbidden from talking at all with the prisoners outside of the line of duty, especially about the war. The SS women were also responsible for making sure the prisoners did not communicate with the civilian workers. Meyer ordered the SS women to force the prisoners to work using a system of punishments: taking away their food for any minor transgression and whipping them for more serious ones, with the whipping done in camp rather than at the workplace. Meyer reminded them several times of the formal ban on hitting prisoners, advising them to assign any women reluctant to work to cleanup jobs as punishment or send them to jail.

The seven women assigned to Russoschin upon completing the training course were Anni Jack, Gertruda Schönhof, Marta Gryszewska, Maria Szeraińska, Klara Reichert, Elfried Hansen, and Wanda Klaff. Out of that group, Klaff was tried by the Gdansk Special Criminal Court in 1946 (sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, at Stolzenberg hill in Gdańsk), while the Gdansk District Court sentenced Hansen to 15 years in prison in 1947. Klaff came from a Polish family and was named Kalacińska, changing her name to Kalden when the second German National List (Deutsche Volksliste) group was admitted, then to Klaff, the name of her husband, a German.

Approximately 50 women were put under the “care” of each SS woman. They were quartered in three wooden barracks located in the village (Gemeinschaftslager Russoschin bei Praust). The prisoners were escorted daily from the barracks to work at a railway junction or to replace sections of track. The women were hired out to work at the Reich Railways Repair Works (Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk, RAW) in Praust. They were also put to work building air-raid shelters. The work required great physical fitness and strength. Pursuant to the commandant’s order, before leaving for Russoschin, the women were supposed to be equipped with adequate clothing, shoes, a towel, and soap. Reichsbahn Direktion Danzig also promised to provide additional protective clothing and agreed to mend the clothes and shoes in its own workshops. As Klaff testified at her trial, in spite of that the women worked in light clothing that put them at the mercy of the weather and endured beatings by the SS women. The commandant’s correspondence with the clothing warehouse at Stutthof also confirms the inadequate state of provisions, especially supplies of warm clothing (foot wrappings, gloves, and coats).

The commandant and the Stutthof staff were in charge of food supplies for the prisoners. They set up a separate kitchen for prisoners, while the commandant and SS women were assigned food pursuant to military rationing. According to Klaff’s testimony, reveille was at 4:00 A.M., followed by a long roll call and a march out to work at around 6:30 A.M. The women got their first meal only at noon: a plate of potato or rutabaga soup, sometimes cooked with horsemeat. After they got back from work at about 5:30 P.M. and went through roll call, they were issued supper, consisting of 1 liter (4.2 cups) of watery potato soup and a slice of bread of about 50 grams (1.8 ounces) with a bit of jam or margarine.

The hunger, the cold, the lack of medical care, and the beatings during work were the main reasons for prisoner sicknesses and deaths. There were 289 women in camp on January 24, 1945. Klaff’s testimony at her 1946 trial shows that sick and weak Jewish women were sent to the hospital at Stutthof regularly. Selections were held every three weeks. An average of 12 persons were taken away to Stutthof after each selection. But the figures recorded during an examination conducted on June 18, 1945, by an investigative officer of the Gdansk Province Public Security Agency were significantly higher: selections were held every two weeks, and from
15 to 20 Jewish women were sent to Stutthof following that selection.\textsuperscript{11} There are no figures on the death rate in the camp, so it is not possible to establish how many deaths occurred on the camp premises and how many at the Stutthof hospital, where the sick women were sent. The commandant’s correspondence with the Stutthof camp administration shows that the maximum working population of 300 prisoners was maintained through early January. This is evidenced by such things as the commandant’s ordering the delivery of double sets of strips of material for prisoner numbers for prisoners to wear, a total of 600 items.\textsuperscript{12}

The subcamp was disbanded around February 12, 1945. The evacuation of the subcamp at Praust had begun a day earlier. That camp’s prisoners, 800 women, joined the group of 289 women evacuated from Russoschin. Together they began their march toward Lauenburg that same day. The camp population report dated February 13, 1945, removed the prisoner counts of the Praust and Russoschin camps from the Stutthof camp records, a total of 1,089 persons, who had been registered as evacuees the day before. Both camps’ inmates shared the same fate. Klaff, who escorted the Jewish women to Lauenburg, testified that all 300 women [sic] reached their destination, but 60 percent of them died in evacuation camps due to disease, starvation, or lack of medical aid.\textsuperscript{13}


Primary sources for this camp may be found in AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 53, records of the criminal case against Elfriede Hansen; sygn. 81a, materials of preliminary investigation into the Stutthof camp collected by Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz; SSK Gd, sygn. 418, records of criminal case against Wanda Klaff; AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, correspondence with the Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; sygn. I-IVH-7, p. 147, 149.

**NOTES**


2. AMS, sygn. I-IB-3, Sinderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 71, October 22, 1944.


4. AK-IPN, SO Gd, sygn. 81a, p. 68, records collected by Gdañsk District Court Judge Antoni Zachariasiewicz.

5. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp.19–21, 65, reports of examinations of defendants, 1946 testimony of Wanda Klaff and Elizabeth Becker, as well as that included in the stenographic record of the main trial (sygn. 423); and “SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu,” DB, April 28, 1946.

6. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 16–18, report of examination of Wanda Klaff.


8. AMS, sygn. I-IVH-7, pp. 147, 149.

9. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, pp. 22–24, W. Klaff’s testimony; “SS-Frauen-megery ze Stutthofu.”


11. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, sygn. 418, p. 23.


**SCHIPPERBEIL**

The Schippenbeil subcamp was formed on September 21, 1944, along with four other identically organized camps at nearby Luftwaffe airfields (Gerdauen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Seerappen). A day later the first transport of 1,000 Jewish prisoners, including 900 women and 100 men, was sent to Schippenbeil (later Sepolpoh).\textsuperscript{1} That population increased when 250 more Jewish women were sent to Schippenbeil on October 9, 1944.\textsuperscript{2} A maximum total of 1,250 people lived at the camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Weinert held the post of camp commander until October 17, followed on October 18 by SS-Hauptscharführer Erich Meissel.\textsuperscript{3} Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers (including some from General Andrei Vlassov’s Ukrainian formations) made up the guard unit at the airfield, while 6 guards at fixed posts in the camp watched over the camp buildings; 2 SS women, Gertrud Reinhold and Anny-Lotte Schmidt, assigned to Schippenbeil on October 11, 1944, supervised the Jewish women.\textsuperscript{4}

Most of the Jewish women were young and came from Hungary, Poland (the Łódź ghetto), and Austria. Housing, sanitary conditions, and food were no different from those at the other subcamps located at Luftwaffe airfields. The German Labor Front (DAF) kitchen on the airfield’s premises provided all the prisoners’ daily food. The Stutthof concentration camp administration supplied clothing and shoes. In early November 1944, the commander sent a request to Stutthof, saying the subcamp needed footwear and materials for mending clothes, as well as paint to stamp numbers and 1,100 strips of material to number prisoners. The order was filled a month later. Subsequent surviving reports from December
1944 concerned the urgent delivery of winter clothing to Schippenbeil (jackets, coats, pullovers, vests, woolen trousers, stockings). The deliveries were not made on time and did not contain everything that had been ordered, such as a package sent on December 22, 1944, that only contained mending materials but not ready-to-use clothing and shoes.\textsuperscript{5}

These conditions have been confirmed by the local population, which sometimes happened to encounter the Jewish women from Stutthof concentration camp. Anna Krause of Stopki (Schtolzenfeld), approximately 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Schippenbeil, testified that she saw a group of about 200 Jewish women from Schippenbeil. The women wereragged and barefoot.\textsuperscript{6} Another witness, a prisoner of war (POW) put to work in Schippenbeil, said that Jews (men—but could refer to women as well) were put to work at the station unloading cement: “the sight of them was terrible: they were more like corpses than living people; that’s how wasted and ragged they were.” He also confirmed the brutal attitude of the guards toward the women. One day he witnessed a Jewish woman being forcefully struck in the back by a gun butt for picking up some pomace from the ground; she fell down and could not get back up on her own.\textsuperscript{7}

The prisoners worked at a large Luftwaffe military airfield. It had been built during the war as a base for Hitler’s quarters at Görlitz near Rastenburg. Intensive expansion work was begun on it in 1944. The project was supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), which with the help of the DAF had set up numerous labor camps for the forced laborers and POWs in the region, including Polish and Russian POWs.\textsuperscript{8}

The poor housing conditions, starvation food rations, and lack of adequate clothing contributed to the subcamp’s exceptionally high prisoner death rate (especially in January 1945, with over 50 percent of all the recorded deaths), which is confirmed by the surviving source materials. The death figures based on the death reports that the commander sent to Abteilung III, Arbeitseinsatz, refer to the period between November 4, 1944, and January 7, 1945, and list 62 people, all women.\textsuperscript{9} There are additional death rate figures in the hospital death records in prisoner files; 7 other deaths were established based upon those records.\textsuperscript{10}

In late October and early November 1944, the camp population dropped by 150 and totaled 1,100 (figures from a report by the subcamp’s commander) due to prisoners dying or being sent to the hospital at Stutthof. By January 24, 1945, the camp numbered only 947 prisoners, including 96 men and 851 women.\textsuperscript{11} The difference between the population of September 1944 and that of late January 1945 was 303, the majority of which constituted prisoner deaths.

The dead were buried in the town or nearby in the woods, in such places as a common grave holding a dozen or so bodies exhumed after the war at what became Mostowa Ulica, where the SS command was located during the war.\textsuperscript{12} Other accounts say that the SS shot Jewish women in the woods near the town in January just prior to evacuation. Their bodies were carted to a pile, doused with gasoline, and burned.\textsuperscript{13} They were probably the victims of a selection associated with the camp’s evacuation, in which the sick and weakest prisoners were put to death.

The camp evacuation began on the night of January 21–22, 1945, as the prisoners were sent toward Königsberg, and its history was analogous to that of the other Luftwaffe subcamps in East Prussia.\textsuperscript{14}

**NOTES**


2. Ibid., p. 208, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.

3. Ibid., p. 219, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.

4. Ibid., no. 68, dated October 11, 1944.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIVH-7, pp. 154a–158.

6. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ds. 3/66, witness examination report (Sepolno [sic—Seıpopol]).

7. Ibid., report of examination of witness Czesław Bartoszek (Sepolno [sic—Seıpopol]).


**SCHÖNWARLING**

Two prisoner labor detachments were set up in the town of Schönwarling (later Skowarze) in 1940–1941 and 1944. In both instances, the prisoners were hired out to the construction company of Aloysius Dehlert, Tief-, u. Strassenbau of Danzig, which operated one or more gravel pits in Schönwarling.
A detachment was established for the first time in 1940. According to the account of Jan Gdaniec, a Polish prisoner from Danzig, approximately 50 Poles were sent to Schönewarling from the Stutthof camp and probably the Danzig-Matzkau camp in May 1940. They were put to work in two gravel pits. The prisoners were quartered with a local farmer. Two SS men supervised them. Gdaniec was moved to Danzig-Matzkau in January 1941, then to the Stutthof camp, and from there to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (see Stutthof/Danzig-Matzkau and Sachsenhausen). The detachment probably continued to operate on a smaller scale. Another group of prisoners was sent to Schönewarling from the Grenzdorf and Stutthof camps between February 2 and June 11, 1941. The subsidiary was still operating in the summer of 1941, as confirmed by staff member Otto Arnold at his 1947 trial in Toruń.

Another subsidiary with 15 prisoners (Aussenkommando der Bauleitung in Schönewarling) was formed in Schönewarling on November 7, 1943, at the Dehler gravel pit. There is no accurate information available on how the camp was organized, the members of the guard staff, or the prisoners' living conditions. The company was in charge of providing housing and food. The detachment existed until late August 1944 and mined the gravel the company needed in its business. The first prisoner to escape from the detachment was Aleksander Skrzypczyk on November 28, 1943. After an investigation held two days later, the fugitive was captured in Gdynia and reincarcerated at the camp on August 9, 1944. No information is available on Skrzypczyk’s punishment or eventual fate.

An order by headquarters dated October 17, 1944, states that five more prisoners escaped from Schönewarling on August 24, 1944. They were not caught after two days of searching. The commander punished SS-Rottenführer Paul Wolff with three weeks of close arrest “because he allowed five prisoners to escape from the external construction detachment facilities at Schönewarling the night of August 24, 1944, and they ran away from camp.”

The detachment was disbanded as a consequence of the escape and the other prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp. According to the organizers of the escape, it occurred the night of August 21–22 and was only reported to the camp two days later as occurring on the later date.

**SOURCES**

The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those used in “Stutthof Subcamp System”: AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, records of criminal case against Otto Arnold; AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB2, I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III-, prisoner personal files; Relacje i wspomnienia (Jerzy Piotrowski, vol. 24; Bolesław Sugier, vol. 26); Gdańsk 1939. Wspomnienia Polaków-Gdan’szczan, selected and comp. Bruno Zwarra, (Gdańsk, 1984); M. E. Jezierska, “Ucieczki z obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof na tle dokumentów,” StZeMu, no. 10 (1992).

**NOTES**

3. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 88, pp. 18–19, report of examination of O. Arnold.
4. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-13960, personal files of prisoner Aleksander Skrzypczyk.
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-2, p. 10, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 79, dated November 6, 1943; Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 312, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 70, dated October 17, 1944.

**SEERAPPEN**

One of the five subcamps formed at the Luftwaffe airfields in East Prussia was set up in the town of Seerappen (later Lyublin in Russia). The four other Stutthof subcamps at Luftwaffe airfields were Gerduen, Heiligenbeil, Jesau, and Schippenbeil. The Seerappen airfield was the Luftwaffe’s main operational base for air attacks against the USSR’s northern regions. The subcamp began operating upon the arrival of the first transport of 1,000 prisoners, composed of 900 women and 100 men, on September 21, 1944. Another transport of 200 Jewish women was sent on October 9, 1944. These prisoners, who were Jews from the Łódź and Wilna (Vilnius) ghettos, Hungary, and Slovakia, came to Stutthof from the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp.

SS-Unterscharführer Kurt Dietrich was the camp’s commandant initially, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Hans Kaufeldt on October 17, 1944. Some 46 Luftwaffe soldiers supervised the prisoners as they worked at the airfield, while 6 guards from the airfield staff watched over them in camp, joined by 2 SS women from the Stutthof camp, Charlotte Fregin and Gerda Kunath, on October 11, 1944.

The prisoners were put to work on construction projects supervised by the Organisation Todt (OT), building roads and digging antiaircraft trenches, in the airfield area. Work lasted between 10 and 12 hours a day regardless of the weather. The conditions in the camp can be described, based on the partially surviving correspondence on prisoner provisioning between the commandant and the Stutthof camp administration. The correspondence confirms the disastrously low supply of work clothes and winter attire for the prisoners and that the detachment was generally unprepared to go to Seerappen.

The first reports came to Stutthof as early as October 9, 1944. Seerappen’s commandant requested the urgent delivery of primarily materials to mend clothes and shoes—hemp
twine, thread, and cobbler’s wax. In his report of October 26, 1944, he requested the delivery of warm winter clothing, underwear, and more tools and materials for mending clothes. The number of female prisoners stayed the same until mid-November 1944, as confirmed by the number of clothing articles ordered (1,100 pairs of gloves and stockings).  

Subsequent reports dating from December 1944 and January 1945 requested mending materials, since the central warehousing could not provide new or used clothing or footwear. Orders of clothing and shoes were filled in smaller amounts, and some items such as men’s socks and women’s stockings were not filled at all. Out of the 1,950 items or pairs of clothing and shoes the commandant had ordered in his letter of January 11, 1945, not quite 1,100 were sent, including just 50 pairs of shoes instead of 500.

Under these conditions, the camp’s population gradually dropped, reaching 1,009 prisoners (925 women and 84 men) just before the evacuation, which began on January 20, 1945. The difference of 91 prisoners since late October 1944 was accounted for by fatalities or sick prisoners sent to the hospital at Stutthof. No figures on deaths at the subcamp and no information on transports sent to Stutthof. No figures on deaths at the subcamp and no information on transports sent to Stutthof are available. The food in camp was prepared by a kitchen set up by the subcamp’s management; medical care was provided by a prisoner doctor.

The camp’s evacuation to Königsberg (see Stutthof/Königsberg) and then to Palmnicken resulted in numerous casualties. It is not known how large a group from Seerappen survived the massacre on the beach in Palmnicken (see Stutthof/Heiligenbeil).

SOURCES The following sources were consulted in writing this entry, in addition to those sources that are mentioned in the “Stutthof Subcamp System” entry: AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehl, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population, January 1945; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof; AZIH, Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated November 11, 1944; O.R. Walle, Norsk politi bak piggtrad (Oslo, 1946).

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, pp. 189–192, 208, Sonderbefehl über die Einrichtung der Aussenarbeitslager Gerdaun, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, September 21, 1944; Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
2. AZIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).
3. AMS, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 68, dated October 9, 1944.
4. AZIH, Catalog No. 1150, report of examination of witness Fryda Gabrylewicz (AMS, microfilm 215).
5. AZIH, Catalog No. I-IVH-7.
7. AZIH, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6.

STEEGEN

Female and male prisoners, ranging in number from a handful to 30, were hired out for woodcutting to the Oberförstam Stiegen or Oberförsterei Steegen (Steegen Forest Management Agency) in October 1942. On average, there were approximately 14 people in each detachment. The camp administration earned 1,530 Reichsmark (RM) for their labor. The prisoners were probably quartered in Steegen (later Stegna) in barracks belonging to the agency.

Prisoners continued to be hired out for woodcutting on Oberförstamt Steegen lands in 1943. A work allocation (Arbeitseinsatz) report dated May 16, 1943, lists a female woodcutting detachment scheduled for the next day. There are no other records on the subject except for notes in the registers of changes in the barracks.

In the autumn of 1944, 30 Norwegian policemen were put to work in a group called Forsterei I, logging trees in the Steegen forest. A Forsterei II group was put to work hauling tree trunks to the Vistula River. The wood was to be used to build bunkers and trenches on the Eastern Front, but it never reached its destination due to shipping problems and military developments—that is, the swift progress of the Russian offensive.

A much smaller subcamp began operating in Steegen for the first time in September and October 1942. The prisoners were hired out to Unterdeichverband (Dike Subunit) Steegen, which did such work as raising and reinforcing levees in the Steegen area. The company was a division of Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Unit of Elbing District) and had previously put prisoners to work raising and maintaining levees along the Vistula Bay and Nogat River. The Unterdeichverband detachment in Steegen was composed of about eight prisoners.

A group of four to six prisoners were put to work again in June and July of 1943, then again in September. The levee reinforcement was seasonal work, and it resumed every year under a special contract with the Stutthof camp headquarters. Prisoners were put to work as helpers, for which the camp administration was paid 4 RM per day for each prisoner’s work. The camp administration received 1,024 RM in 1943 for 256 man-hours of labor.

The detachment was reactivated in August 1944.

SOURCES The following sources were consulted: AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IIIB-1-2-3-4-5, Veränderungsbücher; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; O.R. Walle, Norsk politi bak piggtrad (Oslo, 1946).

NOTES

1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-2, Veränderungsbücher, Veränderungen im Block II; Catalog No. I-IVB-9, list of camp receivables for prisoner labor; ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Ausenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter
The subcamp at Stolp (later Słupsk) was formed pursuant to a special order by the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp dated August 26, 1944. Prisoners were hired out to the Reich Railway Repair Works in Stolp in Pomerania province. The Stolp repair shops were a division of the works in the German town of Eberswalde. The Germans sent 621 Jewish prisoners to Stolp, 239 women and 382 men. They were mainly from Estonia and Lithuania, but some were from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Germany. One Polish doctor, Lech Duszyński, was also included in the transport.

Another prisoner transport was sent on October 28, 1944, with 20 Jewish boys from the Łódź ghetto who were supposed to learn metalworking in Stolp. They were put in the Stolp subcamp under an order of Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (IKL) Chief Richard Glücks, dated October 17, 1944.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Julius Sakowski became camp commandant. Railroad security personnel served guard duty during work and in the prisoner housing camp. SS woman Margarete Ritscher was assigned to supervise the women. Pursuant to the commandant’s order, the prisoners were to be equipped for the trip with new clothing and shoes, as well as towels, soap, table utensils, and spoons. The railroad administration agreed to issue protective clothing with a red cross on the forms show that the orders were only partially filled.

On September 4, 1944, the camp was visited by SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Ehle from headquarters staff, commander of two guard companies, the 2nd and the 3rd. No report of the inspection has survived, however. The reason for the inspection was the inadequate state of prisoner clothing and shoe supplies. Footwear was a serious problem, especially for those prisoners who worked at earthmoving, because of the moisture and clay. Many prisoners' shoes were worn out after just a few weeks of work. Without waiting for a late shipment from the Stutthof camp, the company’s headquarters in Eberswalde bought 100 pairs of shoes for 600 Reichsmark (RM), charging the amount to the Stutthof camp administration.

In his next report dated October 14, 1944, Commandant Sakowski ordered the delivery of winter clothing and towels for a third of the prisoners, as well as one set of underwear for each, as underwear wore out quickly due to the hard labor. Sakowski's statistics on the subcamp show that the population dropped by two at that time: one Jewish woman died, and Dr. Duszyński was assigned to a subcamp in Gotenhafen.

Following October 27, 1944, when 40 boys aged 10 and 11 were sent to Stolp from the Łódź ghetto, the camp population rose to 659, including 238 women and 381 men. The older prisoners took the boys under their care; for instance, each prisoner foreman took care of a boy, providing him with extra food if possible. Those among the boys who already knew a bit about metalworking made usable metal items, such as penknives, rings, necklaces, and pendants. They then sold them for pieces of bread to the camp's prisoners to supplement the regular camp rations.

One public execution took place in the camp in late 1944. According to Chaim Kozieniecki, the prisoners had been accused of stealing tobacco products from railway cars. An all-day roll call was held in the falling snow, and traces of tobacco were found on 5 prisoners, who were hanged the next day.
with the entire camp present.\footnote{10} Other sources state that between 8 and 10 prisoners were hanged, while the real perpetrators (who stole food packages and tobacco) were actually German railroad employees who crashed railway cars in order to rob them.

There were 640 prisoners living in camp on January 24, 1945, including 402 men and 238 women.\footnote{11} That figure does not allow for the prisoners who had been hanged; presumably the report on the matter did not reach the Stutthof camp in time. There were a total of 642 prisoners who had been sent to the Stolp subcamp throughout its operation, including 1 replacement for a Jewish woman who had died in camp.

In January and February 1945, prisoners from the camp were put to work in jobs associated with the construction of antitank ditches in the town. The camp's evacuation began in late February 1945. The columns of prisoners were sent to the empty camp in Danzig-Burggraben (in the town of Kokońzki), then to the camp in Stutthof. Their evacuation continued by sea in April 1945.\footnote{12}

**SOURCES** The following sources were consulted in writing this essay, including those sources mentioned in the entry for “Stutthof Subcamp System.”\footnote{10} AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Sonderbefehle, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp's population; Catalog Nos. I-IVH-5, I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concerning supplies; Relacje i wspomnienia (Chaim Kozienicki); O.M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, “Więźniowie żydowscy w KL Stutthof,” RaHasb 3 (1964); AI, record of the account of Lech Duszynski, (subcamp at Słupsk); D. Drywa, Podobóz (Aussenarbeitslager) KL Stutthof dla więźniów narodowości żydowskiej (in print; typescript at AMS); J. Matynia, “Filie obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof” (Ph.D. diss., Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Gdańsku, 1969); M. Orski, Eksterminacja Żydów przez pracę w KL Stutthof, w obozie macierzystym i w podochozech. International Session Materials: Losy Żydów w regionie nadbałtyckim 1939–1945 (Sztutowo, 1994); Z. Szulcza, “Jeszcze o podobozie KL Stutthof w Slupsku,” ZapKos 3 (1968); W. Tolski, “Podobóz w KL Stutthof,” in Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ziemi koszalińskiej w latach 1939–1945 (Koszalin, 1968); official Web site of the city of Ślupsk, at www.slupsk.pl/Historia.\footnote{12}

**NOTES**


2. Ibid., p. 230, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 72, dated October 27, 1944; Relacje i wspomnienia (recollections of Chaim Kozienicki, typescript, no catalog no.).


4. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.

5. AMS, Catalog No. I-VB-1, Namensverzeichnis der im Häftlingskrankenbau beschäftigten Aerzte und Pfleger, Stutt-

hof, October 15, 1944; AI, record of the account of Lech Duszynski (subcamp at Ślupsk).

6. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 179.


8. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, p. 180; and Catalog No. I-IVH-5, p. 119, I Schutzhaftlagerführer zu Verwaltung KL Stutthof, dated October 27, 1944, collective report on supplies of clothing and shoes for the subcamp, AI, record of the account of Lech Duszynski (subcamp at Ślupsk).

9. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, recollections of Chaim Kozienicki.

10. Ibid.

11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIB-6, reports on the camp's population.


**THORN (OT) [WITH SUBCOMMANDS]**

[AKA BAUKOMMANDO “WEICHSEL”]

Construction detachment Baukommando “Weichsel” was a complex of camps under the overall supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT) office in Thorn (Toruń). The commandant of Stutthof formed the new subcamp on August 24, 1944, in reaction to a request from the OT, which needed workers for a series of construction projects—mostly military—along the Vistula River.\footnote{1} The subcamp’s management was located at the Botten (Bocieni) estate on the outskirts of Kulmsee (Chełmża).

SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Tschesny held the post of overall camp commandant from August 24 to November 24, 1944, followed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Tötzke. SS men from the SS-Wacheinheit Lebreshalb (Potulice) unit—140 in all—made up the guard staff. In addition, several officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) were assigned from the command staff at Stutthof to direct the subordinate detachments. It is known that SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Jacobi and his successor SS-Sturmerscharführer Wilhelm Anton headed the camps at Argenau (Gniewkowo) and then at Korben (Chorabie) between September 6 and October 5, 1944. SS-Oberscharführer Willi Tysarzik and SS-Oberscharführer Alfred Meyer assisted Tschesny in setting up the complex.\footnote{2}

The initial influx of prisoners consisted of 5,000 Jewish women from many European countries—mainly Hungary, Bohemia, Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, Romania, Slovakia, and Poland—who had arrived in Stutthof from Kauen (July 1944), Auschwitz (August 14 and 16, 1944), and Riga (August 9 and 23, 1944). They joined approximately 40,000 forced laborers and prisoners of war (POWs) who also worked on the project.\footnote{1}

The women were transported by train from Stutthof in three groups between August 24 and 26, 1944. The first group of 1,700 went to Botten; the second group, numbering 1,600,
went via Botten to Schirkenprass (Szerokopas); and the third group, numbering 1,700, went to Toruń and on to Argenau.

Before leaving Stutthof, the women received one blanket, table utensils, a towel, and soap. The camp administration was also to provide clothing and housing. Stutthof provided army tents for some prisoners, others stayed in barns, and some prisoners were later kept in cabins of thin plywood that held 35 to 40 people. The greatest problem was the lack of footwear and warm clothes. Stutthof's administration was unable or unwilling to provide better uniforms, despite many letters and reminders from the detachment directors and the supervisory office in Botten. In order to cope, women cut out woolen jackets, coats, and underwear from their blankets.4

The women worked the same as the other forced laborers, five days a week and on Saturdays until noon. The work—digging antitank ditches and bunkers—was exhausting. Wake-up was as early as 3:00 a.m., and work lasted until dusk. The prisoners had to march many hours to their workplaces, which were located far from the camps.5

When they completed their job, the extremely emaciated women from both Botten and Nagelstal were moved in late December 1944 to Groden (Grodno), about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Nagelstal. They were housed on the shore of Grodno Lake in plywood cabins. The Jewish women cut reeds on the lake, worked at the nearby Mirakowo (Merch) estate, or dug common graves for deceased prisoners on a peninsula in the southeast part of Grodno Lake, out of sight of the town of Grodno. The women at Argenau, meanwhile, had moved on to Korben in mid-September; their task was to dig trenches along a line from the town of Cegielnik (Ziegelwiese) to Górs (Gurske). They lived in tents during their time there.

Conditions were extraordinarily harsh at all these camps. The exhausting work, the inadequate clothing, shelter, and food, and poor hygienic conditions killed the prisoners off directly and contributed to the spread of disease, especially spotted typhus and dysentery. Abuse by the guards made the situation still worse. According to Lajos Fleischer of Hungary, many women died from beatings by SS men, who crushed their heads with gun butts, broke their spines, walked on their stomachs, and killed them while they worked.6 At Nagelstal, the guard staff—made up of approximately 60 Ukrainian and Belorussian SS men—and the commandant (whose name has not been established) displayed an exceptionally brutal attitude toward the women. Several witnesses, including one of the camp's guards, Ukrainian Władysław Kulman, testified at trial in Toruń in 1945 that five to six women died every day, in part from torment by guards; they were beaten with gun butts, locked in a water-filled basement, or forced to stand in the cold with no outerwear. One of the cruelest guards was Filipowicz from Białystok, who murdered his victims in the camp courtyard, as well as Kulman's appointees: a Russian, Klimienko (commander of the guards), and some privates named Rudenia, Bielonożko, Szwap, and Wacek. The dead were buried in the Catholic cemetery.7 At Argenau and Korben, the guard force consisted of 60 Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SS men.3 They were no kinder.

As a result of all these factors, the death rates in the OT complex were high. Of the 3,300 women who arrived in Botten and Nagelstal in late August 1944, only 2,947 remained by October 9.9 The number of deaths increased in November and December; at Botten alone, 31 prisoners died between October 4 and November 30, and as many as 133 died in December. Because of the high percentage of deaths, an additional 1,000 women were sent to Botten on November 19.10 The Argenau-Korben group had dwindled from 1,700 to 1,475 by October; that number rose to slightly over 1,600 in the latter half of December after an additional transport arrived from Stutthof, but more died in the next month.11 The actual number of deaths in the whole complex is impossible to calculate with any precision, however, since the records of replacement drafts from Stutthof are incomplete.

A report dated January 24, 1945, indicates a total of 3,225 prisoners in the detachments that made up Baukommando “Weichsel” before evacuation.12 At Groden the staff conducted a selection to test the prisoners' physical condition before the evacuation began; 200 of the weakest women were excluded and later savagely put to death. The remaining women were escorted toward Lauenburg. Several selections were conducted in the course of the march, and several hundred women died as a result. Approximately 300 prisoners reached Dirschau (Tczew); another 400 got as far as Goden- tow (later Godętowo) near Lauenburg (later Lebork); thus around 1,000 women died out of the approximately 1,700 from Groden.

Also on January 24, approximately 1,500 female prisoners were marched out of the Korben camp. The staff excluded 180 women from the evacuation; they were later shot; 28 of them survived the massacre. The other 1,300 or so prisoners were sent toward Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). Another 87 women were murdered during the 97-kilometer (60-mile) march to the town of Krone (Koronowo), where the survivors spent the night in the local prison. The next day, the Russians liberated 997 prisoners—the remainder had presumably died.

Only two members of the large group of SS men supervising OT Thorn were tried before Polish courts. The Toruń District Court sentenced Hans Jacobi, the commandant of Argenau and Korben, to six years in prison on May 2, 1949 (he died on August 30, 1949). The other defendant, Władysław Kulman, was sentenced to death by a judgment from the Toruń Special Criminal Court dated June 18, 1945; the sentence was carried out on August 31, 1945, at Toruń prison.

SOURCES

AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, testimony of Ludwig Denzler given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945; AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi; SSKT, Catalog No. 12, records of criminal case against Władysław Kulman; AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, witness examination reports (Piotr and Zofia Geb-ski, Takaś Andrásné, Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera); AMS, Catalog Nos. I-IB-3, I-IB-4, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp's population;
NOTES
3. AGK, PMW-BZW, Catalog No. 327, pp. 15–22, testimony of Ludwig Denzler, Oberabschnittsleiter supervising the construction of fortifications in the Toruń region, given before an investigating officer of the AMC in Freising on September 15, 1945.
4. Ibid., testimony of Ludwig Denzler; AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, orders for materials to mend clothing and shoes, dated November 3, 1944.
5. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of former female prisoner Takaas Andrasne and witnesses of crimes committed on Jewish women: Bernard Bogun, Pelagia Dybowska, Henryk Libera.
6. AK-IPN Gd, Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64.
7. AK-IPN Gd, SSKT, Catalog No. 12; Bydgoszcz Branch, Catalog No. Ds. 53/64, testimony of Piotr and Zofia Gębski.
8. AK-IPN, SOT, Catalog No. 181, records of criminal case against Hans Jacobi, testimony of H. Jacobi.
10. Ibid., p. 163, E. von Bonin (Leiter der Verwaltung des KL Stutthof) to the commandant of Stutthof concentration camp, dated November 22, 1944.
11. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVH-7, Tschesny to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters, October 2, 1944, Ehle to Verwaltung dated December 3, 1944; The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios OgyosztaI, testimony of Stephen Horvath (copy at AMS).
12. AMS, Catalog No. I-IIIB-6, reports on the camp’s population; AK-IPN, SSKT, Catalog No. 12, pp. 8–9, testimony of Helena Vajsz.

THORN [SS-NEUBAULEITUNG]
This small prisoner detachment of probably several people was set up as part of the SS construction company in Thorn (Toruń). Based on partially surviving entries in prisoner files, it can be established that the subcamp operated between July 23 and December 18, 1940. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the SS-Neubauleitung detachment operated until February 8, 1941, but this claim is not supported by surviving records of the Stutthof concentration camp. A prisoner labor assignment record for another Thorn detachment, dated a year later with the identical month and date, was probably read in error. The prisoners were put to work building or expanding the SS officers’ (police) school in Toruń. When the work was completed, the prisoners were moved to Stutthof. One of the detachment’s laborers was Jan Dłużewski, a Pole and a senior railroad assistant for the Polish National Railway in Danzig.

Another Stutthof subcamp was instituted in Thorn a year later, probably at the same site, the SS officers’ school, and listed in prisoner records as TWL-Thorn (Truppenwirtschaftsschule). Prisoners who were tradesmen were put to work finishing and fitting out the building. The subcamp operated between February 8 and April 12, 1941. When the work was completed, the prisoners were returned to the Stutthof camp.

NOTES
1. AMS Catalog No. I-III-42542, files of prisoner Jan Dłużewski.

THORN-WINKENAU [AEG]
The Thorn-Winkenau subcamp was formed pursuant to an ordinance issued on August 28, 1944, by Richard Glücks, chief of Amtsgruppe D of the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA), which concerned sending 250 Jewish women prisoners to Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG), a company in Thorn (Toruń). The ordinance was noted in an order by camp headquarters dated September 12, 1944.1

There was no special order issued to confirm that the subcamp had been established, as was the case with other camps instituted in 1944. The transport of September 13, 1944, was not the first one sent to Thorn. This is clear from a letter from the subcamp’s commandant SS-Hauptscharführer Ludwig Blatterspiel to the clothing warehouse at Stutthof dated

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September 4, 1944, regarding a shipment of clothing and underwear made on August 12, 1944. All the women had come to the camp from Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on August 9, 1944 (that was the first transport from that camp to Stutthof). This is supported by information on a shoe shipment from Riga-Kaiserwald, narrowing down the date that the camp was formed to sometime between August 9 and 12, 1944. The number of prisoners from that transport can be placed to at least 150, based upon a supply ordering addendum dated September 4, 1944.²

Along with Siemens, AEG was one of Germany’s largest electrical engineering concerns; it had 264 million Reichsmarks (RM) in authorized capital in 1943. The company employed 175,000 people in 1942; 10 years earlier, it had employed 30,000. The proportion of foreign workers it employed in 1941 to 1942 grew from 25 to 35 percent, on average. AEG manufactured the majority of weapons-related electrical systems, especially for aircraft, submarines, and other warships, as well as for artillery equipment, tanks, and V-weapons.³

The next transport of 280 women was sent to Thorn on October 30, 1944. In it were Hungarian Jewish women who had come to Stutthof from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp on October 1, 1944. They had been put to work at the AEG works in Riga; previously they had been at the Auschwitz concentration camp.⁴ Several SS men were sent with the Jewish women to Thorn; they had been transferred from the SS-Totenkopfssturmbann (Death’s Head Battalion) at Riga to Stutthof on October 25, 1944, and assigned to the AEG subcamp. On the return trip, an escort composed of one noncommissioned officer (NCO), two SS men, and eight sailors from the 1st and 2nd Guard Companies was in charge of transporting 230 emaciated women to the Stutthof camp.⁵

Out of the 680 Jewish women sent to Thorn through late October 1944, 510 were still alive by late January 1945, which means that one more transport of at least 100 people must have come to Thorn in the meantime. The partially surviving hospital records on deaths at Stutthof’s subcamps do not contain any names from AEG Thorn, and no personal accounts have been found to illustrate what kind of work was done in the factory or the living conditions in the camp.

The only source that describes the prisoners’ situation in this camp is the vestigial correspondence of the subcamp’s commandant, Blatterspiel, to the Stutthof clothing warehouse and the Prisoner Employment Department. In it he notes the inadequate and poor state of the clothing of the women who came from the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, who were dressed in light summer clothes and shoes unfit for use. Just a few days after the first prisoner transport arrived, there was a shipment of clothing and underwear to Thorn, which later proved to be highly inadequate.⁶

The housing conditions at Thorn-Winkenau were worse than at the parent camp. Aside from making space available for the prisoners, AEG provided neither sleeping blankets nor straw mattresses. The subcamp’s commandant asked the Stutthof warehouse for these items in early September 1944, requesting that two blankets and one straw mattress be sent for each woman. There was also a shortage of shirts, stockings and underwear. It is not known whether the order was filled because the report for October 1944 is missing.⁷

Working conditions were very hard. This is evidenced by the large percentage of prisoners unfit for labor in late October 1944, due to their health, and the need to replace them with people in better physical condition. The camp statistics from October 1944 through late January 1945 are missing, so an accurate assessment of the scale of replacement cannot be assessed. The Jewish women were put to work at such labor as loading and unloading heavy machines for the factory, which was under construction, working at the river port, or manufacturing ammunition and weaponry.⁸

The evacuation of the detachment on foot began on January 20, 1945. The Jewish women were headed toward Bydgoszcz (Bromberg). The destination was the AEG factory in Germany, and the factory furnishings were evacuated as well. Even before the evacuation, several women including the Freumovits sisters tried unsuccessfully to escape. They were caught and escorted to the factory. There was another escape attempt during the march. The sisters hid with 10 other women. The engineering director of AEG hid 4 Jewish women from the escort in the boiler room.⁹ The entire group was liberated on January 27, 1945, by Russian forces that occupied the factory.

The rest of the women evacuated to Bydgoszcz were liberated by Russian forces on January 26, 1945, in the village of Trzeciewiec (Goldfeld) near Bydgoszcz. During the march, many Jewish women were shot by the escort.¹⁰

SOURCES The secondary sources that mention this subcamp are M. Gliński, “Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939–9 maja 1945),” SzZeMu 3 (1979); M. Orski, Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945 (Gdańsk, 1999); D. Drywa, Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945) (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001). For additional information on AEG, see D. Eichholtz, Geschichte der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1985).

Primary sources for this camp can be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, Kommandanturbefehle; Catalog No. I-IVH-7, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn; AZIH, witness examination reports (Adela Day); The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacios Ogyosztaly, testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).

NOTES
1. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 173, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 61, September 12, 1944.

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4. The Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dokumentacions Ogyożtaly, reports of testimony of Gitta and Rella Freumovits (copy at AMS).
5. AMS, Catalog No. I-IB-3, p. 234, Kommandanturbefehle, no. 73, October 30, 1944.
7. Ibid.
8. AZIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.
9. AMS, AI, account of Dobka Waldhorn.
10. AZIH, Catalog Nos. 859, 1296, reports of examination of Adela Day; and AMS, affidavits of former AEG Thorn prisoners: Rosa and Fira Paperny, Rita Feldman, Sara Danenberg (letters sent to the Stutthof Museum in 1992 and 1994).

See also D. Drywa, Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutt- hof: (wrzesień 1939–maj 1945) (Gdańsk: Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie, 2001).

TRUTENAU

A group of prisoners worked in the village of Trutenau (later Trutenow) between Käsemark (Kiezmark) and Praust (Pruszcz Gdańsk) from April 10 to July 19, 1940, on a farm owned by someone named Behrendt (possibly Walter). A labor assignment record in prisoner files documents the detachment’s existence. In 1939, one of the farms in Trutenau cultivated a special variety of rose for the manufacture of rosewater used in the pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries. In November 1939, a detachment of prisoners from the camp at Danzig-Neufahr- wasser was put to work there.

**SOURCES**

This subcamp is listed in ITS, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), I: 298.

Primary sources for this camp are found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner files. Information for identifying the farm’s owner may be found in Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe. Danziger Niederung, Gro ßes Werder (Danzig, 1927).

Marek Orski trans. Gerard Majka

NOTES

2. AMS, Catalog No. I-III-5031, files of prisoner Marian Jasnoch.

WESSLINKEN

The first 50 prisoners were sent from Stutthof to the town of Wesslinken (later Wislinka) on the outskirts of Danzig (Gdańsk) near Bohnsack (Sobieszewo) on May 29, 1940. They included building tradesmen and workers. They were put to work building and fitting out a brickyard.

The prisoners were quartered in one of the barracks near the construction site. The other barracks were occupied by a group of approximately 200 British prisoners of war (POWs) who were put to work on the same project. When their assigned jobs (such as carpentry, construction work, and so on) were completed, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. New prisoners with other specialties were sent to replace them. Subsequent groups arrived in June and July 1940, one of which returned to Stutthof in mid-October 1940. The detachment was disbanded on December 15, 1940, and the prisoners returned to Stutthof.

The Wesslinken brickyard detachment was reactivated in early 1943. SS-Schütze John Pauls was in charge of it until March 10, 1943, when he was reassigned to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After the war, Pauls was tried by the Gdańsk Special Criminal Court and sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on July 4, 1946, in a public execution in Gdańsk.

**NOTES**

2. AMS, Relacje i wspomnienia, 17:183, account of Jan Nykiewicz; AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. 417, records of criminal case against John Pauls; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment; AK-IPN Gd, surveys (Franciszek Przybylski).
3. AK-IPN, SSK Gd, Catalog No. 417, pp. 79, 80, testimonies of prisoner Józef Bensz and defendant John Pauls at 1946 Gdańsk Trial; Catalog No. 422, sentence of judgment.

ZEYERSNIEDERKAMPEN

In the first transport of November 8 or 9, 1939, 20 prisoners arrived in Zeyersniederkampen (now Kępny Wielkie); they had volunteered from Stutthof to help build a new subcamp in the delta of the Nogat River. Initially the prisoners were quartered in an abandoned barrack of a Reich Labor Service (RAD) camp. The actual camp, ready to take another 120 prisoners, was erected in mid-December approximately 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, between the banks of the Nogat and the levee near the village of Terranova (later Nowakowo). The camp was composed of one large barracks for approximately 150 persons, a separate kitchen, and facilities for the subcamp’s commandant and guard staff, which were located outside the camp fence.
The core group of prisoners arrived at camp on December 21, 1939. Prisoners were rotated throughout the subcamp’s operation from November 1939 to the spring of 1941. A total of about 160 people lived there at one time, and any vacancies caused by sickness or death were filled by sending additional transports from the camp at Stutthof. A truck would come from Stutthof every Saturday to replace prisoners who had become ill or died.

Until mid-December 1939, while there were only 20 prisoners, the prisoners were supervised by 2 SS men, who transported the prisoners from Stutthof to Zeyersniederkampen. When the camp population had grown to approximately 150, SS-Oberscharführer Paul Görke took over as commandant, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Baumann. The guard staff was increased to approximately 14 SS men. SS-Unterscharführer Franz Mielenz was commandant from April to July 1940, followed by SS-Oberscharführer Willi Redder.

Housing, hygienic conditions, and clothing were all grossly inadequate. Neither the barrack nor the uniforms were sufficient protection against the weather. There were no bunks in the barrack. Prisoners who arrived at camp in the spring of 1940 reported that they had to sleep with no covering at all. The floor was spread with layers of straw, which was not changed for many months and became a hotbed for germs, causing contagious diseases. The lack of fresh underwear or opportunities to wash, as well as the filth and the climate, caused upper respiratory tract ailments, lice infestation, scabies, and diarrhea, among other ailments. Prisoners could not use the primitive latrine outside the barrack at night; they had to use metal containers left for them, of which there were an insufficient number. The camp infirmary run by Dr. Aleksander Witkowski had no effective medication to help prisoners.

The prisoners were not given anything to eat during work. For breakfast they got black coffee and a piece of bread weighing about 200 grams (7 ounces) with a bit of margarine or beet jam. When they came back to camp after work, they were issued their final meal, most frequently a liter (4.2 cups) of soup made of rotted rutabaga, fresh cabbage or sauerkraut, and sometimes barley with potatoes or beans with a bit of fat. The prisoners’ salvation came in the form of food packages sent by their families, who knew where they were, thanks to legal correspondence sent by the inmates and to the intervention of sympathetic locals. Sometimes the packages contained hidden banknotes, with which the prisoners bought bread in the shops in Zeyersniederkampen or Terranova from sympathetic Germans. Correspondence was cut off from December 15, 1939, and after the first escape attempts, visits and food packages were cut off as well. These privileges were restored in mid-1940.

The prisoners were hired out to Deichverband des Kreises Elbing (Dike Formation of the Elbing District). Mostly, they worked building a dike along the Nogat River. Work began at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. and lasted 10 or 12 hours, depending on the season; reveille was an hour before the start of the workday. The prisoners worked in several groups, each of which did something different: excavating clay, conveying it in carts to where the dike was being raised, forming the dike, or delivering sod and putting it in with stakes. The design called for a dike 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) long, 3 meters (9.8 feet) high, and 5 meters (16.4 feet) wide at the base. Other groups worked in the camp doing cleanup jobs, in the kitchen or infirmary, or in the transport column delivering supplies for the subcamp. On Sundays the prisoners were hired out to local farmers. In the winter when it was extremely cold and no longer possible to continue working on the levees, the prisoners were sent to dig up old willow trees growing along the route of the planned dike and to cut down reeds and brush used to reinforce the levees. Although this work was one of the easier jobs, it required great stamina because the prisoners had to cover considerable distances over the course of the day. They also removed snow from the road and built barracks in the neighboring village of Terranova.

In the winter of 1940, prisoners caught trying to send illegal correspondence were punished by flogging during the evening roll call. The most trivial offenses at the camp were punished this way, with 25, 50, or even 100 lashes. Prisoner E. Lewandowski, who walked away from camp looking for food, was shot by a guard who treated that as an attempt to escape from the detachment. One Jew, Jakub Apfelbaum, was exposed by a prisoner’s denunciation in December 1939; the SS men beat him mercilessly, and the next day they took him away to Stutthof.

It should be stressed that not all the SS men and foremen in the same positions were so cruel; there were highly moral persons among them, including Rev. Józef Szarkowski, Franciszek Zieliński, and SS man Arno Rauchudt. These men were the exceptions, however. The guards’ behavior even drew the attention of the local people, who filed a complaint with the Danzig Gestapo. The Gestapo sent an officer to inspect the camp, but although he did find numerous indications of beating and frostbite, none of the prisoners he questioned admitted being beaten, fearing retribution from the guards. The outcome of the inspection was that “we were beaten even more than before,” as Jan Urbaniak said.

Conditions at camp definitely deteriorated in late January 1940. That was due to the mostly unsuccessful attempts by prisoners to escape from the detachment and the resultant restrictions imposed by the subcamp’s management. The only successful escape from the detachment was that of two sailors.
in January 1940. They left the camp even before the barracks had been locked after the evening roll call. They crossed the frozen Nogat River at night unnoticed. Two other prisoners who escaped in the winter of 1939–1940, independently of each other, were caught; one was tortured to death, and the other survived. Władysław Dembiński was caught while escaping on July 16, 1940; he died from gunshot wounds, beating, and bleeding. The whole camp suffered the consequences of tightened discipline, such as night roll calls, a ban on correspondence, restrictions on receiving packages and visitors, and collective responsibility of the “neighbors” of any fugitive—the penalty being flogging.

The detachment was disbanded on March 29, 1941. Considering the frequent prisoner replacements, at least 100 should be added to the fixed population of about 160. According to Urbaniański’s testimony, of the 160 persons incarcerated at Zeyersniederkampen in December 1939, only 17 returned to the main camp on November 17, 1940.

**SOURCES**


Primary sources for Zeyersniderkampen can be found in AK-IPN Gd, witness examination reports (Jan Urbaniański, Katowice branch; Franciszek Adamczyk, Gdańsk; Józef Faryj, Rzeszów); AMS, Catalog No. I-III, prisoner personal files; Lasik, Stutthof ac.; *Relacje i wspomnienia* (Bolesław Muński, vol. 9; Antoni Dulski, vol. 10; Jan Urbaniański, vols. 10, 18; Franciszek Adamczyk, vol. 24); Cmentarz-Zaspa [Zaspa Cemetery] comp. Andrzej Chudy; a prisoner’s testimony is available in J. Szarkowski, ed., *Wybozarwa pokoleni: Wspomnienia zebral i opracowat W. Drążek* (Gdynia, 1996).

Marek Orski
trans. Gerard Majka

**NOTES**


5. According to Antoni Dulski, 200 prisoners lived at the camp until mid-1940; later, when the carts of clay and sand were conveyed automatically, some prisoners were sent back to the camp at Stutthof. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10:26.

6. Ibid., 9:144, account of Bolesław Muński; 18:61, Jan Urbaniański.


8. AMS, Lasik, Stutthof ac.


16. Ibid., 10:304, account of Jan Urbaniański.

17. Ibid., 18: 68.


22. AMS, *Relacje i wspomnienia*, 10: 33, account of Antoni Dulski. We can take this date as being the most credible. According to other sources—ITS, *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS* (1933–1945), 2 vols. (Arolsen, 1979), 1: 298; AK-IPN Gd, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniański—this occurred between November 17, 1940, and January 27, 1941.

23. AK-IPN Gd, Catalog No. Ka/ko235/70/B1, report of examination of witness Jan Urbaniański (Katowice).

**ZEYEYERSVORDERKAMPEN**

A prisoner detachment operated between 1939 and 1944 next to the Nogat River in Zeyersvorderkampen (now Kępiny Małe). It had little in common with the subcamps at Pröbbermałe. It represented various trades, from farmworker to merchant to bricklayer.

Another subcamp was activated in the same place in the autumn of 1944, this time with female Jewish prisoners. The prisoners were put to work at local farms or in small tradesmen’s companies.

A detachment was first set up in Zeyersvorderkampen in 1939–1940. This is documented by labor assignment records in prisoner files. They cover the period from November 25, 1939, to June 10, 1940. In all three instances of such records that have been found, the prisoners were hired out to a German farmer named Fast. All the prisoners had been sent from the camp at Stutthof. They represented various trades, from farmworker to merchant to bricklayer.
26, 1944, from the Zeyersvorderkampen township farm director Johannes Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on providing the women with underwear, clothing, and shoes. The letter requested the shipment of clothes and underwear for the women in his administrative region, in the amounts that had been agreed upon with van Riesen, the farm director at Rosenort.

Some 78 women prisoners were put to work at all the farms in Zeyersvorderkampen. That is the subcamp’s population as reported by Jahn in late September 1944 when he ordered pullovers and socks. He thought that supplies for the women were inadequate and asked for the prompt delivery of needed items of clothing. The prisoners probably returned to the Stutthof camp in late November 1944 when they had completed the farmwork.

**SOURCES**


Primary sources for this camp may be found in AMS, Catalog No. I-III; Catalog No. I-IVh-5, correspondence of the subcamp with Stutthof concentration camp headquarters on supplies; on Fast, see *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377.

NOTES

1. According to the *Einwohnerbuch der Danziger Landkreise 1927/1928: Danziger Höhe; Danziger Niederung, Grosses Werder* (Danzig, 1927), 3: 377, Kornelius Fast held the post of Zeyersvorderkampen township administrator (Gemeindevorsteher). But because of the lack of sources from wartime, it is not known whether he continued to serve in that post in the period under discussion. As township administrator he could request prisoner labor at local farms or for the township administration or his own office.


3. AMS, Catalog No. I-IVh-5, p. 62, Jahn to Stutthof concentration camp, dated September 26, 1944.