

The Bullenhuser Damm Memorial – The site, the victims and the history of commemoration

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INTRODUCTION

The murder of 20 Jewish children at the former school building on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945 is one of the many despicable crimes committed during the Nazi reign of terror.

Today, people all over the world know about the "Bullenhuser Damm murders". They feature in exhibitions at the Auschwitz Museum, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem, and they have been the subject of plays and films. Schools and streets have been named after the murdered children in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and other countries. Twenty children aged between five and twelve, ten girls and ten boys from all over Europe, were dragged from their homes with their families and deported to the Auschwitz

concentration camp, where they were wrested from their parents to be subjected to medical experiments at the Neuengamme concentration camp for five long months. Finally, shortly before the end of World War II, they were murdered in the basement of a school in Hamburg by SS men trying to erase the traces of their crimes. For decades, their story was all but forgotten until the end of the 1970s, when a journalist began to search for traces of these children and look for their relatives who survived the Holocaust. Günther Schwarberg found the victims' siblings, nephews and nieces, cousins and even their mothers and fathers. Together with the children's relatives and a few dedicated locals from Hamburg, Schwarberg founded the Children of Bullenhuser Damm



View of the exhibition in 2011. Photograph by Michael Kottmeier. (ANg)



■■■ Ruchla Zylberberg on a tricycle, undated. (ANg)

■■■ Eduard (left) and Alexander Hornemann, circa 1942. (ANg)

■■■ The Bullenhuser Damm school after the war among the ruins of Rothenburgsort, probably taken in 1945. (DA HH)



association. In 1980, the association set up a small memorial at the school that was run by a private initiative for almost 20 years before passing under the aegis of the Hamburg city council and becoming a branch of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial in 1999. A new permanent exhibition opened at Bullenhuser Damm in 2011 following an extensive redesign and the addition of new rooms to the memorial. This new bilingual exhibition is particularly aimed at young people. It contains information on the building's use as a satellite camp of Neuengamme, the persecution and deportation routes of the 20 children who had come from Poland, France, the Netherlands, Italy and Yugoslavia, the medical experiments they were subjected to at Neuengamme, and the murders of the children, their four carers and up to 30 Soviet concentration camp prisoners on 20 April 1945.

The exhibition also documents the prosecution of the perpetrators and how the murders were remembered after 1945, the establishment of the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial and the development of an international culture of remembrance. A large number of newly-discovered documents and photographs have been included in the exhibition, and materials for further reading as well as audio and video interviews allow visitors to explore the history of the site in great depth.

In addition to the material shown in the new permanent exhibition, artistic treatments of the Bullenhuser Damm murders play an important role at the memorial. The large wall painting by Jürgen Waller entitled "21 April 1945, 5:00 a.m.", for instance, is an important point of reference for the memorial's educational work. Visitors can plant roses in memory of the victims in the



Symbolic suitcases for the children in the exhibition, 2011. Photo by M. Kottmeier. (ANg)

memorial's rose garden, and a bronze monument commemorates the murdered Soviet prisoners. In the future, students will be given the opportunity to exhibit their own art projects which they developed in the context of project seminars at the memorial.

The Bullenhuser Damm Memorial is a branch of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial and an important site of commemoration in Hamburg, but it is also a place of

learning. Many school groups come to the memorial to learn about the fate of the 20 children and the adults who were murdered the same day. The memorial's aim is to ensure that the stories of the victims are not forgotten.

Dr. Detlef Garbe,
Director of the Neuengamme
Concentration Camp Memorial



- ■ ■ Exhibition section on the children's carers, 2011. Photograph by M. Kottmeier. (ANg)
- ■ ■ Section on the Curio-Haus Trials and collection of additional documents, 2011. Photograph by M. Kottmeier. (ANg)
- ■ ■ The entrance to the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial. (ANg)

THE NEUENGAMME CONCENTRATION CAMP AND ITS SATELLITE CAMPS

In late 1938, the SS established a satellite camp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in a disused brickworks in the Hamburg district of Neuengamme. In the early summer of 1940, the camp was expanded and put under the authority of the Inspectorate of the Concentration camps as an independent concentration camp. The Nazis were planning a redevelopment of Hamburg on a grand scale and therefore needed bricks. This was the main reason for setting up the camp. Over the course of the war, tens of thousands of people from all over German-occupied Europe were deported to Neuengamme by the Gestapo and the SS security service (SD). Most of them were arrested for resistance against the German occupation, for refusing to

comply with forced labour orders or on racist grounds. Current research into prisoner numbers states that more than 80,000 men and 13,500 women were registered at the Neuengamme concentration camp, while another 5,900 prisoners were either never entered into the camp's files or registered separately. In total, at least 42,900 people died in Neuengamme itself, in one of its satellite camps or in the course of the camp's evacuation. From 1942, the German Ministry of Armaments and the country's armaments industry increasingly demanded concentration camp prisoners as cheap labour. This prompted the establishment of a large number of satellite camps. More than 85 satellite camps of Neuengamme were established all



Prisoners on clearance detail in Hamburg in 1943. (StAHH)

over north-western Germany. In these camps, prisoners had to perform extremely strenuous physical labour, were subject to maltreatment at the hands of the SS, did not receive adequate medical care or sufficient food and often had to sleep in provisional huts. In March 1945,

roughly 40,000 prisoners, around 28,000 men and more than 12,000 women, had to work for private businesses, the Wehrmacht, the Nazi state and the SS in the satellite camps. At the same time, the Neuengamme main camp held 13,000 male prisoners.



- ■ ■ In 1944, some of the wooden prisoner huts were replaced by solid buildings. Photo from SS files. (ANG)
- ■ ■ The new brickworks. Photo courtesy of Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
- ■ ■ Prisoners working at the Dove Elbe canal. Photo from SS files. (NIOD)

The Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp

Several satellite camps of Neuengamme were established in Hamburg itself, outside the Neuengamme main camp, to provide companies with cheap labour. Work details of concentration camp prisoners were also used to clear rubble, recover bodies and clear unexploded ordnance after air raids on the city. One of these satellite camps was set up in a former school on Bullenhuser Damm. The building was erected in 1910 as a school for the many children living in the new Billwerder Ausschlag neighbourhood. This area, which today forms the district of Rothenburgsort, was built up between 1871 and 1894. At the time, many working-class families from Hamburg's developing warehouse district were resettled here. At the turn of the century, 40,000 people lived in Rothenburgsort. The new elementary school at 92–94 Bullenhuser Damm which was

divided into two wings for boys and girls had space for 30 classes. After the Nazis came to power in 1933, the new political system influenced the day-to-day running of the school: Flag-raising ceremonies were held in the school yard, students had to greet teachers with the Hitler salute and new subjects such as genetics and racial studies were introduced which indoctrinated students with racist ideology. Most of Rothenburgsort was destroyed in an air-raid by the British and American air forces on 27/28 July 1943. The school remained unharmed, but it was no longer used for lessons after that. From August 1944, various municipal authorities began negotiating with the SS about establishing a satellite camp at the vacant school on Bullenhuser Damm. The SS was looking for 1,000 prisoners to work for Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke (DESt) [German Earth

and Stone Works], an SS-owned company. In the autumn of 1944, the Hamburg council handed the school over to the authority of the SS, and by late November, the building was transformed into a satellite camp. Its windows were fitted with bars and the grounds were surrounded with a barbed wire fence. The first prisoners, most of them from Poland and the Soviet Union, arrived in December 1944. They were initially deployed on clearance detail and had to reprocess bricks from destroyed buildings. The SS was also planning to produce new building materials from rubble. A report from the SS garrison physician at the Neuengamme camp, Dr Alfred Trzebinski, dated 29 March 1945, lists 592 prisoners for the Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp. In addition, more than 200 Danish prisoners were housed in the building. They were evacuated to Denmark by the Swedish and Danish

Red Cross in 1945 following negotiations with the SS. In April 1945, the SS evacuated the satellite camp and transported its prisoners to so-called "reception camps", like the former POW camp at Sandbostel.



- ■ ■ The school on Bullenhuser Damm during a break in 1911. (StA HH)
- ■ ■ The school on Bullenhuser Damm amid bombed-out buildings, after July 1943. (DA HH)
- ■ ■ In April 1945, Danish prisoners were taken from the Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp to the Scandinavians' camp at Neuengamme on the Danish and Swedish Red Cross's White Buses. Photograph taken in April 1945. (MDF)



14 of the prisoners who died in the Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp are known by name:

Victors Bikernicks,

born 27 October 1906, last known residence: Jatelos, Latvia; died 11 February 1945

Władysław Brodzinski,

born 24 September 1905 in Kwasiowo, Poland, died 6 March 1945

Geurt Brunekreeft,

born 19 September 1886 in Barneveld, Netherlands, died 5 March 1945

Grigorys Cheryonoks,

born July 1907, last known residence: Rudki, Ukraine; died 19 February 1945

Holger Feldborg Gantriis,

born 6 January 1924, last known residence: Slagelse, Denmark; died 4 April 1945

Ernst Gerhard Hinrich Hibbeler,

born 31 August 1912 in Königsberg, Germany, died 23 February 1945

Gavril Ivanov,

born March 1905 in Lum, Latvia, died 25 February 1945

Ivan Ivanov,

born 6 January 1916, last known residence: Luni, USSR; died 7 February 1945

Pavel Kanosonek,

born 22 March 1921, last known residence: Budeishki, USSR; died 14 March 1945

Josef Klyzulis,

born 11 August 1913 in Zuchnikov, Latvia, died 9 March 1945

Gashr Kurwics,

born 7 November 1912 in Kastrevemu, Estonia, died 8 March 1945

Hans Frederik Larsen,

born 7 August 1912 in Frederiksberg, Denmark, died 1 April 1945

Niels Hieronimus Haae Laub,

born 23 January 1924, died 28 March 1945

Josef Obzienko,

born 2 November 1913 in Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine, died 19 February 1945



The persecution of the Jewish population

After coming to power in 1933, the Nazis began to exclude Jewish Germans from society step by step by using the anti-Semitism that existed in German society and radicalising it. Following the German Wehrmacht's invasions of neighbouring countries, the situation there became more and more threatening for the local Jewish population. Jews were increasingly excluded from everyday life, imprisoned in ghettos and camps and finally systematically murdered. The 20 Jewish children who were murdered on Bullenhuser Damm shortly before the end of the war came from Poland, France, the Netherlands, Italy and Yugoslavia. By the time they arrived at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp between April and August 1944, they and their families had long suffered persecution and had barely survived other camps. Unlike most other prisoners, the children and their mothers

were not selected and immediately murdered upon their arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, but were taken to the Women's Camp instead. In Block 11, the so-called "children's block", the SS housed girls and boys who were subjected to medical experiments or who were intended as subjects for such experiments. SS doctor Joseph Mengele personally chose ten girls and ten boys aged between five and twelve for tuberculosis experiments in the Neuengamme concentration camp. The children were between five and twelve years old.

On 26 November 1944, these children, accompanied by four female prisoners and guarded by an SS man, were locked in a separate carriage which was then added to a regular train to Hamburg.



■ ■ The Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp with the camp's perimeter fence shortly after the evacuation in 1945. (Stadtteil-archiv Hamm)

■ ■ Jewish women and children on their way to the gas chambers at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp, May/June 1944. (USHMM)

Medical experiments

The SS subjected some concentration camp prisoners to medical experiments. Doctors used the opportunities afforded them by the Nazi tyranny to experiment on people who had been stripped of all basic human rights. SS Reich Leader Heinrich Himmler actively supported this kind of experimentation.

In June 1944, a special department was set up at the Neuengamme concentration camp to enable doctor Kurt Heißmeyer to experiment on prisoners. Heißmeyer was looking for new treatment methods for tuberculosis (TB), an infectious disease caused by bacteria that was common at the time. He assumed that TB, which mostly affects the lungs, could be cured by artificially creating a second centre for the infection in the body. At the time of his experiments, this theory had already been disproved by science. Heißmeyer also believed that

"racially inferior" people were more susceptible to TB than "racially superior" people.

In the course of his experiments, Heißmeyer infected up to 100 adult prisoners, many of whom were from the Soviet Union, with highly virulent, i.e. infectious TB bacteria. Because the rations the prisoners were given were so small, some reportedly also volunteered for these experiments in the hope of receiving extra food. Even though the health of his subjects had deteriorated considerably by the autumn of 1944 and many of them had even died from the experiments, Heißmeyer wrote to the Auschwitz concentration camp and asked for 20 children for more experiments. The children arrived in Neuengamme on 28 November 1944, and a section of sick bay IV was divided off to house them. The area around the entrance was cordoned off by a high paling

fence. Heißmeyer injected the children with TB bacteria, either subcutaneously or directly into the lungs. The children soon began to suffer from fever and coughing fits and became apathetic and weak. Although the children's presence at the camp was to be kept secret, many prisoners knew about them. They were forbidden to speak to the children under penalty of death.

Dr Kurt Heißmeyer (1905–1967)

From 1938 to 1945, Kurt Heißmeyer worked as a consultant at the Hohenlychen sanatorium 75 kilometres north of Berlin. In the spring of 1944, he presented his ideas for tuberculosis experiments on human subjects to influential SS men who were being treated at the sanatorium. Some of them then spoke to Heinrich Himmler on Heißmeyer's behalf. Heißmeyer was hoping that he would be able to make his name in science by publishing his findings. He regularly travelled to Neuengamme to carry out his experiments but never stayed for more than a day. While Heißmeyer was away, prisoner doctors and nurses had to look after the subjects and sometimes also had to perform operations like removing lymph nodes.



- ■ ■ The Neuengamme concentration camp in 1945. The arrow marks sick bay IV where the subjects of the medical experiments were housed. (BStU)
- ■ ■ X-ray of prisoner Ivan Churkin from Kalinin. On 11 Oktober 1944, Churkin's lung was injected with TB bacteria through the catheter that can be seen in the x-ray. (BStU)
- ■ ■ Prisoner Anton Hölzel holds up eight-year old Lea Klygerman's arm to show the scar where her lymph node had been removed. (BStU)

The evacuation of the camps

From the summer of 1944, the SS began to evacuate concentration camps located near the front lines. Those prisoners and production facilities which were important for the German war effort were transported to numerous newly established satellite camps within Germany. When the concentration camps inside the Reich were also evacuated in the spring of 1945, the SS had very few remaining camps to fall back on. The dissolution of the Neuengamme camp system began on 24 March 1945 with the evacuation of the camps in the Emsland region near the Dutch border. Thousands of prisoners were taken to so-called "reception camps" such as Wöbbelin or Bergen-Belsen, where they were left to their own devices without any food or medical care and under appalling hygienic conditions. With British troops advancing on Hamburg, the SS evacuated the

Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp in April 1945. Around 14 April 1945, the SS transported all remaining prisoners to "reception camps", many of them to the former Sandbostel POW camp near Bremervörde. The only people to stay behind were the two SS men Ewald Jauch and Johann Frahm.

The evacuation of the Neuengamme main camp was ordered on 19 April 1945, and preparations were made for murdering some of the prisoners to erase all traces of the crimes that had been committed. The SS knew that the discovery of the medical experiments on the children would cause an outcry and therefore decided to rid themselves of the victims and witnesses at the same time by killing the children and their carers. In order to attract as little attention as possible, the SS chose the evacuated Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp for their murder operation. Survivors

who had been able to say goodbye to the carers later stated that the SS had claimed the children would be taken to Theresienstadt. On 20 April, the 20 children, their four carers and six Soviet prisoners were taken from Neuengamme to the evacuated satellite camp on Bullenhuser Damm. A little earlier, the Danish Red Cross, following negotiations with the SS, had evacuated the last Scandinavian prisoners from Neuengamme to Denmark in the course of the White Buses rescue operation. These Scandinavian prisoners had been taken to Neuengamme from all over Germany.

The main camp was used for executions until the very end of the war. On 21 and 23 April 1945, the SS executed 58 men and 13 women who had been transferred to Neuengamme from the Fuhlsbüttel police prison. Between 20 and 26 April, the SS took the remaining 9,000 Neuen-

gamme prisoners to Lübeck, where they were crammed aboard the Cap Arcona and other ships.

On 3 May 1945, nearly 7,000 of them died when the RAF mistakenly bombed these prison ships in Lübeck Bay.

During the same period, a last work detail of 600 to 700 prisoners had to clean up the Neuengamme camp. The SS also took calculated measures to erase the traces of the crimes committed there. The camp's files were burned, the straw and refuse were cleaned out of the huts, the flogging trestle and the gallows were dismantled. The last prisoners and SS men left Neuengamme on 2 May 1945, shortly before British troops reached the camp.



- ■ ■ Liberated prisoners at the Wöbbelin "reception camp", 2 May 1945 (USHMM)
- ■ ■ The former satellite camp on Bullenhuser Damm in 1945. The fence poles are still standing, but the barbed wire has already been taken down. (MDF)
- ■ ■ The burning Cap Arcona, 3 May 1945. (IWM)



THE CRIME ON 20 APRIL 1945

Late at night on 20 April 1945 the 20 children, their four carers and six Soviet prisoners arrived in the former school yard behind the building. The SS men first took the adult prisoners into the building and hung them in the boiler room in the basement. The children were led down the stairs into the first basement room, the former changing room for the school's gymnasium, where they had to undress. In another room SS doctor Alfred Trzebinski injected the children with morphine. Those children who still showed signs of life after the injections were hung by SS man Johann Frahm, probably with the help of other SS men, in the room at the very back of the basement. Following these first murders, another group of Soviet prisoners were brought to Bullenhuser Damm from

the Spaldingstraße satellite camp. During an escape attempt, several of these prisoners were shot by the SS, but some of them managed to get away. All other prisoners were also hung in the boiler room. The next morning, the perpetrators tried to erase the traces of their crime. They took the bodies to the crematorium at Neuengamme. Johann Frahm burned the children's clothes in the boiler for the showers next to the changing room.

The children

For a long time it was not known who the children were, where they came from or what happened to their families. Today, this is still true for five of them.

In some cases, a father, mother, sibling, aunt or cousin survived the ghettos and concentration camps but were unable to find out what had happened to the children despite decades of painful searching. Many of the survivors had lost their property after they were deported, which included their personal items and keepsakes. All they had to remind them of the children were a few photographs which relatives had been able to save when they emigrated or went into hiding. It was not until more than 30 years after the children were murdered that relatives learned of the children's fate when

Hamburg journalist Günther Schwarberg began to investigate the case and the identities of the children.

During his research for a series of articles on the murders he published in 1979, he got in touch with surviving family members all over the world for the first time.

That same year, relatives of the children, former Neuengamme prisoners and dedicated Hamburg locals founded the *Children of Bullenhuser Damm* association. Its aim was to inform the public about the crimes that were committed on 20 April 1945 and to create a memorial at the Bullenhuser Damm school.

"There are traces of our presence. And that's very important, because if there are no names, it'll be lost ... just like that."

Rose Grumelin, mother of Eleonora and Roman Witoński, 2010

Eduard Reichenbaum

Eduard Reichenbaum was born on 15 November 1934 in Katowice, Poland. His family nickname was Edulek. Reichenbaum's father Ernst worked as an accountant for the Polish branch of a German publishing business. Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, Eduard, his brother Jerzy, who was two years older, and their parents moved to Piotrków Trybunalski near Łódź, where Eduard's grandparents lived. In 1943, the family was deported to the Bliżyn labour camp, where Eduard and Jerzy were forced to produce socks for the Wehrmacht. In Bliżyn, nine-year-old Eduard managed to narrowly escape a selection, during which 50 children under ten years of age were chosen for deportation and murder. His father, who worked in the camp's office because of his fluency in German, had been able to fake his date of birth. In September 1944, the

family was deported to Auschwitz. Jerzy and his father were taken to the men's camp, where Ernst Reichenbaum died in November. Eduard was first taken to the women's camp along with his mother Sabina Reichenbaum and was later transferred to the children's block. In November 1944, Sabina Reichenbaum was transferred to a satellite camp of the Buchenwald concentration camp in Lippstadt in western Germany. Mania Herszberg, the mother of Riwka Herszberg, was also on that transport to Lippstadt. Eduard Reichenbaum was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. When Auschwitz was evacuated in 1945, Jerzy Reichenbaum was transported west, first to the Sachsenhausen and then to the Mauthausen concentration camp, both of which he survived. In the same year, at age 13, Jerzy

Reichenbaum emigrated to Palestine. In 1947, his mother followed him. The two looked for Eduard, but it was not until 1984 that Jerzy, who had changed his name to Yitzhak, learned of his brother's fate through an article in the Israeli paper *Maariv*. Yitzhak Reichenbaum regularly attends the commemorative events held on Bullenhuser Damm and talks to young people about his brother's fate. In 1993, a street in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Eduard Reichenbaum.

Jacqueline Morgenstern

Jacqueline Morgenstern was born on 26 May 1932 in Paris. Her father, Charles Morgenstern, ran a hair salon with his brother Leopold, and her mother, Suzanne Morgenstern, worked as a secretary. After the German Wehrmacht had occupied Paris, the Morgenstern brothers were forced to hand over their business to

a gentile in 1941. In 1943, Charles Morgenstern fled to Marseille in the non-occupied part of France. His wife Suzanne and their daughter later followed him. The family was arrested in Marseille and taken to the Drancy internment camp for Jews near Paris. From there, they were deported to Auschwitz on 20 May 1944, where Jacqueline's mother was murdered. Her father was taken to the Dachau concentration camp near Munich on the last transport to leave Auschwitz before the liberation. He died in May 1945 after his liberation. Jacqueline Morgenstern was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. Jacqueline's aunt Dorothea and her uncle Léopold Morgenstern were initially protected from being deported because Léopold's work was considered "essential to the German war effort",



■ ■ ■ Eduard Reichenbaum with his older brother Jerzy and his father in Katowice in 1937. (Private photograph)

■ ■ ■ Jacqueline Morgenstern in 1938 (Private photograph)

■ ■ ■ Jacqueline Morgenstern with her parents, undated. (ANG)



but in 1943, he was also arrested. Dorothea Morgenstern, who was expecting a baby at the time, went underground and managed to hide her children with gentile families. It was not until 1979 that Dorothea Morgenstern and her son Henri learned about the murder of Jacqueline in Hamburg from Günther Schwarberg. Jacqueline's identity was unambiguously established because her name was noted on one of the x-rays from Heißmeyer's medical experiments. Henri Morgenstern attended the commemorative event for the victims of the Bullenhuser Damm murders held on 20 April 1979. He was a founding member of the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association. Morgenstern particularly campaigned for the prosecution of Arnold Strippel. In 1993, Jacqueline-Morgenstern-Weg in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after the murdered girl.

Eduard and Alexander Hornemann

Eduard, the older of the two Hornemann brothers, was born on 1 January 1933. His family nickname was Edo. Alexander, his younger brother, was born on 31 May 1936. His family nickname was Lexje. The Hornemanns lived in Eindhoven in the Netherlands. The boys' father, Philip Carel Hornemann, worked for Philips from 1925. After the German Wehrmacht occupied the Netherlands, Hornemann was one of 100 Jewish employees at Philips who had to work in the company's Jewish "special department", which was set up in late 1941. His wife Elisabeth went into hiding on a farm together with Alexander, while her older son Eduard hid on another farm. When the Jewish employees at Philips were deported to the Vught concentration camp in 1943, Elisabeth Hornemann followed her husband with both of

their sons. On 3 June 1944, the Hornemann family was transported from Vught to Auschwitz, where Elisabeth Hornemann died of typhoid fever in September. Alexander and Eduard were transferred to the children's hut. Shortly before the liberation of Auschwitz, Philip Carel Hornemann was taken to the Dachau concentration camp and was then put on a transport to Sachsenhausen, during which he died on 21 February 1945. Eduard and Alexander Hornemann were taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on 20 April 1945 on Bullenhuser Damm. Ans van Staveren, Elisabeth Hornemann's sister and the boys' aunt, was the only member of the family to survive. She managed to remain in hiding until the liberation of the Netherlands. For a long time, van Staveren hoped her two nephews would return. It was not

until 1979 that she learned of their fate. Van Staveren remained in touch with the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association until her death in 2008. Brüder-Hornemann-Straße in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Eduard and Alexander.

Marek Steinbaum

Marek Steinbaum (also spelled Szteinbaum) was born on 26 May 1937. His family owned a small leather factory in Radom. After being imprisoned in the Radom ghetto, the Steinbaums were deported to Auschwitz via the Pionki labour camp near Radom, probably in early October 1944. Marek's father, Rachmil Steinbaum, was transported on to the Buchenwald and Groß-Rosen concentration camps and finally to a satellite camp of Natzweiler-Struthof near Stuttgart. Marek's mother, Mania Steinbaum, was taken to the

- Philip Carel Hornemann with his sons Eduard (top) and Alexander on the beach in Scheveningen in 1938. (ANg)
- Elisabeth Hornemann with her sons Alexander and Eduard, undated. (ANg)



Georgenthal satellite camp of Groß-Rosen concentration camp, where Zela James and Rucza Witońska were also imprisoned. Marek Steinbaum was taken to Neuengamme on 28 November 1944 and murdered on 20 April 1945 on Bullenhuser Damm. His parents survived the camps.

After the war, they lived in Memmingen in Bavaria for a while. Their daughter Lola was born in 1947. In 1949, the family emigrated to the United States. In the course of his research, Günther Schwarberg tried to contact the Steinbaums in 1981, but they did not wish to speak to him. Their daughter Lola learned of her brother Marek's fate in 1993. On 20 April 1999, she attended the commemorative event that was held for the Bullenhuser Damm children in Hamburg. In 1993, a street in Burgwedel was named after Marek Steinbaum.

Bluma Mekler

Bluma Mekler was born in Sandomierz, a town on the River Vistula in Poland. She had two sisters and two brothers. Her parents Sara and Hershel (Hersh) Mekler ran a business selling agricultural goods. In addition, Hershel Mekler also taught at the local cheder, the Jewish religious school for boys. The Sandomierz ghetto, where the family was forced to live following the occupation of the town by the German Wehrmacht, was liquidated in January 1943. Most of the ghetto's inhabitants were murdered in Bełżec. Others were taken to the Treblinka extermination camp or to a labour camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. It is not known how Bluma was deported to Auschwitz or what happened to her parents. On 28 November 1944, she was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp, and she was murdered on

Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. She was eleven years old. Bluma's older brother Alter survived Auschwitz. Her younger sister Shifra went into hiding in the Sandomierz ghetto in October 1942 and later hid in different towns and villages in Poland. After the liberation, she lived in various orphanages in Poland before emigrating to Palestine in 1947. In 1992, Shifra Mor, née Mekler, read about the fate of the Bullenhuser Damm children in a newspaper in Israel and recognised her sister Bluma in one of the photographs. In 1998, Shifra Mor first visited the day-care centre in Hamburg-Burgwedel that had been named after her sister in May 1997.

Ruchla Zylberberg

Ruchla Zylberberg was born on 6 May 1936 in Zawichost, 100 kilometres from Radom. After the occupation of Poland by the German Wehrmacht, several members of the Zylberberg family fled to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1939. The first to leave was Ruchla's uncle Jozef. He was followed by Ruchla's father Nison Zylberberg and his sister-in-law Felicja. Nison Zylberberg was planning to get his family to join him there, but after Germany attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, this became impossible. Nison's wife Fajga, Ruchla and her sister Ester, who was two years younger, were all deported to Auschwitz, where Fajga and Ester Zylberberg were murdered. Ruchla Zylberberg was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945.



■ ■ The Mekler family, undated. (ANG)
 ■ ■ Nison and Fajga Zylberberg with their daughters Ruchla (front left) and Ester (front right) on the beach, circa 1939. (ANG)



Ruchla's father Nison Zylberg survived and returned to Poland in 1946. In 1951, he emigrated to the USA. His brothers Jozef and Henryk came to Hamburg with their wives in 1958. They had planned to emigrate to Bolivia, but they eventually stayed in Germany. When Günther Schwarberg published his feature in *Stern* magazine in 1979, members of the Zylberg family recognised Ruchla in one of the photographs. In 1981, her father confirmed her identity. In 1983, Nison Zylberg visited the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial for the first time. He also participated in the International tribunal against Arnold Strippel in 1986 and visited Hamburg again to attend the commemorative event held on 20 April 1995. Nison Zylberg died in 2002. Zylbergstraße and Zylbergstieg in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel were named after Ruchla.

Lea Klygerman

Lea (also Lola) Klygerman was born on 28 April 1937 in Ostrowiec, 60 kilometres south of Radom. In early August 1944, Lea, her mother Ester and her sister Rifka, who was two years younger than Lea, were transferred from the Ostrowiec labour camp to Auschwitz. They arrived there on 3 August, and Lea was tattooed with the number A-16959. Her father, Berek Klygerman, was taken to Auschwitz from the Bliżyn labour camp south of Radom. From Auschwitz, he was transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in October 1944 and then to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he died in February 1945. Lea Klygerman was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945.

Ester Klygerman survived the camps and returned to Poland. Her search for her daughters Lea and Rifka was unsuccessful. In the 1970s, Klygerman emigrated to Israel, where she remarried and had another daughter, Amalia. Amalia learned of her older sister Lea's fate through the relative of another one of the murdered children. In order to protect her mother, she decided not to tell her about it.

Sergio de Simone

Sergio de Simone was born on 29 November 1937 and lived with his parents in Naples, Italy. His father, Edoardo de Simone, was a Catholic naval officer, and his mother Gizella, née Perlow, was Jewish. Edoardo de Simone was deported to Dortmund for forced labour. In the summer of 1943, Gizella de Simone and her son Sergio moved in with relatives in Fiume in northern Italy because

Allied bombing raids on Naples made staying in the city seem unsafe. On 21 March 1944, six-year old Sergio, his mother and seven other members of the family including his cousins Alessandra and Tatiana were arrested in Fiume. They were taken to the Risiera di San Sabba concentration camp near Trieste, from where they were deported to Auschwitz on 4 April 1944. In Auschwitz, Sergio had to work as an errand boy until he was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp as a subject for Heißmeyer's medical experiments. On 20 April 1945, Sergio de Simone was murdered on Bullenhuser Damm aged 7. In the spring of 1945, Sergio's mother Gizella de Simone was taken to the Ravensbrück concentration camp, where she was liberated. She was in very bad health and did not return to Italy until November 1945, where she rejoined her husband. The de Simones began looking for

- ■ *Sergio de Simone, undated. (ANg)*
- ■ *Sergio de Simone (left) with two of his aunts, his grandmother, his mother and his cousins, September 1943. (ANg)*



their son and learned in the late 1940s that he had been taken from Auschwitz to a concentration camp in the west. Edoardo de Simone died in 1964 without ever learning of his son's fate. Gizella de Simone heard of the murders on Bullenhuser Damm in 1983 and attended the commemorative event in Hamburg on 20 April 1984. However, she did not want to believe that Sergio was dead and held on to the hope that he was still alive until she died. Sergio-de-Simone-Stieg, a street in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel, was named after Sergio de Simone.

Riwka Herszberg

Riwka Herszberg was born on 7 June 1938 in Zduńska Wola near Łódź in Poland. Her father, Mosze Herszberg, managed a small textile factory there. In the summer of 1944, Riwka and her parents were deported to Auschwitz via Piotrków Trybunalski.

Riwka's father was taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp in January 1945 and murdered there on 7 April the same year. Riwka and her mother Mania were housed in the women's camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Riwka reportedly escaped a selection because one particular SS man took a liking to her because she resembled his daughter. On 23 November 1944, Mania Herszberg was transferred to a Buchenwald satellite camp in Lippstadt. Sabina Reichenbaum, Eduard Reichenbaum's mother, was on the same transport. Riwka Herszberg was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945 aged 6.

Mania Herszberg survived the camps and returned to Poland to look for Riwka. She later emigrated to the USA and settled in Boston, where she remarried and adopted two boys.

She learned of her daughter's possible fate in 1980, but was unable to recognize Riwka in the photographs from Heißmeyer's experiments. In 1979, Ella Kozłowski, a cousin of Riwka Herszberg who worked for the Israel Police's central unit for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Tel Aviv, discovered Riwka's name on a search poster distributed by German journalist Günther Schwarberg and contacted him. Ella Kozłowski was born in Berlin. In the 1930s, she had to break off her secondary school education because she was Jewish. She went to live with relatives in Czechoslovakia and Poland before being deported to various concentration camps via the Zduńska Wola and Łódź ghettos. After her liberation, Ella Kozłowski emigrated to Israel.

Eleonora and Roman Witoński

Roman Witoński, whose family nickname was Romek, was born on 8 June 1938 in Radom in Poland. His sister Eleonora, nicknamed Lenka, was born on 16 September 1939. A week before Eleonora's birth, on 9 September 1939, German troops had occupied Radom. The SS and the German police set up their headquarters in the very street where the Witońskis lived. The children's father, Seweryn Witoński, worked as a paediatrician in Radom. From 1941, the family was forced to live in the Radom ghetto. On 21 March 1943, on the Jewish holiday of Purim, Roman, his younger sister Eleonora and his parents were taken along with more than 150 other people to the old Jewish cemetery in Szydłowiec, 30 kilometres south of Radom. There, the SS started a mass execution, during which Seweryn Witoński was murdered. His wife Rucza and the



■ ■ Riwka Herszberg circa 1939. (ANG)
■ ■ Rucza Witońska with her son Roman in the summer of 1940. (ANG)



children Roman and Eleonora hid behind some grave stones, but were discovered by the SS and taken back to the ghetto. After witnessing their father's execution, the children lived in terrible fear of the SS in the Radom ghetto. In late July 1944, Rucza Witońska and her children were deported to the Pionki labour camp near Radom and from there on to Auschwitz, where they were initially imprisoned in the women's camp. In Auschwitz, Rucza Witońska was separated from her children and taken to the Georgenthal satellite camp. Eleonora and Roman Witoński were taken to Neuengamme on 28 November 1944 and were murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. Roman was six, Eleonora five years old. After her liberation, Rucza Witońska looked for her children in Auschwitz, Radom and other places. Her brother had probably learned of

the children's fate earlier from the reports on the Curio-Haus trials, but had not told her about it in order to protect her. Rucza Witońska contacted various offices and organisations which offered support in the search for missing relatives. She also filed search requests for other children she had known in the family camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. As early as 1946, a Belgian tracing service put her in touch with doctor Paulina Trocki, who told her that she had accompanied 20 children from Auschwitz to the Neuengamme concentration camp when she was a prisoner at Auschwitz. Rucza Witońska went to France, where she married and took the name of Rose Grumelin. Her son Marc-Alain was born in 1951. In 1981, Günther Schwarberg contacted Rose Grumelin-Witońska at the address she had given when filing a search request with the Red Cross's Inter-

national Tracing Service, in which she had enquired about her own children as well as other children from Radom. Schwarberg knew that a child with the surname "Witonska" had been among the victims of the Bullenhuser Damm murders from a list published by Danish doctor and former Neuengamme prisoner Henry Meyer in his book *Rapport fra Neuengamme* in 1945. However, there was no boy named "Witonski" on the list. Schwarberg showed Grumelin-Witońska the photographs of the children from Heißmeyer's files on his experiments, and she recognized her both children in them. In 1982, Grumelin-Witońska visited the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial for the first time. Geschwister-Witoński-Straße in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Eleonora and Roman Witoński.

Georges-André Kohn

Georges-André Kohn was born on 23 April 1932 in Paris. His father, Armand Kohn, was Secretary General of the Rothschild Foundation from 1940. This foundation funded the Jewish hospital in Paris. Georges-André's mother, Suzanne Kohn, came from the Nêtre family, a highly respected French-Jewish family. Georges-André had three older siblings: Antoinette, Philippe and Rose-Marie. Due to Armand Kohn's prominent position, the Kohns still enjoyed some privileges after the occupation of France by the German Wehrmacht. In 1942, Suzanne Kohn and her children converted to Catholicism in the hope that this move would protect them from the increasing anti-Semitic persecution. But on 18 July 1944, the whole family was arrested and imprisoned in the Drancy internment camp near Paris. Georges-André's siblings Philippe

■ Georges-André Kohn at his First Communion, 1944. (Ang)



and Rose-Marie were on the last deportation train to leave Drancy for Auschwitz on 17 August 1944. Three days after the train's departure, they managed to escape with a group of other prisoners against their father's express wishes and survived in hiding until the liberation of France. Armand Kohn was taken to Buchenwald, while Suzanne Kohn and her daughter Antoinette were taken to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where they both died. Georges-André's grandmother was murdered in Auschwitz, and Georges-André himself was imprisoned in the children's camp at Auschwitz. On 28 November 1944, Georges-André Kohn was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp, and he was murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. Armand Kohn, who survived the camps, learned from another former prisoner in 1946 that Georges-André had

been taken to Auschwitz. Armand died in 1962 without ever finding out the exact details of his youngest son's fate. In 1979, Georges-André's brother Philippe Kohn learned what had happened to his brother in Hamburg. He then brought relatives of the 20 children together to form a group with the aim of keeping the memory of the Bullenhuser Damm murders alive. In 1992, a street in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Georges-André Kohn.

Marek James

Marek James was born on 17 March 1939 in Poland. He lived with his parents Adam and Zela James at 52 Traugutta Street in Radom. Following the occupation of the city by the German Wehrmacht, the family was forced to live in one of the two Radom ghettos. In 1943, the three members of the James family were deported to the Pionki labour camp

near Radom, which belonged to a gunpowder factory. From there, they were transferred to Auschwitz in the summer of 1944, where Marek was given the prisoner number B 1159. Marek's father Adam James was taken to a satellite camp of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In the autumn of 1944, Zela James and her son were also separated when Zela was taken to a satellite camp of the Groß-Rosen concentration camp. Marek James was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. He was six years old. Marek James's parents survived the camps. After the war, they lived in southern Germany, where they had another son in 1947. With the help of Rucza Witońska, Eleonora and Roman's mother, they tried to get information on their son's fate from the International Tracing Service. In

1949, the family emigrated to the United States, where their younger son still lives. Rucza Grumelin-Witońska recognised Marek James as well as other children from Radom in the photographs from Heißmeyer's experiments which journalist Günther Schwarberg showed her. In 1993, Günther Schwarberg also tried to contact Zela James, but she did not wish to speak to him. In January 2010, Marek James's brother Mark James got in touch with the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association for the first time. A street in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Marek James.

Mania Altman

Mania Altman was born on 7 April 1938 in Radom, Poland, to shoemaker Shir Altman and his wife Pola. The Altmans had a large extended family in Radom, which included Shir Altman's six siblings with their



- Siblings André, Rose-Marie, Philippe and Antoinette Kohn (from left), circa 1939. (ANG)
- Adam James with his son Marek in 1940. (ANG)

families. In the spring of 1941, the German occupiers established two ghettos in Radom, where the Jewish population had to live. The Altman family was later deported from the Radom ghetto to the Pionki labour camp which belonged to a gun-powder factory, and from there on to Auschwitz in the summer of 1944. Mania's father was taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp, where he was murdered during the last weeks of the war. Pola Altman and her daughter Mania were separated in Auschwitz. Pola was taken to a satellite camp of Groß-Rosen in October 1944, where she was liberated in May 1945. In 1951 she emigrated to the USA with her brother-in-law, Chaim Altman. Mania Altman was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944 and murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. Pola Altman never learned of

her daughter's fate. She died in 1971 in Chicago. Mania's uncle Chaim Altman, who lived in New York, learned of the murders on Bullenhuser Damm and his niece's fate through an article by Marc Grumelin, the brother of Eleonora and Roman Witoński, in the journal *Voice of Radom* in 1982. A street in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Mania Altman in 1992.

Surcis Goldinger

Surcis Goldinger was from Poland, probably from Ostrowiec, and was ten or eleven years old when she was taken to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 28 November 1944. She was murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. The name Goldinger can be found on the list of the children's names which Henry Meyer published in his book *Rapport fra Neuengamme* in Denmark in 1945. On the list, it is spelled

"Goldinger" and not "Goldfinger". In 1949, Rose Grumelin-Witońska, the mother of Eleonora and Roman Witoński, filed a search request for several children she knew, including a girl called "Surcis Goldfinger", with the International Tracing Service. The ITS informed Witońska that the girl was probably taken on a transport of 306 prisoners from the the Ostrowiec labour camp to Auschwitz on 3. August 1944. In 1999, a children's playhouse in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel was named after Surcis Goldinger.

H. Wassermann, R. Zeller, Lelka Birnbaum, W. Junglieb

Very little is known about four more children who were murdered on Bullenhuser Damm. Their last names can be found in the list which Danish doctor and former Neuengamme prisoner Henry Meyer published in his book *Rapport fra Neuengamme* in 1945.

The list also includes the name Wassermann for an eight-year-old girl from Poland. On the stat sheet for this child, Dr Kurt Heißmeyer used the initials "H.W.". H. Wassermann was murdered with the other children on 20 April 1945 on Bullenhuser Damm. In 2003, Wassermannpark, a park in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel, was named in her honour. Meyer's list also mentions the name Junglieb for a twelve year-old boy from Yugoslavia. On his stat sheet for this boy, Heißmeyer noted the initials "W. J.". W. Junglieb was murdered



- ■ Mania Altman, undated. (ANG)
- ■ Kurt Heißmeyer kept a stat sheet for each of the children he experimented on. These sheets list the children by the numbers they had to wear around their necks on a tag and their initials. The sheets also give the dates on which the children were infected with TB bacteria. (BStU)



The children's carers

with the other children on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. In 1995, Jungliebstraße in Burgwedel was named after this child. Lelka Birnbaum was a twelve-year-old girl from Poland. Her full name is noted on the cover sheet of an x-ray taken in the course of one of Heißmeyer's experiments. Lelka was murdered with the other children on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. In 1996, a street in Hamburg Burgwedel and a children's day-care centre in St Pauli were named after her.

Henry Meyer also lists the name Zeller for a twelve-year-old boy from Poland. On his stat sheet for this boy, Dr Heißmeyer noted the initials "R. Z." The child's first name was probably Roman. Roman Zeller was murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945 along with the other children. In 1995, a square in Burgwedel was named after him.

Two French doctors, Professor Gabriel Florence and Dr René Quenouille, and two Dutch nurses, Dirk Deutekom and Anton Hölzel, were assigned to look after the children in sick bay IVa. All four of them had been imprisoned in the Neuengamme concentration camp as resistance fighters. Because they had witnessed the experiments, they were also murdered on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. In contrast to the children, the carers' identities became known soon after the war because former prisoners who had worked with them at the sick bay mentioned them in their accounts.

Professor Gabriel Florence

Gabriel Florence was born on 21 June 1886 in Alsace. He was a professor of biochemistry and medicinal chemistry at the University of Lyon and a Nobel Prize nominator. Under the German occupation he

campaigns on behalf of his Jewish colleagues, and in late 1943 he joined the Comité Médical de la Résistance, an organisation of doctors in the resistance. On 4 March 1944, Florence was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in the Montluc prison near Lyon, from where he was transferred to the Neuengamme concentration camp on 7 June 1944. Because he spoke German fluently, he worked as an interpreter at the camp. In late July 1944, the SS assigned him to the sickbay. After the arrival of the 20 children, his task was to keep their patient records and analyse samples in the lab. Gabriel Florence tried to kill off the TB bacteria by boiling the suspension before the children were injected with it. Former prisoner Paul Weißmann, who also worked at the sickbay, later remembered his last meeting with Gabriel Florence on the night before he was murdered:

"[Florence] packed his few possessions. Before he left the sickbay, he shook each of us by the hand and said, 'Au revoir'. But to me he whispered, 'I don't believe we'll see each other again.'" Gabriel Florence was hung by SS men on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945. Simone Florence, Gabriel's wife, learned of her husband's fate early on from former prisoners and campaigned for Heißmeyer's prosecution in 1949. In 1953, Professor Gabriel Florence posthumously received the Prix Henri Labbé for biochemistry from the Académie des Sciences at the Institut de France.



■ ■ Gabriel Florence in 1942. (ANG)
 ■ ■ Drawing entitled "Professeur Florence de l'Université de Lyon" by Bertrand de Vogüe, dated 9 September 1944. After his liberation, former prisoner Paul Faure remembered a remark Florence had once made: "If I told you about all the horrors I've witnessed, you wouldn't want to believe most of it."



Dr René Quenouille

René Quenouille was born on 6 December 1884 in Sarlat-la-Caneda in France. After studying medicine, he opened a radiologist's practice in Villeneuve-Saint-Georges near Paris in 1925. Quenouille was a member of the Communist Party. In 1935, he became deputy mayor of Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. As a local politician, Quenouille was particularly concerned with reforming the municipal health services. After the German occupation of France, René Quenouille and his wife Yvonne joined the Patriam Recuperare resistance group, whose members helped Allied paratroopers escape to unoccupied southern France. On 3 March 1943, René and Yvonne Quenouille and two of their daughters were arrested by the Gestapo. The women were soon released again, but René Quenouille was taken to the Fresnes prison near Paris and was initially

sentenced to death. However, on 16 October 1943, the SS deported him to the Mauthausen concentration camp in Upper Austria, where he had to work as a prisoner doctor. Former prisoners later remembered that he helped French and Soviet prisoners in particular. On 17 July 1944, he was transferred to the Neuengamme concentration camp, where he was in charge of the radiology department at the sickbay. When the 20 children arrived at Neuengamme, Quenouille was charged with their medical care. On 20 April 1945, René Quenouille was hung by SS men on Bullenhuser Damm. In 1980, a children's day-care centre was named after him in his home town of Sarlat-la-Caneda in the Dordogne region.

Dirk Deutekom

Dirk Deutekom was born on 1 December 1895 in Amsterdam.

He trained as a carpenter and later worked as a letterpress printer. Deutekom lived in Amsterdam with his wife and daughter. On 10 May 1940, the German Wehrmacht invaded the Netherlands.

Dirk Deutekom joined a small resistance group, whose members had met at a Catholic youth centre. On 18 July 1941, Deutekom was arrested by the police security service in his flat in Amsterdam. He was registered as a political prisoner and taken to the Amersfoort transit camp, from where he was deported to the Buchenwald concentration camp. At Buchenwald, where he arrived on 2 April 1942, he was given the prisoner number 2912. On 6 June 1944, Deutekom and Anton Hölzel were transferred to the Neuengamme concentration camp, where they had to work as prisoner nurses at the sickbay. In November 1944, Deutekom and Hölzel were both assigned

to look after the 20 children on whom Heißmeyer was conducting his medical experiments. Dirk Deutekom was hung by SS men on Bullenhuser Damm on 20 April 1945.

Anton Hölzel

Antonie "Anton" Hölzel was born on 7 May 1909 in Deventer to a working-class family of social democrats. As a young man, he moved to The Hague, where he married and had children. Hölzel worked as a driver and as a waiter in a café and was a member of the Communist Party. On 10 September 1941, he was arrested by the German Security Police (SiPo) in The Hague for possession of a banned newspaper. Hölzel was taken to the Amersfoort transit camp and registered as a political prisoner. From there, he was deported to the Buchenwald concentration camp,



■ ■ René Quenouille, undated. (ANG)
In late 1944, Quenouille showed the so-called "Heißmeyer special department" to another French prisoner, saying, "The one thing I wanted to achieve by bringing you here was to make sure you saw the children, so that one day you'll be able to confirm that they existed and bear witness to the experiments. If I don't come back, there has to be someone who knows and who will say it and bear witness when the moment comes."

■ ■ Anton Hölzel, circa 1936. (ANG)





Drawing by French Neuengamme prisoner Lazare Bertrand entitled "Sickbay for the seriously ill, 30 August 1944." (MOL)

where he arrived on 31 March 1942 and was given the prisoner number 2195. In Buchenwald, he worked as a prisoner nurse at the sickbay. On 6 June 1944, he was transported to the Neuengamme concentration camp together with Dirk Deutekom. He also worked at the sickbay in

Neuengamme, and in November 1944 he was assigned to look after the 20 children on whom Heißmeyer was conducting his experiments. On 20 April 1945, Anton Hölzel was hung by SS men on Bullenhuser Damm.

The Soviet prisoners

In the early morning of 21 April 1945, SS men Wilhelm Dreimann, Heinrich Wiehagen and Johann Frahm hung also several Soviet prisoners in the school's boiler room. The first six Soviet prisoners to be murdered had arrived on Bullenhuser Damm on the same lorry as the children and their carers from the Neuengamme concentration camp, where they had been imprisoned in the camp prison, the so-called detention bunker.

It is not known why they were murdered. Between 18 and 24 more Soviet prisoners were brought from the Spaldingstraße satellite camp three kilometres away. Several of these prisoners are said to have escaped, and at least three of them were shot by SS men Adolf Speck and Heinrich Wiehagen when they were trying to get away. The other men were led into the boiler room in groups of four and hung from the heating pipes. It is not known why

these prisoners were still being kept at the Spaldingstraße satellite camp, which had probably been evacuated by 17 April 1945. With its 2,000 prisoners, the Spaldingstraße camp was one of the largest satellite camps of Neuengamme and infamous for the atrocious conditions under which its prisoners had to live. Around 800 prisoners died there.



■ Index card from the office of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in The Hague, 1942. Following his arrest, the State Police office in The Hague recorded Anton Hölzel's personal data. The card also states that he was transferred to a concentration camp for possession of the banned newspaper *De Waarheid* (The Truth). (NIOD)

THE PROSECUTION OF THE PERPETRATORS

In 1946, a British military tribunal reconstructed the events on Bullenhuser Damm in the early morning of 21 April 1945 based on statements from the perpetrators. That night, SS men murdered 20 Jewish children, their four carers and at least 24 Soviet prisoners. The order to kill the children allegedly came from a high-ranking SS office in Berlin on 20 April 1945. After receiving the order, Max Pauly, the commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, ordered the Garrison Physician Dr Alfred Trzebinski to kill the children. The same evening, Trzebinski and SS men Wilhelm Dreimann, Heinrich Wiehagen and Adolf Speck brought the children and their four carers from sickbay IVa to Bullenhuser Damm. Six Soviet prisoners from the camp prison were also taken along. All of

them were then murdered on Bullenhuser Damm. Later that night, a second group of Soviet prisoners was brought from the Spaldingstraße satellite camp. These prisoners were also murdered at the school for reasons that remain unknown. Apart from the SS men from the Neuengamme camp, SS men Ewald Jauch and Johann Frahm were also involved in the murders. They had stayed behind at the school after the satellite camp had been evacuated. According to statements from Trzebinski, Jauch, Frahm and Dreimann, Arnold Strippel was also involved in the murders as a commanding officer. A so-called "base commander" (*Stützpunktleiter*), Strippel was in charge of all Neuengamme satellite camps in Hamburg. His office was at the Spaldingstraße satellite camp.



Defendants at the first Curio-Haus Trial in 1946. (ANG)

The Curio-Haus Trials

Several SS men from the Neuengamme concentration camp were tried before a British military tribunal in the so-called Curio-Haus Trials held in 1946. These trials were named after the building in which they were held, the Curio-Haus on Rothenbaumchaussee in Hamburg, and also dealt with the murders on Bullenhuser Damm. Three of the 14 SS members charged with involvement in the murders were found guilty and sentenced to death during

the first Curio-Haus Trial: Wilhelm Dreimann, Adolf Speck and Dr Alfred Trzebinski. Ewald Jauch and Johann Frahm were also sentenced to death in the third Curio-Haus trial held in July 1946. All five former SS men were executed in October 1946 at Hameln prison. Wiehagen and Strippel were not tried, the former because he had died shortly before the end of the war, and the latter because the investigators had not been able to find and arrest him.



■ ■ ■ *The first Curio-Haus Trial in 1946. (ANG)*
The former commandant of Neuengamme, Max Pauly (1), also gave evidence on the Bullenhuser Damm murders.

■ ■ ■ *British guards outside the Curio-Haus in 1946. (ANG)*

■ ■ ■ *Prosecutors at the first Curio-Haus trial in 1946. (ANG)*



Max Pauly (1907–1946)

Max Pauly was the commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp from August 1942. He received the order to kill the children from a higher SS office in Berlin and passed it on to Alfred Trzebinski.

Pauly, a trained retail salesman, was from Wesselburen in the Dithmarschen region north of Hamburg. He joined the Nazi party in 1930 and the SS in 1932. On 3 May 1946, he was sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial and executed on 8 October 1946.

Dr Alfred Trzebinski (1902–1946)

Dr Alfred Trzebinski was Garrison Physician at Neuengamme and was involved in the murder of the 20 children. During his trial at the Curio-Haus, he tried to exonerate himself by stating that commandant Max Pauly had ordered him to kill the

children and Arnold Strippel had pressured him into carrying out the order. Trzebinski claimed he had given the children morphine injections to ease their pain before Johann Frahm had hung them. He said that he himself had been at the Spaldingstraße satellite camp to study some patient files while the murders were being committed. However, the Spaldingstraße camp was three kilometres from Bullenhuser Damm and had been evacuated on 17 April 1945. The other defendants stated that Trzebinski had been directly involved in the murders. Alfred Trzebinski was from Jutrosin in what is now Poland. He joined the SS in 1932 and the NSDAP in 1933. Between 1929 and 1941, he worked as a country doctor in Saxony. In 1941, he was made camp physician at the Auschwitz concentration camp. Three months later, he was transferred to the Lublin-Majdanek concen-

tration camp, and in August 1943, he was made Garrison Physician at the Neuengamme camp. In this position, he was in charge of medical care in both the main camp and the satellite camps and was involved in establishing the “special department” for Heißmeyer’s medical experiments. After the end of the war, Trzebinski went underground in the North Frisia region near the Danish border. He had the blood group tattoo removed that marked him as an SS member and pretended to have been an army doctor in the Wehrmacht. From August 1945, Trzebinski worked as a doctor at the British discharge camp for German POWs in Hesedorf near Bremervörde. He was arrested on 1 February 1946. Trzebinski was sentenced to death in May 1946 in the first Curio-Haus Trial and executed on 8 October 1946.

Adolf Speck (1911–1946)

SS *Oberscharführer* Adolf Speck, along with Heinrich Wiehagen, guarded the Soviet prisoners in the former schoolyard on 20/21 April 1945 before they were led into the building. In the first Curio-Haus Trial, Speck stated that prisoners trying to escape had thrown salt in his eyes, upon which he had shot one prisoner and Wiehagen two more, while seven prisoners managed to escape. He and Wiehagen had then looked for the escapees until the early morning.

Speck was born in Kiel and worked at a factory. He received some training at the Itzehoe police division in 1939 and joined the SS in 1940. His first postings were to the eastern front and the occupied Netherlands. In 1943, he joined the guard squads at Neuengamme. In the summer of 1943, Speck was work detail leader (*Kommandoführer*) at the brickworks,



■ ■ ■ Max Pauly, commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp, awarding medals to members of the guard squads, circa 1944. (ANg)

■ ■ ■ Alfred Trzebinski in Waffen-SS uniform, undated. (ANg)

■ ■ ■ Photographs of Adolf Speck taken by British investigators after his arrest in 1945. (TNA)



and from December 1943 he held the same position at the Walther factory. He was infamous for violently driving on the slave labourers and controlling their work. He was a personal friend of Neuengamme's commandant Max Pauly. After taking a group of 250 prisoners to Flensburg in May 1945, Speck reported to the local police station and claimed to be a policeman. He was sentenced to death in May 1946 in the first Curio-Haus Trial and executed on 8 October 1946.

Wilhelm Dreimann (1904–1946)

Reporting officer (*Rapportführer*) Wilhelm Dreimann collected the children and their carers from sickbay IVa at the Neuengamme concentration camp along with Dr Alfred Trzebinski, Heinrich Wiehagen and Adolf Speck. During the first Curio-Haus Trial, Dreimann stated that he had been given a transport

list which gave Theresienstadt as the children's destination, and his order had been to hand over the children and their carers to the Hamburg Gestapo. Former prisoners also mentioned Theresienstadt as a destination for the children. This false information was probably intended to conceal the SS's real plan of murdering the children and their carers. With the help of Wiehagen and Frahm, Dreimann hung the adult prisoners and, according to Frahm's statements, at least the first two children as well.

Dreimann was born in Osdorf near Hamburg. Because he did not make enough money as a wood carver when he was living in Detmold, he applied for a job with the state police (*Landespolizei*) in 1939 but was posted to the Neuengamme camp as a guard in 1940. He personally carried out a large number of executions at the camp and was

therefore known as the "Executioner of Neuengamme" among the prisoners. Dreimann was sentenced to death in the first Curio-Haus Trial in May 1946 and executed on 8 October 1946.

Ewald Jauch (1902–1946)

SS *Oberscharführer* Ewald Jauch was one of the men involved in murdering the children. According to his statements during his trial, he sent the children from the changing room to Trzebinski to be "inoculated". He stated that he did not know that Frahm then hanged them. Later that night, he said, he guarded the Soviet prisoners while they were undressing. Jauch tried to exonerate himself by saying his mobility had been limited due to a broken foot, which meant he could not have taken part in the murder. Johann Frahm claimed Jauch had taken the children to the room in which they were later hanged.

Jauch was from Schwenningen in the Black Forest. He was a trained salesman and joined the Nazi party in 1932 and the SS in 1934. Between 1940 and 1944, he was posted to the Neuengamme concentration camp, first as a guard and later as reporting officer (*Rapportführer*). From December 1944, he was the commander of the Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp. After the camp was evacuated in April 1945, Jauch stayed behind at the school building along with Johann Frahm. Jauch was sentenced to death in the third Curio-Haus Trial in 1946. He was executed on 11 October 1946.

Johann Frahm (1901–1946)

SS *Oberscharführer* Johann Frahm was one of the men involved in the murder of the children and, together with Heinrich Wiehagen, helped Wilhelm Dreimann hang the adult prisoners. According to Frahm's



■ ■ Wilhelm Dreimann in Waffen-SS uniform, 1 August 1941. (ANG)
■ ■ Ewald Jauch (right) and Wilhelm Dreimann in April 1941 on Neuengammer Heerweg, the street that ran past the Neuengamme concentration camp. Both SS men had started their concentration camp service at Neuengamme in 1940. (ANG)



deposition in the third Curio-Haus Trial, Dr Alfred Trzebinski had given the children an injection which had sent them to sleep. Frahm and Dreimann had then hung those children who had still shown signs of life "on hooks in the wall, like pictures." Dreimann denied he was involved. Johann Frahm was a factory worker from Kleve in the Dithmarschen region north of Hamburg. He joined the SS in 1933 and the Nazi party in 1937. In 1939, he received training as a concentration camp guard at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After a brief posting to occupied Norway, he was transferred back to Sachsenhausen. He served at Neuengamme from November 1942, and from 1944 he worked at the camp's office, where he reported to Wilhelm Dreimann. In late May 1945, Frahm went back to live with his family in Kleve, where he was arrested for his role in the murders

on Bullenhuser Damm by British investigators in late October 1945. He was taken to an internment camp in Neumünster, where he confessed to his involvement in the murders. Frahm was sentenced to death in the third Curio-Haus Trial in 1946 and executed on 11 October 1946.

Heinrich Wiehagen (1901–1945)

SS *Hauptscharführer* Heinrich Wiehagen and Johann Frahm helped Wilhelm Dreimann hang the adult prisoners in the boiler room. Wiehagen later guarded the Soviet prisoners on the lorry in the schoolyard with Adolf Speck. According to Speck, Wiehagen shot dead two of these prisoners when they tried to escape. Wiehagen was born in Oberroedingshausen in Western Germany. Before his time as a concentration camp guard, he had worked as a teacher in Duisburg. Wiehagen was among the guards aboard the prison ships in



■ ■ Johann Frahm in Waffen SS uniform, 1942. (ANg)
■ ■ Kurt Heißmeyer, undated. (BStU)

Lübeck Bay which were accidentally bombed on 3 May 1945. He was beaten to death by prisoners after he had shot at other prisoners in the water who were trying to save themselves.

Hans Friedrich Petersen (1897–1967)

SS *Unterscharführer* Hans Friedrich Petersen was born in Stuttgart. He was a driver for the Neuengamme concentration camp's mail office and drove the lorry on which the children, their carers and the first six Soviet prisoners were taken from Neuengamme to Bullenhuser Damm. After the war, Petersen was held at the British internment camp at Neuengamme because of his membership in the SS. He died in 1967 in Sønderborg in Denmark. Petersen was not tried in the Curio-Haus Trials and was never heard as a witness in later proceedings.



Later proceedings

The trial of Dr Kurt Heißmeyer

Kurt Heißmeyer, the doctor who had experimented on children and adults in the Neuengamme concentration camp, was not present at the Bullenhuser Damm school the night the children and their carers were murdered. Heißmeyer went underground in 1945 and was therefore not tried immediately. Between 1946 and 1963, he practised as a pulmonary specialist in the Soviet occupation zone, which later became GDR, and even ran his own clinic in Magdeburg. Even though the Stasi, the East German intelligence service, knew of the medical experiments he had carried out in the Neuengamme concentration camp and kept him under surveillance from the 1950s, Heißmeyer was not arrested until 1963. The prosecution obtained large amounts of evidence both from former prisoners and from Heißmeyer's own notes on the experiments,

which were recovered for the trial. During his interrogation, Heißmeyer denied that the experiments had been life threatening, but former prisoner doctors confirmed that the subjects' health had dramatically declined following the experiments. The investigators also looked into whether it had been Heißmeyer who had ordered the children to be killed. He stated that he had been at the Neuengamme concentration camp in the second half of April but had not seen the children nor any of the evidence for the experiments. However, Dr Alfred Trzebinski had stated during the Curio-Haus Trial that Heißmeyer had wanted to "get rid of" both the children and the evidence. Heißmeyer was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity in 1966 and died in the Bautzen prison in 1967.

The campaign for the prosecution of Arnold Strippel

From May 1944, Arnold Strippel was the "base leader" for Hamburg, which meant that he was in charge of all Neuengamme satellite camps in Hamburg, including the Bullenhuser Damm camp. Several of the perpetrators stated that he was involved in the Bullenhuser Damm murders. Arnold Strippel was from Unshausen in Hessen and a trained carpenter. He started his SS career in 1934 as a guard in the Sachsenburg concentration camp. Over the following years, he was posted to different concentration camps, including Buchenwald, Lublin-Majdanek in Poland, Ravensbrück and Vught in the Netherlands. Strippel went underground after the end of the war and was therefore not among the defendants in the Curio-Haus Trials. According to Alfred Trzebinski's statement during the Curio-Haus Trial, Trzebinski had

informed SS *Obersturmführer* Arnold Strippel about the order to kill the children. Trzebinski further stated that Strippel had insisted the order be carried out. In 1948, Strippel was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Frankfurt district court for crimes he had committed in the Buchenwald concentration camp. However, Strippel appealed the sentence and, in a second trial, was found guilty only of accessory to murder for his involvement in the murders at Buchenwald. He was granted an early release in 1969 and received more than 100,000 deutschmarks in compensation for "wrongful imprisonment". In the mid-1960s, the Hamburg state prosecutor's office instituted preliminary proceedings against Strippel in connection with the murders on Bullenhuser Damm, but the case was dismissed in 1967 due to "lack of evidence".

In 1980, the Hamburg public prosecutor's office reopened the case following an initiative from the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association. In 1983, Hamburg's Senator for Justice ordered the state prosecutor's office to bring charges against Strippel. In order to draw attention to the German judiciary's perceived failure in dealing with the Strippel case, the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association staged an "International Tribunal" made up of relatives of the victims, Neuengamme survivors and renowned lawyers at the Bullenhuser Damm school. In 1987, the Hamburg district court abandoned the proceedings again because the defendant was judged unfit to stand trial. Arnold Strippel died aged 83 in 1994.



■■■ Camp ID for SS Oberscharführer Arnold Strippel issued on 4 April 1935. (BArch)

■■■ French demonstrators in Hamburg demanding Strippel be put on trial. (Private photograph)

■■■ The "International Tribunal", 1986. (ANg)



COMMEMORATING THE VICTIMS

Many years passed after the end of the war until the murders of the children, their carers and the Soviet prisoners entered the wider public consciousness.

Even though the circumstances and details of the murders were sufficiently revealed during the Curio-Haus Trials in 1946 and the perpetrators who had been caught by then were sentenced to death, there was no public commemoration of the victims.

It was not until 1963 that the Hamburg Senate installed a plaque commemorating the children and their carers at the school on Bullenhuser Damm.

In 1979, a wider public debate about the murders on Bullenhuser Damm was sparked by a series of articles in the weekly news magazine *Stern*.

Journalist Günther Schwarberg had managed to find relatives of five of the murdered children and gave a detailed account of the murders and the victims. A commemorative event was held on 20 April 1979 which was also attended by relatives of the victims from outside Germany. Together with the organisers of the event from Hamburg, they founded the Children of Bullenhuser Damm association with the aim of keeping the victims' memories alive. In 1980, the association set up the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial with a first exhibition in two basement rooms at the school. Today, the memorial is one of Hamburg's important commemorative sites.



Commemorative plaque for Sergio de Simone in the memorial's rose garden, 2007. (ANG)

Post-war commemoration

When the Bullenhuser Damm school was reopened in August 1948, the students were not told about the murders.

From the late 1950s, survivors of the Neuengamme concentration camp regularly visited the school to commemorate the victims, and the murders were occasionally mentioned in books or in the press, but they did not penetrate the public consciousness.

After years of campaigning from former prisoners, Hamburg's Senator for Education Wilhelm Drexelius eventually unveiled a plaque at the school which commemorated the children and their carers in 1963. The plaque described the events of 20 April 1945 only in vague terms and did not mention the murdered Soviet prisoners.

Reconstructing the crimes

In 1978, former Neuengamme prisoner Fritz Bringmann published a book entitled "The Murders of Children on Bullenhuser Damm", but it was not until 1979, when journalist Günther Schwarberg published a series of articles on the Bullenhuser Damm murders in the West German news magazine *Stern*, that the wider German public became aware of the case. Based on available information, Schwarberg had conducted his own investigation of the murders. Schwarberg started from a list which included last names, age and sex for 19 of the 20 children, published by Danish doctor and Neuengamme survivor Henry Meyer in 1945. He also had access to photographs taken of the children at Neuengamme during the medical experiments and the stat sheets and notes in which Heißmeyer had numbered the children and noted their initials and age. During his

interrogation by East German investigators in 1963, Heißmeyer had revealed where he had hidden his files.

Schwarberg then issued search posters with photographs of the children taken during the medical experiments, which he then sent to relevant offices in France, Israel and other countries. This led to contact with the relatives of several of the children, who then gave him more information and photographs. Schwarberg's series in *Stern* ran shortly after the US miniseries *Holocaust* had been shown on West German TV. The series about the fate of a fictional German-Jewish family sparked a great deal of interest in the Holocaust in West German society and caused many to ask questions about the crimes against the Jews for the first time.

The Bullenhuser Damm Memorial

The Children of Bullenhuser Damm association, founded in 1979 by family members of the murdered children, Neuengamme survivors and some dedicated Hamburg locals, has been organising annual commemorative events since the year it was founded. Each year on 20 April, several hundred people gather at the school to commemorate the victims.

In 1980, the association opened a memorial with a small exhibition in the school's basement rooms, which the Hamburg Authority for Education had made available to them. Through its campaigns and the support of several Hamburg politicians, the association managed to acquire funding from the Hamburg City Council, although the council wanted to establish the Document Building, opened in 1981, as a central memorial to all victims of the Neuengamme concentration camp. From

- ■ ■ Unveiling of the first commemorative plaque at the school, 30 January 1963. (ANG)
- ■ ■ After his arrest in 1963, Kurt Heißmeyer told investigators of a chest he had hidden at the Hohenlychen former SS sanatorium. The chest contained his files and notes on the experiments. (BStU)
- ■ ■ Günther Schwarberg speaking at the first commemorative event on 20 April 1979. (ANG)



this starting point, the memorial was developed further in several steps.

In 1983, the association planted the rose garden at the school with the help of local students. It was further designed by artist Lili Fischer in 1985. Apart from the roses, the association also planted juniper bushes and a weeping willow as well as putting up an octagonal pergola with benches in the middle of the garden.

Small granite plaques have been attached to the garden fence. They contain short texts on the children and their carers as well as portrait photographs. In 1985, on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Neuengamme, a bronze sculpture by Anatoly Mossichuk was put up at the rose garden to commemorate the murdered Soviet prisoners. The sculpture was funded by the Soviet Ministry for Cultural

Affairs. Over the years, the commemoration of the 20 children and their four carers had overshadowed the memory of the 24 Soviet prisoners. Their murders had not been investigated in the Curio-Haus Trials in 1946, and no further efforts were made to establish their exact identities or investigate the reasons why they were murdered. During the preliminary proceedings against Arnold Strippel in the 1980s, the German investigators did finally look into these murders and got in touch with the Soviet authorities, but the identities of the victims remain unknown to this day. In 1987, the wall painting "21 April 1945, 5:00 am" by Jürgen Waller was put up in the stairwell of the memorial at the former school. After the school closed in 1987, the future of the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial seemed temporarily in jeopardy. However, it was kept open

to the public, and in 1994, a new permanent exhibition was opened in collaboration with the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial. In 1999, the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial passed under the aegis of the Hamburg Council and has been a branch of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial since. It was continually expanded and new objects and documents were added to its exhibition. In 2011, the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial was again expanded and fundamentally redesigned. A new exhibition was put up which incorporates the latest research findings and allows visitors to examine the site and its history in great depth.

Forms of commemoration

Since it was opened in 1980, large numbers of people including many school and youth groups have visited the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial to learn about the murders and their aftermath and to commemorate the victims.

Over recent decades, the history of the murders and the biographies of the murdered children have received widespread international attention, and today the children are commemorated all over the world.

Apart from the annual commemorative events on 20 April at the memorial, other forms of commemoration have also developed in Hamburg over the years: Since 1992, several streets, a park and a children's playhouse on a newly developed housing estate in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel have been named after victims of the Bullenhuser Damm murders. A second commemorative event is held there on



- ■ ■ Students during the construction of the rose garden in 1983. (ANg)
- ■ ■ Monument to the murdered Soviet prisoners at the entrance to the rose garden, 20 April 1985. (ANg)
- ■ ■ Günther Schwarberg with Riwka Herszberg's cousin Ella Kozłowski (2nd from the right) on Riwka-Herszberg-Stieg in Burgwedel, 1993. (ANg)



20 April every year. Hamburg's state-owned Thalia Theatre has produced several plays on the murders with groups of teenagers and adults, the topic is taught in schools, and groups of students regularly stage plays or readings on the murders or exhibit arts projects at the memorial.

The fate of the 20 children has shocked and engaged the minds of many people all over the world. It has been covered widely in the press and on television and become the subject of books and plays. A playground with a rose

garden in Verona and a school in Naples were named after Sergio de Simone in 1996 and 1997 respectively, and since 2007 a park in the city centre of Milan has been dedicated to the memory of the 20 children. Commemorative events are held at the Hornemann Brothers Park in Eindhoven in the Netherlands, and a travelling exhibition on the murders was shown in France in 2008. Biographies of the children are presented in the Auschwitz museum and in many other memorials all over the world.

Chronicle

- 1910** The school on Bullenhuser Damm is opened
- 1933** 30 January: The Nazis take power
- 1935** The Nuremberg Laws are passed
- 1938** 9 November: Kristallnacht pogroms against the Jewish population in Germany
13 December: The Neuengamme concentration camp is established
- 1939** 1 September: Germany invades Poland; outbreak of World War II
- 1941** Ghettos for Jews are established in Poland
- 1942** The Wannsee Conference is held in Berlin
- 1943** Large-scale Allied bombing raids on Hamburg
27/28 July: The district of Rothenburgsort is destroyed
- 1944** 26 November: The 20 children are taken from Auschwitz to the Neuengamme concentration camp
December: The Bullenhuser Damm satellite camp is established
- 1945** 27 January: The Red Army liberates Auschwitz
20 April: Murders on Bullenhuser Damm. The Swedish Red Cross completes its White Buses rescue campaign
3 May: Hamburg surrenders to British forces
Almost 7,000 Neuengamme prisoners die in Lübeck Bay
8 May: End of the war in Europe
The book *Rapport fra Neuengamme* which lists the names of 19 of the children is published in Denmark.



- ■ Article in French magazine L'événement du Jeudi about the naming of Georges-André-Kohn-Straße in Hamburg ("A street will bear the name of a French Jewish child martyred by the Nazis."), published on 26 June 1992.
- ■ The school on Bullenhuser Damm in June 1945. (ANG)



- 1946** 3 May: Three of the perpetrators are sentenced to death by a British military tribunal in the first Curio-Haus Trial
31 July: Two more perpetrators are sentenced to death by a British military tribunal in the third Curio-Haus Trial
- 1948** A prison is established in Neuengamme at the site of the former concentration camp. The Bullenhuser Damm school is reopened
- 1963** 30 January: The first commemorative plaque is unveiled at the school
- 1965** Official opening of the International Monument at Neuengamme
- 1966** Kurt Heißmeyer is sentenced to life imprisonment in East Germany
- 1967** The Hamburg state prosecutor's office abandons the proceedings against Arnold Strippel
- 1979** 22 to 26 January: The *Holocaust* mini-series is shown on West German TV
8 March to 12 April: Günther Schwarberg's feature story "The SS Doctor and the Children" is published in weekly instalments in *Stern* magazine
The Children of Bullenhuser Damm association is founded
- 1980** The association opens the first exhibition in the basement of the Bullenhuser Damm school
- 1981** The Document Building with an exhibition on the Neuengamme concentration camp is opened at the site of the former camp
- 1983** The rose garden is opened
- 1985** The monument to the murdered Soviet prisoners is unveiled
- 1986** The International Tribunal against Arnold Strippel is held at the school
- 1987** The Bullenhuser Damm school is closed
- 1992** The first streets in the Hamburg district of Burgwedel are named after Bullenhuser Damm victims
- 1995** The President of the Hamburg Parliament receives relatives of the murdered children at Hamburg City Hall
- 1999** The Bullenhuser Damm Memorial passes under the aegis of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial
- 2001** An exhibition about the Bullenhuser Damm children is shown at Hamburg City Hall
- 2005** The Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial is reopened after significant expansion and redesign works with a new permanent exhibition and a centre for international exchange and historical studies at the site of the former prisoners' compound
- 2011** 20 April: The newly expanded and redesigned Bullenhuser Damm Memorial opens with a new exhibition



■ ■ ■ Philippe and Denise Kohn in the basement of the Bullenhuser Damm school on 20 April 1979. (StA HH)

■ ■ ■ Monument to the murdered children on Roman-Zeller-Platz in Burgwedel, 13 July 2001. (ANG)

■ ■ ■ Main exhibition at the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial in 2010. (ANG)



THE MEMORIAL TODAY

On 20 April 2011, a new permanent exhibition was opened at the expanded Bullenhuser Damm Memorial. The exhibition focuses on the murders of the 20 children and at least 28 adults but also includes information on the history of the building both as a school and as a satellite camp, the persecution of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe and the medical experiments at the Neuengamme concentration camp. Other subjects it touches on are the history of the site after 1945, the prosecution of the perpetrators, the commemoration of the murder victims and the development of the memorial itself. A central design element of the exhibition is a curved platform with 20 suitcases which contain information on the lives of the children and

their families. In another room, visitors can explore the history of the site further by looking at written documents and photographs or listening to interviews with relatives of the murdered children at computer terminals. This section of the exhibition is designed to encourage exploratory learning.

The basement rooms in which the murders were committed have been left empty. Quotes from statements made by the perpetrators during the Curio-Haus Trials in 1946 have been put on the walls to illustrate how the murders took place. With its wealth of information in panels, documents, photographs and interviews, the exhibition is well suited to educational group visits. The Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial's educational staff

are available for guided tours and project seminars at the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial. Project seminars allow smaller groups to examine particular aspects or individual biographies in more detail. The memorial also has a seminar room for group discussions. Customized

projects can be arranged for school and youth groups. Students are also given the opportunity to exhibit their own artworks or projects on the subject at the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial.



Suitcases containing biographical information on the children and their families, 2011. Photograph by M. Kottmeier (ANG)

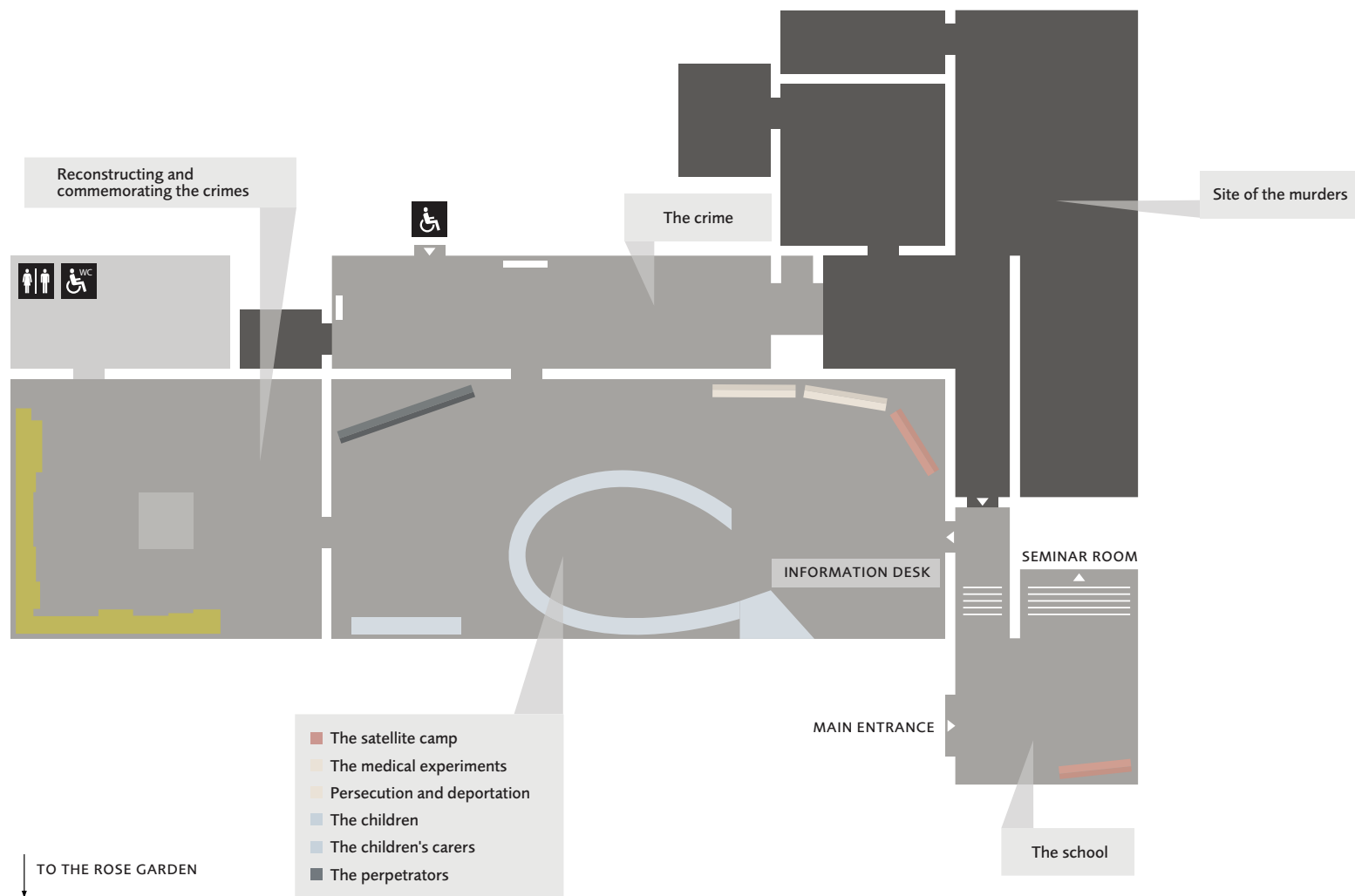


■ ■ Exhibition section on reconstructing and commemorating the murders with interviews and audio points, 2011. Photograph by Michael Kottmeier. (ANG)
 ■ ■ Students from the Büchen comprehensive school planting roses at the rose garden in 2009. (Private photograph)



For more information on the memorial's educational programme, please contact Dr Iris Groschek
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Map of the Bullenhuser Damm Memorial



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Hamburg State Archive: Bestände 213–11 Staatsanwaltschaft Landgericht Strafsachen, 332–5 Standesämter, 353–2 II Wohnungsamt II, 361–2 VI Oberschulbehörde VI, 361–3 Schulwesen Personalakten

Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives, Berlin: Heißmeyer trial records
International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen: Children's and correspondence files.

Abbreviations (photo credits)

ANg	Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial archive
BArch	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BStU	Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives, Berlin
DA HH	Denkmalschutzamt Hamburg (Hamburg Office for the Preservation of Historical Buildings)
IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
MOL	Musée de l'Ordre de la Libération, Paris
MDF	Museum of Danish Resistance 1940–1945, Copenhagen
NIOD	Dutch Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam
StA HH	Hamburg State Archive
TNA	The National Archives, London
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D. C.

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Opening hours and guided tours

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 Bullenhuser Damm 92
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 Germany
 Rothenburgsort urban railway station
 Lines S2 and S21

OPENING HOURS:

Sundays, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.
 and by prior arrangement
 Admission is free

GUIDED TOURS AND PROJECT SEMINARS:

To book tours or seminars, please contact
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 (Museumsdienst Hamburg) at:
 Phone: +49 (0)40 428131-0
www.museumsdienst-hamburg.de

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