Panikos Panayi

Victims, Perpetrators and Bystanders[1] in a German Town: The Jews of Osnabrück Before, During and After the Third Reich

History, Memory and Sources

Studies of Jews in early twentieth-century Germany have become legion, especially over the years covering the Third Reich. Indeed, nearly seven decades after the Nazis seized power, virtually every aspect of their history has received the most detailed attention, not just at a national level but also at a local and individual level. This detailed research has filtered through to the English language historiography so that some of the best work in English has used local or regional case studies, above all that of Eric Johnson and Robert Gellately, which focused upon the examples of Krefeld and Würzburg respectively.[2]

The town of Osnabrück, in western Lower Saxony, provides a good example of the detail with which the history of all aspects of the Third Reich has received attention. It also offers a good case study of the history of a German town before, during and after the Nazis, because it mirrored other medium-sized settlements in Germany in its population size and composition and in its economic, social and political development. In 1929 the town numbered 93,800 inhabitants, making it the fifty-second largest settlement in Germany out of a list of ninety-two with over 50,000 provided by the German statistical office.[3] By 1949 Osnabrück had become the forty-sixth largest settlement in the Federal Republic, with 97,745 residents, out of a list of 427 with over 10,000.[4]

In ethnic terms the town counted a population structure not untypical of others of its size. It housed a small Jewish popula-

European History Quarterly Copyright © 2003 SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, Vol. 33(4), 451–492.
[0265-6914(200310)33:4;451–492;040011]

tion when the Nazis seized power, resembling the size of Jewish communities outside the big cities, counting just 435 in 1933, or 0.45 per cent of the population of the town, as well as an even smaller Romany grouping. These minorities would virtually disappear by 1945. In their place came a far larger number of foreign workers and prisoners of war from Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, France, Holland and Belgium, a small percentage of whom would remain in the town after 1945. Once hostilities ceased there followed several thousand German refugees who came mostly from parts of Eastern Germany ceded to Poland.

Economically, the main activities of Osnabrück included textile production, metallurgy and engineering. During the course of the Nazi period and, especially, during the war, it became, like most other German towns and cities, a centre of arms production, which explained the severity of the bombing it experienced. The postwar years involved a rebuilding of the old industries. In political terms, Osnabrück followed the pattern of other urban settlements in Germany between 1929 and 1949 with the Nazis becoming the largest party by 1933. At the end of the war the town went through the Allied (in this case British)-led democratization process which characterized the whole of West Germany, with the population rejecting its former Nazi allegiances.[5]

The historiography of the town before, during and after the Nazis reveals that local enthusiasts have studied virtually all aspects of its history. Scholars and students at the University, above all those working with the Professor of Modern History, Klaus J. Bade, have deeply involved themselves in this process. The first major published studies of the period covering the Third Reich appeared in the 1960s, when Karl Kühling wrote two books on the subject, dealing with the years 1925–45.[6] More recently, another local historian, Wido Spratte, has published two books focusing upon the social history of the town, more specifically the effects of bombing and the situation of Osnabrück during the postwar dislocation which followed the bombing and British takeover.[7] Subsequently, a study of the postwar refugees who moved to the town has appeared, edited from the Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien at the University.[8]

This last volume indicates a further development which has taken place in the historiography of Osnabrück: the increasing

focus upon specific subject areas and groups. This partly results from the efforts of the local historical journal, the *Osnabrücker Mitteilungen*, edited by the director of the archive, Gerd Steinwascher, which has published focused scholarly articles on the Nazi period and its aftermath for several decades. Steinwascher has also compiled one of the most important volumes on the town and the surrounding administrative district during the Third Reich, consisting of the reports produced by the local Gestapo between 1933 and 1939.[9]

The present article evolves from a microhistory of Osnabrück between 1929 and 1949, examining the experiences of all ethnic groups in the town, both majorities and minorities. The approach is that of *Alltagsgeschichte*, or the history of everyday life, a form of German social history which involves piecing together the experiences of ordinary people, usually at the local level, to build a broader picture and to get to grips with 'real life'.[10] This approach has become particularly important in the study of Nazi Germany,[11] so that the historiography of Osnabrück discussed above has its reflection in virtually every German town and city and of individual population groups and experiences within them.

Reconstructing the history of everyday life in Osnabrück during the years under consideration has involved the use of a wide variety of sources in the town archive, as well as in archives in Münster, Hannover, Freiburg and London which held information relevant to the project. In addition, it makes use of twenty-six interviews involving thirty-three people, together with a variety of local newspapers which came and went with the changing regimes from Weimar to Nazism to occupation by British forces.

Three phases perfectly sum up the experiences of German Jewry in the years between 1933 and 1945. In chronological order Jews faced loss of civil rights, expulsion and extermination.[12] From a community remaining, in many ways, distinct from mainstream German society because of its ethnic and economic differences, precisely the reasons why the Nazis and their anti-Semitic predecessors had singled out the group, Jews virtually disappeared from German towns by the early stages of the Second World War as a result of emigration, deportation and murder.

Our concern lies with the realities of the deprivation of civil rights, deportation and extermination for both German Jews and

gentiles in Osnabrück. While the Jews in this town consisted of 'victims', bystanders made up much of the German population. In the case of Osnabrück, trials carried out after the Second World War had ended revealed that only a few locals consisted of 'Hitler's willing executioners'.[13] In fact, many of those responsible for the deportations did not even come from Osnabrück. Interviews of residents in the town during our period also reveal the presence of individuals prepared to stand up to Nazi thugs by ignoring their orders and laws. Clearly, the interviewing process did not discover any perpetrators because such people do not traditionally make themselves available for discussions with historians.

The present article fits into an enormous historiographical tradition, which has encompassed virtually all aspects of the life of German Jewry in the years l 933–45. On the one hand we have monumental studies examining the national picture.[14] On the other, virtually every Jewish community of any size has had its history written in the period 1933–45, usually by a local enthusiast or enthusiasts who have often produced empirical studies of the highest quality, although on other occasions outsiders, including Americans, have written such works. In many cases the history of the Nazi period forms part of longer-term accounts of Jews in particular locations.[15]

From our own perspective, Marion Kaplan has produced a major study which looks at the reality of everyday life for Jews in Nazi Germany based upon a wide range of primary and secondary sources.[16] The title of her book, *Between Dignity and Despair*, represents the reality of Jewish life in Nazi Germany. Jews did not simply experience suffering, but also attempted to ignore the all-embracing racism and the threat of deportation and emigration surrounding individuals and to live life with some dignity and normality. The existence of published and unpublished accounts of German Jews under the Third Reich have allowed the reconstruction of reality under the Nazis,[17] as has interviewing.[18]

The Jews of Osnabrück have received considerable attention from local historians, which eases the reconstruction of their lives in the years 1929–49. The survival of official documentation also facilitates this process. Similarly, the history of Osnabrück Jewry in the Nazi period remains fresh in the minds of people who lived in the town at the time. The sample of people interviewed nearly

all had some memory of the local Jews, often revealing their abhorrence at the treatment of this ethnic minority in their midst. The Germans interviewed included several bystanders, although they might more accurately merit the description of innocents because of their age.

The published material provides much information on the evolution of Osnabrück Jewry. The earliest significant work consists of a brief account covering the whole history of the local community commemorating the reopening of the synagogue in 1969.[19] There then followed another brief, unpublished, account by K. Brenner, held in the local archive, covering the whole history of the community.[20] The first significant and detailed account of the community, by Karl Kühling, which moves from the medieval period to 'The Great Death', appeared in 1983, a standard competent political and social history of the type produced by this scholar.[21] The year 1988 saw the appearance of a book focusing on the Nazi period by Junk and Sellmeyer. This will remain the standard work on the subject and represents one of the best studies on a local German Jewish community under the Nazis because of the meticulous detail and thorough research involved. In an appendix, the authors have provided details of the fate of every Jew living in the town at the start of the Nazi period. The volume reappeared in 1989 and 2000.[22] Perhaps because of the rigour of this volume, relatively little has appeared on Osnabrück Jewry since 1988, with the exception of an article jointly authored by Martina Sellmeyer (now Krause) and Michael Gander.[23] More importantly, Osnabrück's most significant Jewish son, and one of the major artists of the Holocaust, Felix Nussbaum, has had a large book written about him.[24]

The chronology of the above volumes strikes us and confirms the silence about the Holocaust, which existed in Germany in the early postwar decades. By the time the volume by Junk and Sellmeyer had appeared at the end of the 1980s, discussion about the murder of German Jewry, as well as research into the theme, had become mainstream. This reflects the centrality of the memory of the Holocaust in postwar German national consciousness on both a national and civic level.[25] The town square in Osnabrück has two plaques which commemorate the victims of the Nazis. One of these lists the Jews deported from the town while the other contains the names of Romanies who suffered the same fate.

The availability of both published and unpublished material on the fate of Osnabrück Jewry allows us to reconstruct its history from the 1920s until the 1940s. While the original Jewish community seems to have almost completely disappeared by the end of the Second World War, a rebirth of Osnabrück Jewry occurred almost immediately, as a result of the return of a small number of survivors and the presence of some Polish and Yugoslav Jews imported as foreign workers and prisoners of war respectively between 1939 and 1945. We can contextualize the history of Osnabrück Jewry in the years 1929–49 against the background of the national picture. The survival of much archival evidence as well as the memory of Jews by many gentiles allows us to take a twin approach. In the first place, we can outline the fate of the victims, Osnabrück Jewry, against the background of the rise of anti-Semitism. Secondly, we can examine the views and actions of Germans. These consisted of perpetrators, who carried out the deportations, and bystanders, who felt they could do nothing, usually because of their age.

Osnabrück Jewry before 1929

The history of Osnabrück Jewry until the end of the Weimar Republic reflects that of German Jewry elsewhere. This involved medieval settlement, persecution and expulsion, resettlement at some time in the early modern or modern period, and emancipation and movement into the local business élites during the nineteenth century. A medieval community existed from the start of the fourteenth century until the beginning of the fifteenth, when it faced expulsion. Consequently, between about 1431 and 1800 Osnabrück and the areas around it remained *Judenrein*,[26] therefore resembling similar sized settlements elsewhere in Germany, with an early modern history without Jews.[27] The development of the modern community in Osnabrück began in the early nineteenth century against the background of the emancipation of the Jews taking place throughout Germany. By 1809 the town acted as home to at least ten Jews. Full emancipation did not occur in Hanover (where Osnabrück lay) until 1850, much later than in many other German provinces. By 1871 a total of 138 Jews lived in the town, increasing to 397 by 1900, when they made up 0.8 per cent of the total population.[28] The growth of the Jewish

population in Osnabrück meant, as elsewhere, the development of a predominantly middle-class community, over-represented in the professions and in trade and commerce.[29]

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, German Jewry reached its zenith. While anti-Semitism remained a potent force, both before and during the Weimar Republic, people of Jewish faith had become central figures in the economic, cultural and political establishment in the new regime established at the end of the First World War. Although the economic crisis affected them, they remained a section of the population over-represented at the higher echelons of German society and overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas, particularly the big cities. Their middle-class status also meant that they had an older age structure than the rest of the population.[30]

An examination of Osnabrück Jewry in the early part of the twentieth century reveals similar patterns to the national picture. One of the main differences consists of the small size of the local population, although, as 1,600 synagogue communities existed in the country as a whole, living outside the bigger populations of Berlin, Frankfurt, Breslau and Munich also represented normality for Jews in the three decades before the Nazis came to power. The size of Osnabrück Jewry would determine some aspects of its development, although the general picture after 1933 remained similar to that in other parts of Germany. The year 1906 represented an important one in the evolution of modern Osnabrück Jewry because of the opening of the synagogue in Rolandstraße, which the SA would symbolically destroy on 9 November 1938.[31]

Following the national pattern, Osnabrück Jewry witnessed an increase in numbers during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as Table 1 indicates. While the size of Osnabrück Jewry differs in scale and proportion of population from the larger communities,[32] the evolution of this size mirrors the national pattern. The declining proportion would reflect the middle-class status of the local Jews, meaning lower birth rates, exogamy, and, after 1925, migration to other locations.

The occupational patterns of Osnabrück Jewry reflect the national picture, with an overwhelming middle-class community which had moved into commercial occupations during the emancipation era. Two lists of members of the Jewish community in the Osnabrück Staatsarchiv[33] suggest that hardly any of the

Table 1
Growth of the Jewish Community of Osnabrück, 1880–1933

Year	Total population	Jewish population	Jewish percentage of population
1880	33,000	394	1.20
1885	36,000	398	1.10
1890	40,000	423	1.05
1895	45,000	408	0.90
1900	51,000	397	0.80
1905	60,000	474	0.80
1910	66,000	399	0.60
1925	90,000	454	0.50
1933	95,000	435	0.45

Source: Peter Junk and Martina Sellmeyer, *Stationen auf dem Weg nach Auschwitz: Entrechtung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Juden in Osnabrück*, third edition (Osnabrück 2000), 11.

Jewish community involved themselves in any other than middle-class occupations by the 1920s. The figures for 1923 (see Table 2) reveal the overwhelmingly bourgeois pattern. Four years later the pattern remains the same (see Table 3). The figures from both tables reveal that Osnabrück Jewry found itself highly concentrated in the commercial sector, with the largest occupational group consisting broadly of businessmen. Unlike other locations in Germany, Jews made relatively limited inroads into the professions, with few doctors or lawyers. The presence of just one person involved in the arts points to the status of Osnabrück as a cultural backwater compared with Berlin or some of the other major cities where Jews had a profound impact on the arts. The information available also concentrates on male occupations. Those in Table 2 exclusively so. The list of Jewish parishioners for 1927 also lists women and children. The overwhelming majority of the women simply attract the description of 'wife'. The two exceptions consist of a managing clerk, Johanna Blumenfeld, of Markt 18, and a doctor, Sophie Prag, of Wesereschstraße 22.

As local anti-Semites would emphasize, and as Tables 1–3 suggest, Osnabrück Jewry played a large role in local retailing, particularly the ownership of department stores, concentrated in Grosse Straße, the main shopping street in the town. In 1927, at

Table 2
Occupations of Osnabrück Jews in 1923

Occupation	Number of Jews involved
Barber	1
Lawyer	3
Opera director	1
Businessman	47
Railway assistant	1
Cattle and horse dealers	18
Managing clerk	1
Factory owner	1
Furniture dealer	1
General agent	1
Credit broker	1
Dentist	1
Butcher	2
Auctioneer	1
Pensioner	1
Bookkeeper	1
Shoe shop owner	4
Hat factory owner	1
Shopkeeper	3
Saddle maker	1
Teacher	1
Antique dealer	1
Factory manager	1
Engineer	1
Decorator	1

Source: NSO Dep-3b-IV-2170.

the age of 23, the artist Felix Nussbaum still lived with his father, the businessman Philip Nussbaum, in the family villa in Schlossstraße. Philip ran an ironware business with his cousin Simon Coessels. The success of the business allowed Philip to build the residence in Schlossstraße in 1922.[34]

The files listing the occupations of Osnabrück Jews also give information on their residential patterns, pointing to a concentration in the city centre and reflecting the national pattern with at least two thirds of German Jewry 'living in sophisticated, upper-middle class districts' of cities.[35] In the case of Osnabrück, the main area of residence lay around the palace, as the list of synagogue members from 1927 indicates. Johanisstraße repre-

Table 3
Occupations of Osnabrück Jews in 1927

Occupation	Number of Jews involved
Banker	1
Horse and cattle dealers	10
Businessmen	65
Factory owner	1
Managing clerk	3
Auctioneer	1
Precentor	1
Student	4
Lawyer	2
Rabbi	1
Pensioner	1
Doctor	2
Butcher	1
Railway assistant	1
Teacher	1
Business manager	1
Stage director	1
Business assistant	1

Source: NSO Dep-3b-IV-2169.

sented a particularly popular street. Jews remained largely absent from the working-class areas of Sutthausen or Schinckel.[36]

The list of synagogue members from 1927 also provides information on the family structure of Osnabrück Jewry. In all, 165 family units existed, many of them with several children, although the information also suggests the presence of numerous households with just one person, often a widow. While we cannot provide an exact age structure for Osnabrück Jewry, we can build a picture of the size of households. As Table 4 indicates, the local community had a typically bourgeois family structure. Out of 165 units, fifty-eight lived on their own, consisting of one third of the total. These would include both widows and widowers together with younger people. Of the eighty-four family units, making up half of the total, the most common consist of either one or two children, far outnumbering those with three or more children. At the end of the Weimar Republic, German and Osnabrück Jewry therefore consisted of a mature middle-class

Table 4
Size of Jewish Households in Osnabrück in 1927

Size of household	Number of cases
1 person	58
2 people	20
3 people	2
4 people	1
Couple or one parent with 1 child	28
Couple or one parent with 2 children	35
Couple or one parent with 3 children	15
Couple or one parent with 4 children	3
Couple or one parent with 5 children	3

Source: NSO Dep-3b-IV-2169.

community, distinct in terms of its occupational structure, its residence patterns and its family structure.

In addition, the existence of distinct ethnic organizations, partly developed as a reaction against anti-Semitism and partly evolving for religious reasons, also helped to distinguish Jews from their German neighbours. While the Jewish community of Osnabrück may have divided into Orthodox, Reform and Conservative, its size prevented the evolution of separate services. Individual families chose the extent to which they practised and adhered to their religion and its rituals, including attendance of services. The synagogue also had a school attached to it. This played an important role in the maintenance of Jewish identification. The local community had evolved all manner of secular organizations during the course of the emancipation process and these increased in number under the Weimar Republic, partly as a reaction against rising anti-Semitism. During the nineteenth century several welfare bodies had emerged, including one concerned with women. The Association for Jewish Literature and Culture existed from 1913. The fact that the Osnabrücker Tennis Association did not allow Jews as members led to the establishment of the Jewish Tennis Association. Similarly, the expulsion of Jewish members from the Osnabrück Sports Association in 1924 led to the foundation of the Jewish Sports Association. In addition, a series of youth organizations also existed in Osnabrück. However, we would be wrong to view Jewish society as completely distinct from the rest of the population in the town.

Jews played a major role in the local economy, while some of the minority became members of the numerous Vereine in the town and had predominantly gentile friends.[37]

Anti-Semitism During the Weimar Republic

'Anti-Semitism was endemic to Weimar Germany'[38] and its manifestations countless. At a time of crisis in the form of the economic depression and the consequences of defeat in 1918, Jews became the scapegoats for all of Germany's ills for those who could not delve deep enough into the real causes of the country's problems. At the start of the Weimar Republic there existed 400 völkisch organizations together with 700 anti-Semitic journals,[39] while all manner of organizations had begun boycotting Jews by the early 1920s. One of the most potent manifestations of the hatred of the Jews, connected especially with the rise of the Nazis, consisted of violence, especially the desecration of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. The Nazis and their anti-Semitic ideas increasingly impacted upon the national consciousness after 1929 as the party made its electoral breakthroughs. Attacks upon Jews, and their synagogues and cemeteries, became everyday occurrences.[40]

In Osnabrück, the small size of the Jewish minority meant that it could offer less resistance than the bigger communities in the larger cities. It appears that both the synagogue and the cemetery faced desecration in 1927.[41] Just before Christmas 1928, the NSDAP launched a campaign against the purchasing of goods from Jewish shops, which involved the distribution of leaflets, one of which carried a picture of the way in which Jewish shops had allegedly taken over the central area of Osnabrück over the previous half century. It declared: 'Whoever gives his money to Jews, strikes himself with his own fists'. The leaflet asked: 'In fifty years time will the productive German live in backhouses and cellars?' Other leaflets called for a demonstration against department stores.[42]

In the last years of the Weimar Republic Jews still had power to defend themselves, which the Third Reich would take away. Following a pattern established at the end of the nineteenth century by the Zentralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, an Osnabrück businessman, Ischel Schleimer took out

legal action against Dr Marxer, the local Nazi leader, and his publisher, Wilhelm Hildebrandt, for libelling him and other Jewish businessmen. He won the case resulting in a fine of 220 Reichsmarks for Marxer and twenty for Hildebrandt.[43]

Although the Nazis may have continued their anti-Semitic activity between 1929 and 1933 in Osnabrück, the Stadtwächter, a local anti-Semitic group led by a quack doctor, Heinrich Schierbaum, became equally responsible for the spread of hatred of the Jews. Anti-Semitism represented a core theme in the propaganda of the group. It did not develop the racial sophistication of the Nazis, although similar racial ideas certainly surfaced, but focused, instead, upon the issues which concerned the local lower middle classes such as the financial power of the Jews, which would have played a large role in the spread of popular hostility towards this minority in the town. For instance, the front page of its eponymous newspaper, the *Stadtwächter*, of 9 June 1929 carried the following headline: 'Germany in the Paws of International Capital. Pensioners in Need at a Time of Public Extravagance'. While not focusing upon the Jews, but rather upon the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles for German family income, the use of the phrase 'international capital' carried a particular meaning. A few weeks later the newspaper became more overt in its anti-Semitism, carrying an article which linked Jews with venereal disease amongst Germans.[44] Even more startling, pointing to the direction which the Stadtwächter would take, a text box appeared on 25 August, reading as follows: 'Warning! Every Christian who takes even a penny to a Jew is a traitor to his religion and his people. He strengthens the power of the brutal Jewish slave holder.' Underneath in bold letters followed the words 'Middle Classes! Middle Classes!' In December 1929 the *Stadtwächter,* imitating the NSDAP campaign of the previous year, chose to run with the festive theme of 'Christian Christmas — Jewish Profit'. One article returned to biblical themes, declaring:

> It is a true Christian duty to buy the symbols of love and the celebration of Christ's birth from Christians. Otherwise Christmas has lost its meaning and nobody has the slightest right to call themselves a Christian or even a German . . .
>
> For the last time: Keep Jewish greed towards Christmas at bay. At least shop from Christians at Christmas.[45]

Another article came with an illustration of a stereotyped Jew

hanging the Stadtwächter and the leader of the local NSDAP, Dr Marxer, on his Christmas tree as festive decorations.[46] In electioneering during the summer of 1930 the newspaper turned to another classic anti-Semitic stereotype of linking Jews with left-wing politics and the SPD. An article on 'Jews in German Politics' pointed their influence from Karl Marx to Walther Rathenau,[47] while another front-page headline ran: 'German Workers, Open Your Eyes!' A subtitle to the article which followed wrote of 'Social Democracy, the Guards of Jewish Capital'.[48] More menacingly, another piece carried the title: 'The Jewish Question and its Solution'. It ran:

> The Jewish question has never had as much urgency as it does today. It has always been a problem throughout the centuries, which needed to be solved but the situation in all states was still to a large extent bearable. But now the Jewish question violently demands a solution in republican chaos . . .
>
> As the Jews have brought the whole of the Reich into disorder the Jewish question will be solved. The solution will not be comfortable for the Jews.[49]

Actually measuring the influence of such writing on the local Jewish community proves difficult, but it would clearly have made them more conspicuous to those who had not thought about the position of this minority within the town. However, while documentary evidence does not survive to allow us to break down the readership of the *Stadtwächter,* we can assume that it was, to some extent, preaching to the converted, i.e. small shopkeepers, who felt threatened by the presence of Jewish department stores, a constituency to which the Nazis appealed.

But the *Stadtwächter* did not have everything its own way as far as the spread of anti-Semitism is concerned. A newspaper appeared in February 1930 to oppose the organization. Although it lasted for just two editions, a piece in the second under the title of 'The Germans and the Jews' concluded, in a rather ambiguous fashion:

> We are of the opinion that it is very important for us Germans to learn from the Jews how to stick together, how to become harmonious and how to become enterprising, daring business people. If we better mastered these virtues the struggle against the Jews would not be necessary. If we mastered these virtues we would have won the struggle against the Jews. It is enough that we are Germans, that we consider ourselves as Germans and conduct ourselves in a German manner.[50]

The Elimination of the Jews

The anti-Semitic manifestations of the final years of the Weimar Republic simply prepared the way for the more dramatic actions which the Nazis would take once they seized control of the state. Germans now had a regime which turned the clock back. Initially, it simply went back to the middle of the eighteenth century, the period before emancipation. However, with the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of 1938, Germany returned to medieval anti-Semitic barbarity. Once the Second World War broke out, the Nazis began to move forward to methods of brutality unseen in European history as their march into Poland and the Soviet Union resulted in the introduction of factory killing.

The new regime acted against the Jews immediately using both legislation and force, a combination which directed all aspects of Nazi policy until the outbreak of the Second World War, when all pretence to legality disappeared. Violence intensified in the first few months of 1933. In Worms, for instance, 'Jewish stores were tear-gassed' on 12 February, while, on 9 March, several Jews were brutally beaten by contingents of the local SA. Similar incidents occurred in the town throughout March.[51] In the Upper Silesian town of Cosel, a group of Nazis fired shots into the houses and businesses of Jews on 23 February. In Breslau, on 13 March, Jewish lawyers and judges 'were dragged from court-rooms while cases were being heard, and some of the unfortunate victims were beaten'.[52]

Osnabrück does not appear to have experienced such incidents in March but, like the rest of the country, it participated in Boycott Day on 1 April, called by the new regime against Jewish businesses on 28 March, with the aim of forcing out Jews for the benefit of their rivals. Previous publicity, particularly in newspapers, as well as in the form of posters outside Jewish shops, had alerted local residents of the action before 1 April in settlements of all sizes throughout Germany.[53]

The Osnabrück press reported the events. Of 31 March we learn:

> The protest movement against Jewish businesses, lawyers and doctors began yesterday afternoon in Osnabrück, as in many other cities. At 4 pm SA people went to the businesses in question and erected display boards outside the entrances. At the same time a large gang marched through the streets with placards encouraging a boycott. No unforeseen events occurred.[54]

On the day itself:

> At 10 o'clock there appeared SA people in uniform outside the shops in question carrying placards in their hands and placing them outside the shop windows advising about the character of the boycott and its necessity as a defence against the Jewish-Marxist foreign propaganda. In total 42 businesses in the town were affected by these measures. At the same time various persons who, despite the boycott, made purchases in the shops, had their pictures taken. In the morning the pictures taken on Friday were already being displayed in Kolkmeyer in Georgstrasse.
>
> While these actions were being implemented by the SA the SS were taking action against Jewish lawyers and doctors. Four man patrols appeared before the consultation rooms and declared that the entrances were occupied . . .
>
> During the course of the morning a number of Jewish businessmen, doctors and lawyers were taken into protective custody and handed over to the political police.[55]

But those arrested soon regained their liberty as the Nazi regime did not use concentration camps for any length of time at this stage in its history. Although some Germans displayed indignation at the actions of the new regime[56] the activities of 1 April did 'legitimise anti-Jewish measures in the economic field',[57] with the ultimate aim of eradicating the minority from economic life in Germany.

The street actions went together with legislation against the Jewish communities. The most significant measure at this early stage of the new regime consisted of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, which dismissed non-Aryans, overwhelmingly Jews, from government — including academic — employment.[58] This had a limited impact on Osnabrück Jewry because, as we have seen, the overwhelming majority of the local community worked as self-employed businessmen. Perhaps the most important of the 400 laws introduced against the Jews were the Nuremberg Laws, which forbade Germans from marrying or having sexual relations with Jews, Gypsies or Negroes and restricted citizenship to those with 'German blood'.[59] Those people who had mixed German and Jewish ancestry could claim citizenship depending on their level of Germanness.[60]

Between 1933 and 1938 Jews in most towns in the Reich lived a life which involved a level of stability, even though this meant a deterioration in their economic position and their constant victimization through propaganda, which could result in outbreaks of violence against them. While they may have made the best of their situations, the legislation introduced against them

could have left them in no doubt about their position as pariahs in the new German order. This reality meant that many Jews attempted to challenge their legal position.

Jews also had no doubt about their new pariah status because of the Nazi propaganda machine, which publicized their position as such at both the national and local level. Book burning campaigns, which singled out publications by Jewish authors, made the status of the minority clear, as did copies of *Der Stürmer*, available in every town and village. Similarly, the entire population would have received reports about speeches made by Hitler attacking Jews through the well developed newsreel and radio broadcasts.[61] Furthermore, numerous books appeared on the position of the Jews.[62]

As well as these nationwide developments, local anti-Semitic initiatives also emphasized the pariah status of the Jews, particularly through the publication of newspaper articles and the holding of rallies. While articles on the Jews did not appear on a regular basis in the local press before November 1938, a daily trawl through the Osnabrück newspapers reveals some pieces attacking the Jews. Interestingly, anti-Semitism worked retrospectively even on a local level, as revealed in a piece in the *Osnabrücker Tageblatt* from 23 July 1936 linking an outbreak of theft in the town in 1769 with the arrival of 'Begging Jews'. Two years later, on 17 July 1938, the *Neue Volksblätter* published a piece which appeared in the *Völkische Beobachter* the day before, claiming to have discovered a paper revealing a Jewish plan to take over Germany and published with the front page headline of: 'A Document of Jewish Hatred'.

Local anti-Semitic rallies must have proved more frightening to the local Jewish community. For instance, 'A Mass Rally on the Jewish Question'[63] took place on 20 August 1935, the local manifestation of a 1935 anti-Semitic campaign, which culminated in the Nuremberg Laws in November.

> Yesterday, on Tuesday evening there occurred in Osnabrück one of the most enormous rallies that the city has ever seen. Between twenty-five and thirty thousand comrades gathered at the Ledenhof which was surrounded by flags with swastikas and lit up with floodlights in order to protest against Jewry's attacks upon National Socialist Germany.

As well as concentrating upon the international and national power of the Jews, speakers at the meeting singled out local Jewish residents for attention.[64] In the following month the

Osnabrücker Zeitung published an article with the title of 'The Jews Are Our Bad Luck', describing the efforts of the local press office to bring attention to the Jewish problem,[65] while the following January Pastor Grußendorf attacked Jews at an overflowing meeting on the theme: 'Is Christianity a Jewish Religion?'[66]

The economic existence of Jews changed fundamentally as a result of violence and measures passed in the first years of the Nazi regime. Former doctors and lawyers found that they could only make a living by turning to the pre-emancipation occupation of itinerant peddling. Others found themselves in poverty and consequently had to live off welfare benefits from the American Joint Distribution Committee and Jüdische Winterhilfe.[67] In Osnabrück, those Jews who decided to stay managed to make a living. Dr Fritz Lowenstein, for instance, continued to work as a medical practitioner until 1936, while Dr Ernst Jacobson still carried on as a lawyer until he committed suicide in October 1938 following the introduction of the ban on Jewish lawyers.[68] Despite pressure to persuade Germans to stop purchasing at Jewish shops and also attempts to pass all businesses into Aryan hands, many of the larger Jewish shops in Osnabrück survived until November 1938, although they did not have the same level of economic success as previously.[69] A police report for August 1935 mentioned an organized boycott which occurred. 'People who set foot in Jewish shops were photographed. The pictures were displayed in public. Placards were placed outside Jewish businesses with inscriptions such as: "Jewish Shop! Whoever buys from here is a traitor to the people and will be publicly denounced"'. As the same report states, such actions had consequences:

> In the first place the boycott has had an impact on the clothing shop Alsberg and Co. We are dealing with a concern which employs 151 people — including eight non-Aryans. The business has today witnessed a fall of 70 per cent in its daily takings and even more compared with the period before the boycott. The owner has already informed the Regierungs Präsident in Osnabrück that he cannot carry on running the business under these circumstances.[70]

In September 1935 we learn that:

> The propaganda for the purpose of defence against the Jews reported in the previous month has to a certain extent not failed in its aim. It is to be observed that the majority of the population are avoiding Jewish shops. Several Jewish

> business owners have consequently been struggling with business difficulties and some of them intend to sell their businesses.[71]

Meanwhile, we also learn that around thirty members of the community received financial support from the Jewish Winterhilfswerk by November 1935.[72]

While the measures of the Nazis may have had a significant impact upon the economic activities of German Jews even before *Kristallnacht*, religious, social and economic life continued to proceed almost as normal. Or as normal as possible, set against the background of daily persecution. Religious attendance rose in the cases of some individuals and communities, who now regarded God as the way to salvation. At the same time theatre, music, art, film and sport continued, especially in some of the large Jewish centres with well developed cultural activities.[73] The Jewish organizations established before 1933, including the Central Verein, continued to exist and still displayed some defiance.[74]

Local police reports in Osnabrück during the first few years of the Third Reich also reveal Jewish social and religious activity in the town, most of which centred upon the synagogue. Although some of it simply consisted of a direct reaction against the measures which the Nazis had implemented, much did not. On 1 October 1934, the Osnabrück branch of the Cultural League of German Jews held a meeting in the synagogue attended by seventy-five people and addressed by Dr Singer from Berlin on *Judas Macabaeus* with the help of a gramophone and a piano.[75] In January 1935 we learn of meetings held by the National League of Jewish Frontline Soldiers together with another organized by a Zionist group. The speaker at the latter, Dr Hans Capell from Düsseldorf, suggested emigration to Palestine as the only future for European Jews in view of the strength of anti-Semitism on the continent. Meanwhile, 'A Jewish religious teacher has established a history circle in Osnabrück, which meets on a weekly basis. Furthermore, the Cultural League of German Jews organized a chamber music evening.'[76] In March meetings of every conceivable activity with every aim in mind took place. On 3 March the Cultural League of German Jews held an illustrated lecture on 'Rembrandt's Jewish Models'. Seven days later a recital evening of German and Jewish poetry took place. On 21 March the local branch of the Central Verein held a meeting attended by forty-five people on the ways to deal with the boy-

cott. Seventy people attended a Zionist meeting on 30 March addressing the theme 'Is There Enough Room in Palestine?'[77]

The activities pursued by the Osnabrück Jews in 1934 and 1935 point to the reality of everyday life. Some semblance of normality continued as the cultural events indicate. Yet the Zionist meeting indicates one possible means of salvation, while the events organized by the Central Verein point to the need for self defence. Osnabrück Jews, like their counterparts throughout Germany, also reacted in several other ways to the crisis which they faced. As we have seen, suicide represented one way out. Although this phenomenon had been higher amongst Jews than Gentiles even before the Nazi era, it 'took on the character of a mass phenomenon' after 1933.[78] An investigation into 230 suicides in Osnabrück between 1932 and 1942 revealed that three Jews had taken their lives, making up 1.2 per cent of the deaths when they constituted less than 0.5 per cent of the population.[79]

Many Jews in Osnabrück, particularly those who had Aryan ancestors, challenged the laws introduced by the Nazis, as revealed in several case files in the city archive. The muddled nature of Nazi policy towards 'Mischlinge' encouraged such challenges.[80] However, such challenges did not always succeed. For instance, Moritz Vogel failed in having his adopted son Günther, born illegitimately to a Jewish mother in 1920, freed from the clauses of the Nuremberg Laws, which meant that Günther could not carry out labour service or progress to University. The decision by the Ministry of the Interior was made after a medical examination and a reconstruction of Günther's family tree. The doctor who carried out the medical examination commented:

> Because of the good physical and personal disposition I have no hesitation in recommending the request to enter into labour service. I would also like to recommend the request to study at a German University. On the other hand I have hesitations about the request for later entry into the civil service. In any case from my own personal point of view despite the positive characteristics of Günther Vogel I am not sympathetic to the idea that German girls and boys may in future be taught by a half Jew.[81]

Similarly, a joint attempt by the siblings Karl-Heinz, Hildergard and Elfriede Samel for release from the terms of the Nuremberg Laws because of Aryan ancestry also resulted in failure following a similarly thorough medical investigation.[82]

Some Jews simply ignored the Nazi's legislation or actually stood up to them, which would result in a prison sentence. For instance, 'On 23/7/35 a Jewess was arrested and taken into custody for seven days for disturbing the peace. She insulted the SA in the foulest way.'[83] Two years later Siegmund Storch received a prison sentence of one year and five months for having sexual relationships with two women.[84]

However, the most effective method of Jewish resistance to the Nazis consisted of migration, a path which the Osnabrück Jews in particular followed, largely due to the small size of the community, which meant that safety in numbers did not represent an effective strategy. In the case of Osnabrück, movement did not simply take place abroad, but also to other cities in Germany with larger Jewish populations. This meant that Osnabrück Jewry had shrunk dramatically by the time of *Kristallnacht*, in contrast to the larger communities, which still largely existed because of the greater original size. The Jewish population of Worms fell by 65 per cent (1,104 to 400) from 1933 to 1938,[85] whereas the decline in Munich was less than 30 per cent during the whole period, with a numerical decline from 9,005 to 6,392.[86] About 150,000 of the 520,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933 had left the country by the start of 1938.[87] Peaks of emigration occurred at times of greatest fear amongst the Jewish community such as the first few months after the Nazi seizure of power and the immediate aftermath of the passage of the Nuremberg Laws.[88]

Index cards kept by the Gestapo, which survive in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, allow the reconstruction of the decline of Osnabrück Jewry before 1938, as well as a tabulation of the destinations of individuals, as revealed in Tables 5 and 6. The most striking fact about these statistics is that most emigration took place between November 1934 and October 1936. The period between these two dates had seen the anti-Semitic campaign of the summer of 1935 and the passage of the Nuremberg Laws in November of that year, both of which clearly had an impact. From their detailed researches on individual Jewish residents of Osnabrück, Junk and Sellmeyer have divided the fate of Jews according to their different geographical destinations as indicated in Table 6, which confirms the picture in Table 5 of most Jews escaping from Osnabrück but not necessarily, in the longer run, surviving the Nazis if they moved to other German towns or to Holland.

Table 5
Decline of the Size of Osnabrück Jewry

Date	Number of synagogue members
1 January 1933	457
22 November 1934	403
1 October 1936	198
15 November 1937	186
26 October 1938	182
17 May 1939	119
15 February 1941	69

Source: Peter Junk and Martina Sellmeyer, *Stationen auf dem Weg nach Auschwitz Entrechtung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Juden in Osnabrück*, third edition (Osnabrück 2000), 73.

An examination of a few individuals will bring to life the emigration statistics quoted in Table 6. The Katzmann family of Möserstrasse 43, for instance, fell apart as a result of emigration. The parents Herman and Paula still lived in Osnabrück at the start of the war. The first son, Siegfried, born in 1912, moved to Münster on 19 June 1933 and then further on to Basel on 10 June 1936. Their daughter Emmi, born in 1913, eventually migrated to Palestine in March 1938, where she probably joined her younger siblings Frietel and Liesel, who had already moved there. Hete-Margret, born in 1919, went to Wartebach in 1936 and then on to Cologne.[89] The Oppenheimer family experienced a similar fate. The widow Emma moved to Cloppenburg in April 1935. She followed her eldest daughter, who initially moved to Berlin in 1933 and then to Cloppenburg where she got married in April 1934. Ingeborg Oppenheimer moved to Ludwigshaven in 1933, then returned to Osnabrück after a stay of six months, before migrating to Bremen in May 1935. Siegfried Oppenheimer eventually moved to South Africa, while W. Oppenheimer went to Hengelo on 10 September 1935.[90]

Those Jews who still remained in Osnabrück in November 1938 would witness the first manifestation of the full rage of Nazism. After the passage of the Nuremberg Laws in November 1935 Nazi anti-Semitism had experienced something of a lull in the following two years, partly due to the desire not to alienate international opinion during the 1936 Berlin Olympics. However, by the end of 1937 and, more especially, the start of

Table 6
The Fate of Osnabrück Jewry

Remained in Osnabrück	**106**
Number who died in town	27
Number who committed suicide	2
Number murdered in Buchenwald in 1938	1
Number deported to Poland in 1938 and murdered there	4
Deported	66
Victims of euthanasia	1
Survived in Osnabrück	5
Migrated to other towns	**189**
Number who died there	5
Number who emigrated	82
Number deported	38
Fate unknown	64
Emigrated to Holland	**83**
Number who died in Holland	5
Number who committed suicide	1
Number who emigrated further	20
Number deported	40
Number who survived	11
Fate unknown	6
Emigrated to France	**4**
Number who emigrated further	3
Emigrated to Spain	**3**
Number who emigrated further	3
Emigrated to Shanghai	**3**
Number who emigrated further	3
Emigrated to Palestine	**44**
Emigrated to the USA	**43**
Emigrated to South America	**17**
Emigrated Austria	**3**
Emigrated to Sweden	**4**
Emigrated to Denmark	**1**
Emigrated to Italy	**5**
Emigrated to England	**19**

Source: Peter Junk and Martina Sellmeyer, *Stationen auf dem Weg nach Auschwitz: Entrechtung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Juden in Osnabrück,* third edition (Osnabrück 2000), 72–3.

1938, this had changed, partly because, despite the official anti-Semitism and the violence which had taken place, 'Jews in Germany at the end of 1937 were still relatively well off in economic terms'.[91] Nevertheless, the 50,000 Jewish businesses which existed in Germany at the start of 1933 had declined to

9,000 by July 1938. This was still too many for the Nazi leadership.[92]

The invasion of Austria and the subsequent *Anschluss* gave a boost to violent as well as official anti-Semitism in 1938. We need to recognize this year as a fateful one in the history of the Third Reich, the year in which the Nazis became bolder on the international stage with the annexation of both Austria and the Sudetenland and also the year of appeasement. The Anschluss had allowed anti-Semitism in that country, historically as strong as in Germany, to bring forth resentments which had boiled for decades to overflowing, resulting in the public humiliation of the most exalted Jews, as well as widespread violence and property damage.[93] These events gave momentum to the regime, which introduced further measures during the summer and autumn: banning Jews from practising as doctors and lawyers; forcing them to take the name Israel for males and Sara for females; and making it compulsory to have their passports stamped with a 'J'.[94]

On 7 November Herschel Grynzpan, a Polish Jew, murdered Ernst von Rath, an official at the German Embassy in Paris. The Nazi press publicized this event and the party hierarchy, meeting in Munich to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the failed Beer Hall Putsch, communicated to local SA branches suggesting that they attack Jewish property.[95] This led to a nationwide explosion of anti-Semitic violence on the night of 9–10 November, which resulted in the destruction of 7,500 shops and more than 250 synagogues, as well as 236 deaths, affecting Jewish communities throughout the country.[96]

A series of sources allows us to reconstruct the lead-up to and aftermath of the *Kristallnacht* in Osnabrück. Just before the murder of Ernst von Rath the local newspapers had carried stories about Jews. For instance, on 5 November the *Neue Volksblätter,* under the title of 'Thousands of Jews Expelled over the Border. Energetic Measures of the Slovakian Government — Boycott Movement by the Population'. On 9 November the same newspaper carried a story about the confiscation of weapons held by Berlin Jews, linking this with the murder in Paris. The entire front page of the following day devoted itself to the killing of von Rath. It began 'Passage of the Victim — March of Victory'.The *Neue Volksblätter* of 11 November also carried as its main front page headline: 'Saturday Funeral Service for Ernst von Rath'.

Meanwhile, the *Osnabrücker Tagablatt* had as its front page headline on 8 November: 'Cowardly Jewish Murder Attempt. Attack in the German Embassy in Paris — German Embassy Secretary Severely Injured by Two Shots'.

As to the actual damage caused to Jewish property, the two newspapers carried short stories. The *Neue Volksblätter* under the headline of 'Thus Answer The People. Justified Revolt in Osnabrück', ran a relatively short article, which began: 'The sad news from Paris that a young life full of hope had fallen victim to a cowardly treacherous Jewish murder led to justified and remarkable rage even in Osnabrück.' It then described the damage caused by rioters:

> The inside of the Synagogue was destroyed and burnt out. The spontaneous Jew hating demonstration then turned against the last Jewish businesses and wholesale firms in Osnabrück. The shop windows were smashed and the goods put in safe keeping. In the earliest hours of the morning the justifiably enraged comrades gathered before the Jewish businesses in order to see how the goods were taken to safety on lorries.[97]

The report of the violence in the *Osnabrücker Tageblatt* provided less rhetoric and more information on the damage caused by the rioters.

> The spontaneous anti-Jewish actions were initiated shortly after midnight with the 'smoking out' of the synagogue in Rolandstrasse. A part of the interior decorations and the pews were burnt. The Star of David was taken away from the dome. Enormous placards indicating the status of the Jews as the enemy of the world were placed before the synagogue. The demonstration then turned against the still existing Jewish businesses, whose windows were destroyed: shop and shop window display contents remained undisturbed, however. The furious crowd also turned its attention against the homes of individual Jews. The Jews still resident here were taken from their homes during the course of the night and placed into protective custody; without causing them any injury; women and children were obviously left in their homes.[98]

The events of the night of 9–10 November represented the high point of prewar Nazi anti-Semitism. They combined with other official measures taken by the Nazis in an attempt to speed up the persecution of the Jews and their eradication from the German economy. The newspaper campaign which had begun at the start of November continued for the rest of the month. The *Neue Volksblätter* carried stories about the decision to eliminate Jews from German economic life,[99] and one about the sentencing of Hermann Behr to five years in prison for having a sexual

relationship with a German woman.[100] The *Osnabrücker Tageblatt* also carried the same economic headlines,[101] as well as printing stories about international opinion and the Jews.[102]

As many as 30,000 German Jews faced arrest in the aftermath of the pogrom. They found themselves taken to the concentration camps in Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. Although the surviving internees were released by the spring of 1939, up to 2,500 may have died within the camps due to a typhus epidemic and mistreatment by their guards.[103] Those who faced arrest included Sigfried Heimbach, who was actually in Münster at the time. His daughter, Irmgard, recalled: 'The Gestapo knocked on our door and wanted to know where my father was. My mother had to give the address. He was put in jail in a really small prison in a village. We travelled there and could take him food every day.'[104]

As announced by Goebbels just after the pogrom, the other major consequence of *Kristallnacht* consisted of the decision to finally eliminate Jews from German economic life. His declaration of 12 November compelled Jews to sell all their enterprises and valuables. On the same day Göring ordered that all Jewish business activity should cease from 1 January.[105] We can see the confiscation of Jewish property through several surviving files in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Osnabrück. A list from 1 November indicates the existence of thirteen surviving Jewish commercial establishments in the town. A report from 23 December indicates that virtually all of these no longer functioned by then. For instance, 'the garage concern Israel Stern, owner widow Ida Stern, Seminarstrasse 31, has certainly not yet closed down, but is practically standing still because no more cars are parked there any more'. The owner was in the process of selling the business.[106] A communication of 9 March 1939 provides information on the following sale: 'The warehouse of the firm Samson David has been sold for RM77,000. Of this sum the retail trade organization must pay RM27,000 and the firm Nobbe RM50,000. RM67,000 of the entire price has been paid up to now.'[107] By the outbreak of the Second World War, the local state, following the national pattern, had 'aryanized' virtually all business activity in Osnabrück.[108] On 2 March even the land upon which the synagogue stood faced auction, accompanied by an article in the *Neue Volksblätter* declaring:

> With this decision was spoken the final decision about the centre of Osnabrück Jewry. From the outside the temple served cultural purposes but in reality it was the place where the Jews came together in order to discuss how they could bring the German people under their bondage.[109]

An examination of the businesses in Grosse Strasse, the main shopping street, in the address book of Osnabrück for the years 1934–5 and 1938–9 indicates some of the changes which took place in ownership during the Nazi years. Most notably, one of the largest department stores in the town, at numbers 27–9 had changed from Alsberg and Co. to Lengermann and Trieschmann.[110]

After November 1938, the Jews also faced expulsion from schools and from the general welfare system and could not enter some public spaces. Furthermore, they could no longer drive or use university libraries and faced segregation.[111] A dramatic increase therefore occurred in the level of Jewish emigration away from Germany. Despite obstacles put up by the Nazis and the reluctance of other states to accept Jews, about 115,000 left in the final ten months of peace.[112] As Table 5 indicates, sixty-three people left Osnabrück in the six months after *Kristallnacht*, leaving a community of just 119 by May 1939.

The outbreak of the Second World War meant a further deterioration in the position of those Jews who remained in German towns. In Osnabrück, the local newspapers continued to peddle anti-Semitic propaganda in the opening years of the conflict, against the background of the decision-making process which would result in the deportation of German Jewry to death and labour camps in Eastern Europe. The propaganda peaked in August and September 1941, centring around an exhibition and mass meeting on the theme of 'The Enemy of the World'.[113] Some normality continued in the everyday life of Jews, although this remained confined within the boundaries set by the Nazis. Irmgard Ohl still attended school in Münster until 1941, while her father, who had previously worked as a railway employee, found himself employed in a factory and then in stone-breaking. She recalled the implementation of a curfew for Jews. 'One had to be at home by eight, by seven in the winter.'[114]

The deportation of Osnabrück Jewry to Eastern Europe occurred in several stages, the main one on 13 December 1941. Irmgard Ohl remembered that she and her parents received a letter about a month beforehand informing them that they would

face transportation to Riga and that they could take 50 kilos of luggage with them:

> We were picked up by the Gestapo a few days beforehand and taken to the elementary school in Pottgraben. The children were told that they had a few days off school because the heating was busted. Straw was spread out in the gym. We spent the night there. The next day we had to get on the train.

She eventually reached Riga three days later without her luggage and worked in various camps during the war. When asked how the Gestapo explained the events in Osnabrück, she replied: 'To labour service. But how, what for and wherefore didn't really exist.'[115] The Osnabriick war chronicle, compiled at the time, described the deportation of December in matter of fact terms:

> In the whole of the Reich people have set about to expel the Jews, if they still remain, beyond German borders and to send them to the eastern zones. Osnabrück also got rid of its Jews today. At 9.30 today the transport started moving out of the station with Riga as its destination. Only those who were over sixty years old, or who were married to an Aryan person as well as those who were sick, were allowed to remain.[116]

A total of thirty-four Osnabrück Jews left on this day, joined by others from locations throughout the Regierungsbezirk, so that 205 people boarded the train.[117] In July 1942 another transport took 28 Osnabrück Jews to Theresienstadt.[118] Of those people deported during the Second World War, thirty-five had died in the Baltic states and twenty-seven in Theresienstadt, while five had returned from Riga, together with four from Auschwitz and Theresienstadt.[119] Arrests of people with Jewish origins continued until the end of 1944, as indicated by the example of Paul Wiesenthal, a 'half Jew' sacked from his employment as a teacher and forced to work in armaments production with the Teutonwerk.[120]

Osnabrück Jewry had therefore virtually disappeared by 1945, following the pattern in other German locations. Munich Jewry had declined to just 430 at the end of the war, a total which included those who had gone into hiding and those not considered full Jews.[121] Smaller towns lost their Jewish communities altogether, as in the case of Worms by the end of 1942.[122] The fifty-three Jews who lived in the East Frisian settlement of Dornum at the start of the Second World War had all disappeared by March 1940 on their way to the Polish death camps.[123] By the end of 1944 just 14,574 full Jews lived within the German borders of 1937.[124]

At the end of the war the number of Jews in Germany actually began to increase. Releases from concentration camps meant that about 50,000 lived within the territories of prewar borders, although this had fallen to just 30,000 within a few weeks because of high death rates.[125] By 1947 the number of Jews in Germany had actually grown to about 200,000, originating mostly from Poland, which experienced serious anti-Semitic pogroms. The Jews in Germany at the end of the war, particularly those who had spent time in concentration camps, were barely alive because of the physical and psychological trauma from which they had emerged.[126]

Although just a handful of Jews survived in Osnabrück, their numbers increased in the early postwar years. By February 1946 a total of sixty-four lived in the city, consisting of thirty-one with German nationality and thirty-three foreigners.[127] The second figure received partial explanation by the presence of Jewish prisoners of war amongst Yugoslavs held in a camp in Eversburg during the conflict.[128] Those with German nationality included Irmgard Ohl, who returned to Osnabrück with her mother in July 1945 and would subsequently marry a Christian.[129] On 19 August the opening ceremony of the synagogue took place in Rolandstrasse, which then held weekly services.[130]

The history of Osnabrück Jewry from the end of the Weimar Republic until the late 1940s therefore mirrors that of countless Jewish communities throughout Germany, particularly those which lived in medium-sized towns. To use the phrases of Junk and Sellmeyer, they suffered as a result of loss of civil rights, expulsion and extermination. Nevertheless, these phrases do not account for every Osnabrück Jew, as many survived through emigration. Unlike other locations, Jewry did not vanish forever from the town as a result of the actions of the Nazis but survived, albeit much smaller in size, to continue after the Second World War.

Perpetrators

The Jewish victims disappeared as a result of the actions of ardent Nazis and bureaucrats carrying out their jobs. Documentation from two trials which took place after the war allows a reconstruction of the burning of the synagogue in 1938 and the

deportations to Eastern Europe. Both trials reveal the names of those in the local Nazi hierarchy who ordered these actions to take place. The evidence available would point to the efficiency of the bureaucratic machine, and particularly the individuals who controlled it, as central for the elimination of Osnabrück Jewry.[131] While the local population may have been fully aware of the disappearance of Jews from their midst, very few Osnabrückers played a direct role in this process.

The trial of those involved in the burning of the synagogue occurred in December 1949 and included most of the leading figures in the Nazi hierarchy in Osnabrück, identified at the scene of the action by local witnesses. The most surprising decision reached by the court concerned the Kreisleiter Münzer, whom the jury accepted did not play a role in the burning and may not even have had knowledge of the event. The main culprit consisted of Erwin Kolkmeyer, Kreisleiter of central Osnabrück, who, however, received a sentence of just ten months because much of the evidence against him was rejected. Seven other men received sentences of ten months or less for participating in the *Kristallnacht* disturbances and their aftermath.[132]

Between 1965 and 1967 an investigation took place into those responsible for the deportation of Jews from Osnabrück, in connection with the trial of Anton Weiß-Bollandt, head of the local Gestapo. The investigation placed the blame on the shoulders of Gestapo employees, who seem to have totalled no more than forty-seven, covering the entire Regierungsbezirk during the period 1938–45 and confirming the small numbers of people actually needed for the enforcement of racial policy as revealed by Gellately in his study of Düsseldorf.[133] To Gellately this suggests the compliance of the local population in racial policy. In the case of Osnabrück, it seems that the small number of Jews dealt with by the Gestapo during the war, even including those from the surrounding region, could have been managed by these forty-seven people, although they would exclude people such as train drivers. The investigation into Osnabrück provided more information on the Jewish victims and their fate, as well as the mechanics of deportation and its precise dates, than it did on the perpetrators. Nevertheless, it concluded that nine individuals had direct responsibility for the transportations. The two responsible for Jewish matters had died by then. As to the others, the investigation concluded that they could not have had full knowledge of

the fact that the deportees would die when they reached their final destination. Section 2 of the Osnabrück Gestapo, responsible for the 'Control of Political Opponents', had organized the deportations. The investigation interviewed twenty employees of the Gestapo, together with fourteen of their victims. As in the case of all such trials of former Nazis, most of those questioned did not admit to having knowledge of the ethnic cleansing of the local Jewish population, and none of them accepted responsibility. Fritz Kicker, a criminal secretary and an SS leader, admitted to knowing about the deportation which took place to Riga in December 1941, but claimed that the Gestapo office had never discussed this action. He also stated that he did not know about the ultimate fate of those making the journey.[134]

In the case of Osnabrück the surviving evidence makes it difficult to directly apportion blame for the deportation of the local Jewish community to Eastern Europe. We cannot, for instance, reconstruct and place personal responsibility in the way that Christopher Browning has done.[135] The death of the two Gestapo employees directly responsible for Jewish matters allowed their Gestapo colleagues to place the blame on them. Neither does it seem, from the surviving evidence on the local Gestapo, that the local administration contained 'zealots and vulgarians'.[136] The individuals who most clearly deserve this attribute consist of the Kreisleiters, Münzer and Kolkmeyer, who clearly played a large role in *Kristallnacht*, even participating personally in the riots against the synagogue (according to witnesses in the trial which took place in December 1949). A lack of credible evidence allowed them to escape with lenient sentences. However, these two individuals did represent the most fanatical of Nazis in Osnabrück, playing a large role in the organization and propaganda machinery of the local state.

Bystanders

According to Hilberg, 'In the course of the onslaught on European Jewry, some people in the non-Jewish population helped their Jewish neighbours, many more did or obtained something at the expense of the Jews, and countless others watched what had come to pass.'[137] Other scholars who have focused more directly upon Germany have recognized different levels of compliance

and varying reactions at different stages of the anti-Semitic campaign and ethnic cleansing within Germany.[138] As the case of Osnabrück has revealed, the local population played a role in the campaigns which took place, either by not buying at Jewish shops or by attending some of the local rallies. If 25,000 people really did turn up at the meeting held in August 1935, this would have meant a high level of local participation even if they came from throughout the Regierungsbezirk. Others clearly benefited from the sale of Jewish businesses. On the other hand, some individuals ignored the wishes of the Nazis and continued to purchase at Jewish shops as long as they survived.

The researches of Kershaw, Bankier and Gellately suggest limited resistance to Nazi anti-Semitic policies.[139] Bankier, who points out that it 'was much easier to conform than to swim against the stream' also states that, although 'in general the public recognized the necessity of some solution to the Jewish problem, large sectors found the form of persecution abhorrent'.[140] Thus, for instance, after *Kristallnacht*: 'All sections of the population reacted with deep shock', confirmed by Kershaw in his study of Bavaria.[141] Nevertheless, this negative reaction did not go as far as to manifest itself in public hostility towards the regime, especially after the Germans had seen what the regime could do to its enemies. When moving on to the Second World War, Bankier claims that the majority of Germans were openly hostile to Jews and that they knew of the deportations, especially in small communities where 'people do not just vanish unnoticed'.[142] Kershaw concludes that most Germans did not care about the fate of the Jews in the war, although they probably knew about what had happened to them.[143] Gellately, who also devotes much attention to informers, concludes that knowledge of what was happening 'got through in bits and pieces'.[144]

How does the population of Osnabrück fit into these patterns? The lack of archival material of the type used by Kershaw and Gellately, makes our task difficult. Few police reports survive after 1936, as in the case of Bavaria, and we certainly do not have the extant Gestapo files from Düsseldorf and Würzburg used by Gellately. However, cards kept by the local Gestapo do survive. A sample of eighty revealed two individuals dealt with by the secret police for matters relating to the persecution of the Jews. For instance, during the peak of anti-Semitism in the summer of 1935, Pastor Johannes Bornschein held a sermon in which he

declared: 'The Jews, yes we can relate to them as we wish. The Jews are the chosen people of the Lord.' He does not seem to have paid any penalty for this.[145] On the other hand, Paul Gerhardus was 'warned in the severest of terms' in March 1939 for describing the 'action against the Jews' as 'vulgar'.[146] Clearly, informers must have given information on both of these individuals.

Due to the absence of extant documentary evidence, interviews carried out in 2000 and 2001 represent another way of gauging reaction to anti-Semitic policies. These present problems, above all the time lag. More importantly, the sample proves problematic. Jew haters would not wish to speak about their views in the Federal Republic, which has made anti-Semitism illegal. In addition, all of those interviewed were either adolescents or children for much of the regime, so we cannot really expect them to have carried out heroic acts. As bystanders, their views do confirm the ideas of Bankier, Kershaw and Gellately. Most were disgusted by *Kristallnacht*, although some felt the need to stare at the synagogue. As a mostly middle-class sample, many had Jewish friends or acquaintances, and knew of their persecution and often their fate. Some of them carried out some small acts of resistance.

The interviewees either brought up the subject of the Jews themselves or were directly asked about them. The most vivid memories concern *Kristallnacht*, which remained fixed for several people, most notably Maria Grün, born in 1922:

> We found out about it at very close quarters because we lived in Arndtstraße. There was a crossroads, Rolandstraße, in which a very big synagogue stood . . . My mother woke us in the night and said children come now the synagogue is burning. It was an unbelievable atmosphere . . . In front of the synagogue sat the synagogue director and all who belonged to it in one corner and we all knew that they were to be taken away, we all knew it more or less. It was terrible . . . Today people say we really all should have defended the Jews. If my mother had said something — but she had a family — she would have been taken away instantly. She naturally did not say anything she was deeply affected like all of us but we were not prepared for martyrdom. I don't know if we all failed there. In any case it was very bad.[147]

The younger Karl Mols, born in 1930, remembered making his way to school the morning after *Kristallnacht*.

> I was in the school year, that was my second year at school, where I had a long school journey. One morning — I still really remember very exactly — we were

> going through the shopping streets of Osnabrück to school, my friend and I, and we saw how the Jewish businessmen were destroyed and plundered . . .
>
> We were terrified and did not know what had happened but there were people who whispered and explained what they had experienced. We also heard that and we also then soon learnt that the Synagogue had been set alight. That did not lie on our way to school but on the way back we passed by because we wanted to know what had happened and it was really terrible.[148]

Günther Adel, meanwhile, claimed that he had been at the synagogue the night it burnt down and remembers a man from the SA or SS climbing on to the roof and throwing the star of David down.[149]

All interviewees knew of the persecution of the Jews and were aware of their disappearance or their emigration, especially if they had connections with them. Werner Fischer, for instance, recalled the fate of several of his Jewish friends and the fate of the Jewish friends of his parents.[150] Similarly Heinrich and Elisabeth Wand spoke of Jews whom they knew simply not being there anymore.[151] All of these interviewees, together with Günther Adel, had a clear awareness of the disappearance of the Jews.

A couple of interviewees did help Jews in a small way. Hilde Scholl, for instance, born in 1920, had two interesting stories to tell:

> My mother and I were travelling with the tram and on one seat sat a Jew. One could tell. And in front me stood such an SA man, so clothed in brown and the woman said to him: 'Sit yourself down on this empty seat'. He said to her: 'You can't expect me to sit next to a Jew!' And what did I do there? I sat down there. Because I felt sorry for the Jew. That really didn't have anything to do with politics. It only made me sorry because he said that.

She also recalled:

> Once my friend and I wanted to buy a swimming costume. That was that, that one shouldn't buy from Jews. And in the window of the shop that is now Lengermann, lay a swimming costume that she wanted. I then said to her: 'Then let's just go in. Then you can buy it.' The big shop was empty. Nobody was inside. Then a salesman came and said to us, although we knew, that we should not buy from him. 'Yes', said my friend, 'we have also already heard that, but I want to have the swimming costume'.[152]

These were fairly petty childish acts, which made little difference to Nazi policy, but must represent everyday reality. Even less significant would have been the actions of the mother of Cilly Stein, who looked after the photo album of a Jewish woman 'during the Second World War.[153]

The Typicality of Osnabrück

The history of Osnabrück Jewry therefore resembles the development of Jewish communities in urban locations throughout Germany between the 1920s and the 1940s, particularly those focused upon smaller settlements. The example of Osnabrück allows us to trace the rise of anti-Semitism, the emigration movement, the deportations and the situation immediately after the end of the war.

The town clearly contained perpetrators, as well as victims, but the vast majority of the population consisted of bystanders. While some of the middle-class interviewees had Jewish friends, the majority of the population would have had little contact with this minority other than when they used their shops, a pattern reflected in the country as a whole. The local newspaper and police reports suggest that a large percentage of the population must have harboured anti-Semitic grudges, most obviously made clear by the campaign which reached its peak in the summer of 1935. Similarly, while some individuals may have continued to buy from Jewish shops, many would clearly not have done so.

When it comes to actual participation in anti-Semitic acts it seems obvious that only a small percentage of people would have involved themselves in Jew baiting or violence in 1933, 1935 or 1938. All of the evidence from *Kristallnacht* points to the fact that a small number of local Nazis carried out the destruction. As Kershaw and Bankier make clear, most of the population found such acts intolerable, even though they may have sympathized with milder forms of ant-Semitism.

It also seems obvious that the population of Osnabrück clearly knew what was happening. Certainly before 1939 when the propaganda meant that people could not get away from the fact that the new regime hated the Jews. Similarly, responses to interview questions also make it clear that local residents had a fairly good idea that Jews were disappearing even though they may well not have known what happened to them.

Osnabrück may differ from some of the larger Jewish communities in the country because the small numbers meant that people had more desire to get out, even if this just meant moving to a larger Jewish community somewhere else in the country. Nevertheless, the Jews here did not completely disappear as they did from Worms, for example. A few survived at the end of the

war, partly helped by the presence of Yugoslav officers. Consequently, unlike Worms, a community developed after 1945, based on the one which existed before 1933.

Notes

I would like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust and the Arts and Humanities Research Board for funding the project on 'Life and Death in a German Town: Majorities and Minorities in Osnabrück, 1929–1949', upon which this article is based.

1. From Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (London 1993).

2. Eric Johnson, *The Nazi Terror: Gestapo, Jews and Ordinary Germans* (London 2000); Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society* (Oxford 1988).

3. *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte* (Jena 1931), 11.

4. *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Gemeinden* (Schwäbisch Gmünd 1949), 16.

5. Panikos Panayi, 'Everyday Life in a German Town', *History Today*, Vol. 52 (2002), 31–7.

6. The titles are: *Osnabrück 1925–1933: Von der Republik bis zum Dritten Reich* (Osnabrück 1963), and *Osnabrück 1933–1945: Stadt im dritten Reich*, second edition (Osnabrück 1980).

7. The titles are: *Im Anflug auf Osnabrück: Die Bombenangriffe, 1940–1945* (Osnabrück 1985), and *Zwischen Trümmern: Osnabrück in den Jahren 1945 bis 1948* (Osnabrück 1990).

8. Klaus J. Bade, Hans-Bernd Meier and Bernhard Parisius, eds, *Zeitzeugen im Interview: Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene im Raum Osnabrück nach 1945* (Osnabrück 1997).

9. Gerd Steinwascher, ed., *Gestapo Osnabrück Meldet: Polizei und Regierungsberichte aus dem Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1936* (Osnabrück 1995).

10. For an introduction see: Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton 1995); and Geoff Eley, 'Labor History, Social History, *Alltagsgeschichte*: Experience, Culture, and the Politics of the Everyday — a New Direction for German Social History?', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 61 (1989), 298–343.

11. See the discussion in Institut für Zeitgeschichte, ed., *Alltagsgeschichte der NS-Zeit: Neue Perspektive oder Trivialisierung?* (Munich 1984).

12. From Peter Junk and Martina Sellmeyer, *Stationen auf dem Weg nach Auschwitz. Entrechtung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung: Juden in Osnabrück*, third edition (Osnabrück 2000).

13. Daniel John Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (London 1996).

14. Recent examples include: Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Die Juden in Deutschland: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft* (Munich 1993); Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933–39* (London 1997); and Klaus P. Fischer, *The History of an Obsession: German Judeophobia and the Holocaust* (London 1998).

15. Good local studies include: Dieter Goetz, *Juden in Oldenburg, 1933–1938* (Oldenburg 1988); Henry Huttenbach, *The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Worms, 1933–1945: A Study of the Holocaust Experience in Germany* (New York 1981). Broader studies with good essays on the Nazi period include: Hebert Reger and Martin Tielke, eds, *Frisia Judaica: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Ostfriesland* (Aurich 1988); and Christiane Heinemann, ed., *Neunhundert Jahre Geschichte der Juden in Hessen: Beiträge zum politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben* (Wiesbaden 1983).

16. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford 1998).

17. Two good accounts by children who escaped before the outbreak of the Second World War are: Hannele Zürndorfer, *The Ninth of November* (London 1983); and Peter Gay, *My Jewish Question: Growing up in Nazi Berlin* (Yale 1998).

18. Those who have used them include: Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit; and Johnson, op. cit.

19. Z. Asaria, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Osnabrück und Umgebung. Zur Weihe der Synagoge in Osnabrück* (Osnabrück 1969).

20. K. Brenner, 'Dokumentation über die Juden in Osnabrück' (unpublished manuscript, 1978).

21. Karl Kühling, *Die Juden in Osnabrück* (Osnabrück 1983).

22. Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit.

23. Martina Krause and Michael Gander, '"Ariesierung" des jüdischen Handels und Handel mit jüdischem Besitz im Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück', in Michael Haverkamp and Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, eds, *Unterm Strich. Von der Winkelkrämerei zum E-Commerce: Eine Austellung des Museums Industriekultur im Rahm des 175. Bestehen der Sparkasse Osnabrück* (Bramsche 2000), 227–43.

24. Eva Berger, Inge Jaehner, Peter Junk, Karl Georg Kaster, Manfred Meinz and Wendelin Zimmer, *Felix Nussbaum: Art Defamed, Art in Exile, Art in Resistance* (Bramsche 1997).

25. See, as an introduction to this issue, Mary Fulbrook, *German National Identity After the Holocaust* (Cambridge 1999).

26. Kühling, *Juden*, 14–57.

27. For instance, Alfred Lewin, *Juden in Freiburg im Breisgau* (Trier 1890), 101, points to the fact that Jews had not lived in Freiburg between 1442 and 1809.

28. Kühling, *Juden*, 58–76, Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 10–11.

29. For Osnabrück see Brenner, op. cit, 4–5. For the national picture see Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks, and Others* (London 2000), 90–1.

30. Panayi, ibid., 133–7. The best accounts of Weimar Jewry include: Donald Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge, LO 1980); and contributions to Walter Grab and Julius H. Schoops, eds, *Juden in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart 1986).

31. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt,* 23 September 1931.

32. In 1933 Frankfurt Jewry totalled 26,158, making up 4.7 per cent of the city's population, while the figures for Breslau stood at 20,202 and 3.2 per cent. No other community made up more than 2 per cent of the total population of any city. See the table in Goetz, op. cit., 24.

33. The reference numbers are N[iedersächsisches] S[taatsarchiv] O[snabrück] Dep-3b-IV-2169 and NSO Dep-3b-IV-2170. While they have no date, Junk and

Sellmeyer, op. cit., 330, place them at 1927 and 1923 respectively.

34. NSO Dep-3b-IV-2169; Berger, et al., op cit., 29.

35. Niewyk, op. cit., 85.

36. NSO Dep-3b-IV-2169.

37. This paragraph is based on Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 24–8.

38. Goldhagen, op. cit., 83.

39. Trude Maurer, 'Die Juden in der Weimarer Republik', in Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner, eds, *Zebrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverstandnis der Juden in Deutschland* (Frankfurt 1991), 107.

40. Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens, *Friedhofsschändungen in Deutschland, 1923–32: Dokumente der politischen und kulturellen Verwilderung unserer Zeit*, fifth edition (Berlin 1932).

41. According to Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 31. However, this is not confirmed by the list of cemeteries which faced attack in 1927 in Zentralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, *Friedhofsschändungen*, 8–10.

42. Junk and Sellmeyer, ibid., 35; NSO Erw-C3 Nr 26, Flugblatt der NSDAP, 1928.

43. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt*, 19 October 1929; NSO Rep 430-101-7/43-331-Band 6, 'Politische Wochenberichte über die wirtschaftliche und politische Lage in der Stadt Osnabrück u.a. an die Polizeidirektion Bremen, 1929', 21 October 1929. The two accounts give different facts and figures.

44. *Stadtwächter,* 30 June 1929.

45. Ibid., 8 December 1929.

46. Ibid., 22 December 1929.

47. Ibid., 27 April 1930.

48. Ibid., 3 August 1930.

49. Ibid., 7 July 1929.

50. *PP*, 18 February 1930.

51. Huttenbach, op. cit., 14.

52. Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of the Nazis: The Storm Troopers in East Germany* (London 1984), 105.

53. Avraham Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation: The Economic Struggle of the German Jews,* 1933–1945 (Hanover, NH 1989), 17–18.

54. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt,* 1 April 1933.

55. *Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 2 April 1933.

56. Kaplan, op. cit., 23.

57. Barkai, op. cit., 23.

58. Friedlander, op. cit., 27–8.

59. Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945* (Cambridge 1991), 49–50.

60. See the thorough discussion of this issue in Jeremy Noakes 'The Development of Nazi Policy Towards the German-Jewish "Mischlinge", 1933–1945', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, Vol. 34 (1989), 306–15.

61. Burleigh and Wippermann, op. cit.

62. See, for instance, Institut zum Studium der Judenfrage, *Die Juden in Deutschland* (Munich 1937).

63. *Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 22 August 1935.

64. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt*, 21 August 1935.

65. *Osnabrücker Zeitung,* 11 September 1935.

66. Ibid., 18 January 1936.
67. Barkai, op. cit., 77; Günther Plum, 'Writschaft und Erwebsleben', in Benz, op. cit., 292–313.
68. Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 60–1.
69. Krause and Gander, op. cit., 231.
70. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für den Monat August 1935 vom 4. September 1935', in Steinwascher, op. cit., 250. The Regierungs Präsident was the head of the government in the region of Osnabrück.
71. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für den Monat September 1935 vom 10. Oktober 1935', ibid. 266.
72. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für den Monat November 1935 vom 4. Dezember 1935', ibid., 305.
73. Volker Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben', in Benz, op. cit., 125–222.
74. Alfred Hirschberg, 'Der Zentralverein deutscher Staatsürger jüdischen Glaubens', in *Wille und Weg des deutschen Judentums* (Berlin 1935), 12–29.
75. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für den Monat Oktober 1934 vom 3. November 1934', in Steinwascher, op. cit., 116.
76. 'Auszug aus dem Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für die Monate Dezember 1934 und Januar 1935 vom 4. Februar 1935', ibid., 133.
77. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für die Monate März und April 1935 vom 4. Mai 1935', ibid., 165.
78. Konrad Kwiet, 'The Ultimate Refuge: Suicide in the Jewish Community under the Nazis', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book,* Vol. 29 (1984), 135–48.
79. Werner Pelster, 'Selbsmord in Stadt-u. Landkreis Osnabrück' (unpublished University of Münster medical dissertation 1934), 34.
80. See Noakes, 'Development of Nazi Policy Towards "Mischlinge"'.
81. NSO Rep 430-303-19/56-233. Real names have been changed.
82. NSO Rep 430-303-19/56-234. Real names have been changed.
83. 'Lagebericht der Staatspolizeistelle Osnabrück an das Geheime Staatspolizeiamt für den Monat Juli 1935 vom 4. August 1935', in Steinwascher, op. cit., 228.
84. *Neue Volksblätter*, 12 March 1937. It seems that Storch was a foreign Jew with the real name of Schlamon.
85. Huttenbach, op. cit., 16.
86. Cahman, op. cit., 3.
87. Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York 1985), 129–30.
88. Juliane Wetzel, 'Auswanderung aus Deutschland', in Benz, op. cit., 417–18.
89. NSO Dep-3b-IV-2167, Cards 216-216f.
90. NSO Dep-3b-IV-2167, Cards 341-341d.
91. Avraham Barkai, 'The Fateful Year 1938: The Continuation and Acceleration of Plunder', in Walter H. Pehle, ed., *November 1938: From 'Reichskristallnacht' to Genocide* (Oxford 1991), 95.
92. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945* (London 2001), 131.
93. Friedländer, op. cit., 241–2.

94. Kershaw, op.cit., 131.
95. Uwe Dietrich Adam, 'How Spontaneous was the Pogrom', in Pehle, op. cit., 73–94.
96. Anthony Read and David Fisher, *Kristallnacht: Unleashing the Holocaust* (London 1991), 73–4.
97. *Neue Volksblätter*, 11 November 1938.
98. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt*, 11 November 1938.
99. *Neue Volksblätter*, 13, 14 November 1938.
100. Ibid., 16 November 1938.
101. *Osnabrücker Tageblatt*, 13, 14 November 1938.
102. Ibid., 15, 18, 20 November.
103. Read and Fisher, op. cit., 73, 134–5; Erika Weinzierl, 'Schuld durch Gleichgültigkeit? Zur Geschichte der Novemberpogrome 1938', in Günther Gorschenk and Stephen Reimers, eds, *Offene Wunden — brennende Fragen: Juden in Deutschland von 1938 bis heute* (Frankfurt 1989), 20.
104. Interview with Irmgard Ohl, 28 July 2000.
105. Friedländer, op. cit., 281, 284.
106. NSO Rep-430-904-15/65-2, Letter from the Oberburgermeister to Regireungs Präsident, 23 December 1938.
107. NSO Rep-430-904-15/65-2, Letter from the Oberburgermeister to Regierungs Präsident of 9 March 1939. RM is an abbreviation of Reichsmarks.
108. See: Krause, op. cit., 233–6; NSO Rep-430-904-15/65-9; NSO Rep-430-904-15/65-12.
109. *Neue Volksblätter,* 10 February 1939.
110. *Addressbuch der Stadt und Landkreis Osnabrück 1934/1935* (Osnabrück 1934); *Addressbuch der Stadt und Landkreis Osnabrück 1938/1939* (Osnabrück 1938).
111. Friedländer, op. cit., 284–5.
112. Konrad Kwiet, 'To Leave or not to Leave: The German Jews at the Crossroads', in Pehle, op. cit., 146.
113. *Neue Volksblätter*, 29, 31 August, 6 September 1941.
114. Interview with Irmgard Ohl, 28 July 2000.
115. Ibid.
116. NSO Dep-3b-XV-3, Kriegs-Chronik, Band III, Sept. 1941 — Okt. 1942, 779.
117. NSO Rep-439-21.
118. Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 208.
119. Asaria, op. cit., 32.
120. NSO Rep-726-16.
121. Constantin Goschler, 'The Attitude Towards Jews in Bavaria after the Second World War', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook,* Vol. 36 (1991), 445.
122. Huttenbach, op. cit., 38–9.
123. Horst Reichwein, 'Die Juden in der nationalsozialistischen Zeit', in Reyer and Tielke, op. cit., 275–7.
124. Benz, op. cit., 733.
125. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, 'Jüdische Überlebende als "Displaced Persons": Untersuchungen zur Besatzungspolitik in den deutschen Westzonen und zur Zuwanderung osteuropäischer Juden 1945–1947', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* Vol. 9 (1983), 421.

126. Koppel S. Pinson, 'Jewish Life in Liberated Germany', *Jewish Social Studies,* Vol. 9 (1947), 103, 110.

127. NSO Rep-430-201-16B/65-27-1, Letter from Regierungs Präsident of 8 February 1946.

128. The camp is discussed by: Junk and Sellmeyer, op. cit., 21–16; and Asaria, op. cit., 33–9.

129. Interview with Irmgard Ohl, 28 July 2000.

130. Bistumsarchiv Osnabrück, 04-88-1; Asaria, op cit., 43.

131. The historiography on perpetrators and the role of bureaucracy in the killing of Jews is massive. Good starting points include: Hilberg, op. cit.; Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge 1989); and the works of Christopher R. Browning, particularly his essays in *The Path to Genocide: Essays on the Launching of the Final Solution* (Cambridge 1992) and *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge 2000).

132. The trial can be traced through the *Niederdeutscher Kurier*, 3, 7, 14, 15, 17 December 1949.

133. In March 1945 the Düsseldorf Gestapo employed 291 persons, 242 of them bureaucrats, to control a population of approximately 500,000. Gellately, op. cit., 45.

134. Details of the investigation are contained in two files: NSO Rep-945-42; and NSO Rep-945-44.

135. See his essay 'Bureaucracy and Mass Murder: The German Administrator's Comprehension of the Final Solution', in *Path to Genocide*, 125–44.

136. Chapter 5 of Hilberg, op. cit., is entitled 'Zealots, Vulgarians, and Bearers of Burdens'.

137. Ibid., 212.

138. See, for instance: Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford 1983), 224–77, 358–72; David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion Under Nazism* (Oxford 1992), 67–88, 116–38; Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford 2001), 121–50.

139. Although Kershaw, ibid., 246–57, points out that the Nazis made relatively little headway in rural Bavaria because of the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy who stood up for them.

140. Bankier, op. cit., 68, 69.

141. Ibid., 86; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*, 262–3.

142. Bankier, ibid., 121, 131.

143. Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*, 358–72.

144. Gellately, *Backing Hitler,* 149.

145. NSO Rep-439-19-116.

146. NSO Rep-439-19-334.

147. Interview with Maria and Hans Grün, 8 July 2000. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

148. Interview with Karl Mols, 10 August 2001. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

149. Interview with Günther Adel, 2 August 2001. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

150. Interview with Werner Fischer, 16 August 2000. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

151. Interview with Elisabeth and Heinrich Wand, 16 August 2001. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

152. Interview with Hilde Scholl, 3 September 2001. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

153. Interview with Cilly Stein, 28 June 2002. The names of all interviewees have been changed.

Panikos Panayi

is Professor of European History at De Montfort University, Leicester. His most recent publications include *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (London 2000) and, as editor, *Weimar and Nazi Germany: Continuities and Discontinuities* (London 2001).