

7 1943 to 1944: Liquidation

Abstract

Between the end of January and the end of March 1943 Jewish social institutions were liquidated, including all eight orphanages. On 17th March 1943, 50 children and 9 staff members were arrested in the Leiden orphanage by the Leiden police and sent to Camp Westerbork. Just five days after arrival, all 9 staff members and 25 children were put on a train to Sobibor, where they were killed. The remaining children, together with many others who had left the orphanage before 17th March 1943, were deported to Sobibor, Auschwitz, or other camps in the East. Hans Kloosterman and Piet de Vries did not receive their mixed-blood certificate in time, despite the efforts of their neighbour, Stoffels, but he managed to get them released from Westerbork.

Keywords: Holocaust, Shoah, deportations Belgium, Westerbork, Sobibor, Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Liebenau, Apeldoornse Bos, Barneveld

The facts as presented in this chapter are primarily based on the witness accounts of Hijme and Emilie Stoffels, Betsy Wolff, Piet de Vries, and Hans Kloosterman. Extensive interviews with Stoffels and Betsy Wolff were recorded by Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt (1973) and reported, often verbatim, in their original (stencilled) report of 1973, a copy of which was found in the private archive of the Stoffels.¹ This archive also contains letters and postcards from Westerbork. Interviews with, and letters from, Hans and Piet have been recorded by L.P. Kasteleyn. Additional documentary evidence, such as cards from the *Joodse Raad Cartotheek* and dossiers in the War Archives of the Netherlands Red Cross, has also been included in the study. Although there are small differences between the stories, they are very consistent as to the main facts. No further reference will be made to each of these sources unless relevant.

¹ Copies are also present in the libraries of the Jewish Museum Amsterdam and the Jewish congregation in Leiden.

7.1 The situation in late 1942

During the second half of 1942, some 38,000 Jews were transported from the Netherlands to Auschwitz, including some 20,000 people from the labour camps and their families. This may have contributed to the misguided belief that the deportees were going to labour camps in the East. Many people could still not believe that the Germans were going to deport the sick or the elderly to labour camps, or – for that matter – orphans, and some parents decided, even as late as November 1942, to lodge their children in one of these Jewish institutions, where they thought they would be better protected, as mentioned in Chapter 6.8. Other people, adults, took refuge in these institutions themselves, by assuming a staff position. Such positions were available because from January 1942 non-Jewish staff were no longer allowed to work in Jewish institutions. Staff vacancies in Jewish institutions also increased because Jewish patients had to be removed from non-Jewish institutions. The number of patients in Het Apeldoornse Bos, a Jewish psychiatric institution, grew from c. 750 in 1939 to more than 1000 in January 1943. Thus, within a year, the Nazis had managed to effectively separate the Jewish from the non-Jewish people in Holland. At the same time, they were systematically being dispossessed, robbed of all their possessions and assets, before being deported to Eastern Europe.

During this period (the second half of 1942) the Jewish social institutions were not included in the deportations, but they were stripped of their independence, as well as their finances, when the Germans forced them all to merge into a single unit under the Joodse Raad of Amsterdam, the *Joodse Vereniging voor Verpleging en Verzorging* (Jewish Association for Nursing and Care), colloquially called the J4V. The official letters of the orphanage were duly adapted by typing the name of the J4V above the letter head.

Of the eight Jewish orphanages (Table 1.1), the one in Utrecht had taken in more refugee children from Germany and the East than the others. By early 1938 there were eight, then eleven refugee children in Utrecht (Crone, 2005). After *Kristallnacht* the numbers increased, and in November 1938 the summer holiday villa which the orphanage had in nearby Den Dolder was used to house 56 refugee children for whom there was no place in Utrecht itself. In October 1939, the building in Den Dolder was requisitioned by the Dutch army and had to be relinquished. The children were dispersed, while some 28 refugees remained in Utrecht.

As early as 12th February 1942, a full year before the destruction of the other Jewish institutions, 23 refugee children from Utrecht were deported to Camp Westerbork (ibid.), which at that time was officially still a “central refugee camp” with a Dutch commandant. On 15th October 1942 the orphanage in Utrecht was shut

down altogether, by order of the *Zentralstelle*, and approximately 30 children who were still there and the resident staff were transferred to temporary buildings in Amsterdam. The director, B.S. Themans, who, like Nathan Italie in Leiden, had lived in the orphanage with his wife and two small children, considered to let the children go into hiding. But when it transpired that no more than ten *onderduik* places could be found², he preferred to keep them all together and move to Amsterdam as ordered.

The closure of the orphanage in Utrecht, in the context of all the other anti-Jewish measures, probably had an impact on the staff in Leiden, but they managed to keep their anxiety hidden from the children. For the younger children the relatively undisturbed way of life continued as much as possible. Even the older children, such as Betsy Wolff, Hans Kloosterman and Piet de Vries, were relatively unconcerned. This may have been partly appearance, because all three were willing to allow Stoffels, with the approval of Director Italie, to start a “mixed blood” procedure on their behalf at the Civil Registry to prevent their deportation (Chs. 7.7 and 9.2).

Children who were approaching the age of eighteen or those who had finished school and had found a job were supposed to leave the orphanage and move on. But from 7th November 1941 Jews were not allowed to change residence without a special permit. Such was the case with Sally Montezinos, who had a job, and who would become eighteen on 6th May 1942.

7.2 Sally Montezinos becomes “an old hand” in the orphanage

Sally (Fig. 7.1, in 1942) was ten years old in 1934 when an assembly photograph (Fig. 5.4) was taken. He completed elementary education in 1935 or 1936, and the ULO in 1940 when he was sixteen years old. After the ULO, he needed a job, preferably with further education. The management of the orphanage considered vocational and apprentice training as appropriate further development for most of the children. Only very rarely (e.g. Lodi Cohen, Ch. 9.6) did they support a pupil to attend a higher level secondary school (HBS or grammar school), which prepared for further higher technical or academic education. Accordingly, they found him a job, probably in autumn 1940, in the shop of Mr. Brussé, who was making horse saddles and other leather products, at Middelweg 21 in Leiden. Mr. Brussé’s son,

2 Although finding *onderduik* addresses required having (very) reliable contacts and effective outside help, such as provided by Stoffels, to secure funds, ration stamps and food, this is a surprisingly low number. Help was also available in Utrecht and there were (student) resistance groups in Amsterdam as well as in Utrecht at that time, engaged with finding hiding addresses for children. Possibly Themans was not aware of that at the time.



Figure 7.1: Sally Montezinos, 1942, when he was eighteen.



Figure 7.2: Mr. L. Brussé Jr. (left) in front of his sail-making shop at Middelweg 21, where Sally worked for Mr. Brussé's father, 2007. Private collection.

Loek, was eleven at the time, and still worked in the same shop, making sails on order when I met him in 2007 (Fig. 7.2). He remembers³ Sally very well. His father accepted Sally as an apprentice and assistant because he liked him at first sight. Sally “*was always a merry person to have around, always laughing*”. Indeed, Sally is laughing on all the photographs which survived. Sometimes he stayed for dinner, which was, of course, not kosher and, strictly speaking, not allowed. One evening in early December 1941⁴ when the family celebrated the Dutch children’s festival of *Sinterklaas* Sally acted as *Zwarte Piet* (Black Peter) with a black mask and a red carpet around his shoulders.

Sally did not want to go into hiding. He had arrived in the orphanage, then still in the ramshackle building on the Nieuwe Rijn, in December 1926 as a two-and-a-half-year-old toddler (Ch. 2.3), and he witnessed the move to the new building in 1929. It was his home; they were effectively his family. He was never interested in moving to the Sephardic orphanage in Amsterdam when he was old enough to be admitted, or to the orphanage in The Hague where his other siblings lived.

German horse-riding officers liked Brussé’s craftsmanship and often came to the workshop (Fig. 7.2) to place or inspect orders. They noticed Sally, wearing the yellow star, working there. Some of them warned him: “*Disappear, go into hiding, now that you still can do it.*” But Sally did not want to consider it. “*If we have to go, I’ll go as well,*” he said to the Brussé family.

3 Interview note, 21st September 2007; Mr. Brussé’s two sisters were interviewed in 2008.

4 Possibly 194., Mr. Brussé Jr. was not certain.

7.3 January 1943: Jewish institutions are not safe at all

On the last day of the year 1942 the Germans raided the Jewish *Ramaer* psychiatric hospital in The Hague, arresting Jews who were impersonating patients. They were not really in *onderduik* because they were not hiding their presence in the clinic, or the fact that they were Jewish: they hoped that *as patients* they would be safe from deportation.⁵ But the idea that the Germans would leave the institutions alone was nothing more than wishful thinking.

Three weeks later, during the night of Thursday/Friday, 21st/22nd January 1943, all the patients (possibly⁶ more than 1000) of Het Apeldoornse Bos, a Jewish psychiatric institution, were taken from their beds, thrown into trucks, some unclothed and bound to a mattress, others in straitjackets, and delivered to the Apeldoorn railway station, together with some 50 staff who had decided not to go into hiding. Early in the morning of Friday, 22nd January, the train left Apeldoorn and brought them straight to Auschwitz, where everybody on board was killed upon arrival. Apparently, Eichmann himself had arranged this special train for the occasion. It was arguably one of the most brutal and gruesome liquidations of a Jewish institution in Holland during the war (de Jong, 1969-1994, vol. 6, pp. 319-326). Aus der Füntén, one of the prominent Jew hunters in the German administration, had come down to Apeldoorn in person. So had Gemmeker, the commandant of Camp Westerbork, who claimed he had no idea about the fate of the deportees (Ch. 10.4).

Among the staff who remained with their patients was Marietje de Vries, Piet's sister. After leaving the girls' orphanage in Amsterdam, she moved to Het Apeldoornse Bos as an apprentice nurse on 11th November 1941 (Fig. 7.3). She wrote letters to Piet in Leiden, and the last two of her letters have been preserved.⁷ In her letter of 3rd January 1943, she writes: "*What is the situation with your star? Did you hear anything? They are working hard on my [star]. Were you told, like I was, to send the birth certificates of father's parents?*" Like Piet, she was waiting for a decision after submitting a "change request" to the *Entscheidungsstelle*, which supervised the Dutch Civil Registry in these matters. Although both had two non-Jewish grandparents via their father (Wouter de Vries), they had been classified by the Civil Registry who handled the "VO 41/6" registration exercise for the Germans as J2: "*unsafe half-Jewish*" (van den Boomgaard, 2019. See also story on Betsy Wolff, Ch. 9.2). To escape deportation, they had to be reclassified as G1, essentially "*half-Aryan*".

5 Research by C. Glaudemans, 2019. The clinic was liquidated on 18th/19th February 1943.

6 A list of patients who were there by end 1942 has only recently come to light; Trouw 21st January 2013, see also the Joods Monument. But there is no reliable list (yet) of names for those deported on 22nd January 1943.

7 Courtesy M. de Vries, Piet's daughter, personal communication, 2014.



Figure 7.3: Marietje de Vries, Piet's sister. Nurse in Het Apeldoornse Bos, the Jewish psychiatric institution, 1942. Courtesy Marianne de Vries.

Stoffels was pushing the change request on behalf of Piet, as described in the next chapter. Marie's wording "*they are working hard*" suggests that she also had someone working on it on her behalf. The fact that Stoffels only narrowly succeeded in getting the G1 approval for Piet (he was already in Westerbork) demonstrates how important it was that someone was following up on the procedures, chasing the authorities, and banging on doors. The tragedy is that the G1 approval did arrive for Marietje in March 1943, two months after she was killed in Auschwitz. In some cases (ibidem) deportation could have been prevented if the registry had passed on a positive decision by the German authorities more promptly. This is probably not the case for Marietje, because the decision for Piet, being chased by Stoffels, also arrived only in March.

Marietje was on a night shift Wednesday/Thursday, 20th/21st January, when she wrote her last letter to Piet:

It is now midnight. We have night watch, however, under abnormal circumstances. You may have heard already what is going to happen to us, and if not, you will surely understand. So, we have not been safe here either, [...] but we will keep up our hopes that it will someday change again for the better. You may hear from us now and then from Westerbork. Don't be too concerned. We are young and capable of enduring [this], and until now we have been lucky. So, we have a sound basis [for survival] and when this is all over, we will start a new life again. [...] Give my regards to Mr. & Mrs. [Italie] and the staff. [...] I send you my greetings and kisses, and wish you all the best, your sister, Marietje. Please write to Mother as often as you can, because I cannot do it anymore, and try to comfort her. Bye.

The day she wrote the letter (Wednesday, 20th), members of the OD (*Ordedienst*, the Jewish auxiliary police in Westerbork) had arrived to "assist" with moving the patients. Their arrival made it clear to all the staff that deportation was imminent. They had arrived too early by mistake; the Germans arrived only the next day (Thursday, 21st) and the deportation started that evening. She takes it for granted that Piet (and thus everybody else in the orphanage old enough to be aware) realized she was talking about deportation, and confirms that she, like so many others, had originally assumed that the mental institute would be safe. She thinks they will first be brought to Westerbork and talks about a better future after the war. If she had heard rumours about death camps in the East,

gekust en het allerbeste geweest door je
 liefje
 Marietje
 Schrijf moeder veel, want ik heb het niet
 meer kunnen doen door de oorlog.
 Dag

Figure 7.4: Closing sentences of Marietje's last letter to her brother Piet de Vries, 20th/21st January 1943. Courtesy Marianne de Vries, 2015.

she would not have believed it. At the same time, the closing sentences (Fig. 7.4) of her letter have a terrible aura of finality. “Dag” is about the shortest possible way to say *goodbye* in Dutch. Nowhere in the letters does she even mention the possibility to leave her patients and go into hiding, and she went along with them to Auschwitz. Piet had the photograph of Marietje (Fig. 7.3) in his living room in Hilversum after the war. Both letters have been included in Piet’s dossier, courtesy of his daughter.

Het Apeldoornse Bos was not the only Jewish institution which was liquidated in the first weeks of 1943: in rapid succession Jewish hospitals and old-age homes, were *leeggehaald*, “*forcefully emptied*”, the people brought to Westerbork, where most of them were put on the first planned deportation train. Two weeks after the liquidation of Het Apeldoornse Bos, the Nazis began to deal with the orphanages:

- 10th February: All four Jewish orphanages in Amsterdam were liquidated and the children brought to Westerbork to await deportation. Probably some 220 children (including the children who were brought to Amsterdam when the Germans closed the orphanage in Utrecht in October 1942) were taken away that day.
- 25th February: Nathan Italie must have realized that the days for his orphanage were numbered. The evening of 25th February Nathan and Lies went to The Hague to say goodbye to Nathan’s brother Gabriel, who expected to be evicted from The Hague and be sent to Barneveld (see below) any day, based on a “visit” by the German police who were interested in his house and his furniture (Italie, 2009).
- 26th February: The Jewish orphanage in Rotterdam was *ontruimd*, the euphemism for “liquidated”. Children and staff were brought to Westerbork, together with the people taken out of the Jewish Hospital and Old Age Home

- in Rotterdam. In total some 260 children, sick and old people, and staff. Most of them were deported on the first planned train to Sobibor on 2nd March.
- 1st March: The remaining 236 patients of the *Joodsche Invalide*, the Jewish Hospital in Amsterdam, were violently⁸ taken out of their famous⁹ institution and deported.
 - 5th March: In the evening and during the night, the Leiden police arrested 25 Jews and handed them over to the SiPo in The Hague, Franz Fischer's office, from where the order for the arrests had come as recorded in the Leiden police archives (Kasteleyn, 2003). The SiPo itself arrested eight others in the Elizabeth Hospital in Leiden. Among those lifted from their bed that night was Donald de Marcas (Fig. 6.10). The following morning, Donald and his parents were delivered by truck to the Hollands Spoor railway station in The Hague, to board a train to Westerbork. Donald's father managed to get a temporary reprieve from Fischer himself. They decided to go into hiding, Stoffels arranged new identities for them ("van den Heuvel" and "Heskes") and new pbs (van Wijk, 1946).
 - 6th March: The Jewish orphanage in The Hague was liquidated, also in a brutal and violent manner.¹⁰ Van Creveld (2004) lists 44 children and seven staff taken to Westerbork. In total 51 people, of which 42 were killed a few days later. Of the other nine, only two girls survived the war.

Any remaining illusion that the Germans would not deport orphans, the old, sick or mentally ill to "labour camps" in the East, indeed the very idea that such "labour camps" even existed, should have been shattered upon the liquidation of Het Apeldoornse Bos and the other institutions, hospitals and orphanages. The news of the liquidations became known quickly in the other institutions, such as the orphanage in Leiden. Although Jews were not allowed to use the telephone from June to July 1942, there were other means of communication, via non-Jewish friends such as Stoffels, and by letters, such as those sent by Marietje de Vries. Everybody in Holland, Jewish or not Jewish, realized or should have realized that nothing good was awaiting them, and that their survival was far from certain, even if nobody knew what exactly the Germans had in store for them.

No preparations were made to let children go into hiding. On the contrary, rucksacks had been made from the banded red/white cloth of the exterior awnings for each of the children to carry the most essential items for when the day

8 De Jong quotes a witness who saw an elderly patient being thrown down the stairs.

9 Crown Princess Juliana visited the *Joodsche Invalide* in 1938. See also Hannah van den Ende, May 2021; "*De Joodsche Invalide*". Boom, Amsterdam. ISBN 9789024418848

10 CABR Dossier Vas, National Archives, The Hague.

of deportation would arrive, such as warm clothing and an extra pair of shoes. Only the two blankets from each bed were to be added at the last moment. Each rucksack carried a number (Piet de Vries' number was 41). Clearly, the staff, but also most of the older children, were resigned to the fact that the time of their own deportation could not be far off.

After the war, Hijme and Emilie Stoffels told Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt (1973) about their many attempts in the weeks before 16th and 17th March to convince Nathan Italie to organize *onderduik* for as many of his children as possible. Stoffels recalled (ibid., p. 22): *"I told him: Take action, send children into hiding. But Italie said, 'I cannot do that. The children have been entrusted to me; I cannot let them go. If our fate is to be taken away, I accept that.'"* Then he said: *"They may unlawfully take us out of our home and deport us, but surely they are not going to kill us."* Stoffels was not so sure of that, although even he, with his good connections, including German officers, whom he provided with bottles of genever (Dutch gin) and cigars from the Wijtenburg factory, did not know the reality of what happened to the people deported to occupied Poland.

Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt also interviewed L. Levisson (Fig. 2.7), who himself survived the war in hiding, and who had known Nathan for more than fifteen years. They asked him specifically why the governors of the orphanage had not been more active in organizing *onderduik* for the children. Levisson replied: *"Suggesting onderduik was out of the question. All my attempts foundered on the mentality of not only the director [Italie], but also some of my fellow governors. They lacked the mental attitude to resist the plans to deport them."* Moreover, the official role of the governors had been annulled by the Germans in 1942. He also added that those colleagues who did agree with him (to resist deportation) were already in hiding themselves in March 1943 and were no longer able to exert influence.

It is difficult to know what Nathan's mindset was at the time. The quote from Stoffels (above) suggests that Nathan did not want to release responsibility for the children but given his willingness to leave them and go to Barneveld (see below), this may not be convincing. It seems more likely that his resistance to the idea of *onderduik* was based on his aversion to do *anything illegal*, an attitude which was common in the pre-war Dutch Jewish and non-Jewish Christian bourgeoisie.¹¹ That may also explain why Nathan *did* consent to the Stoffels' proposal to try and arrange G1 status ("safe half-Jewish") for four of his children, although they all had Jewish mothers. Being classified G1 was one of the few ways to escape deportation

11 When in early 1942 Jews were ordered to hand over their bicycles, Hans Kloosterman (letter to L.P. Kasteleyn) decided to put his bicycle in hiding with Salomon Ritmeester who worked at the horticulture farm across the "Vliet". But the absence of the bicycle was noticed by Ms. Gobes, and when Hans told her where he had hidden it, he was forced to collect the bike and bring it to the Leiden police station.

“legally”, i.e. with permission of the Nazi authority. The different pre-war attitude towards “authority” is one of the many factors to consider before judging wartime behaviour today.

Stoffels started the G1 requests after the summer of 1942, in November at the latest, for Piet de Vries and Hans Kloosterman because they demonstrably had non-Jewish fathers, and for Bram Degen and Betsy Wolff because it was not known who their fathers were, and non-Jewish fathers could therefore be concocted for them.

Bram Degen was sixteen when he left the orphanage on 13th July 1942. So Stoffels, who had moved into his new house around the corner of the orphanage in January 1942 (months before his postponed marriage), knew him. Bram joined Ralph Litten’s Hachsharah farm (for Palestine Pioneers) in Gouda, better known as *Catharinahoeve*. His G1 certificate was issued in time for him to remove his star and leave Catharinahoeve before the inhabitants were told to report to the Vught concentration camp. The correspondence between Litten and Stoffels shows that Bram’s rescue was a close call (Ch. 9.6).

Betsy Wolff had arrived in January 1932. She was eighteen when Stoffels, drafting the letters for Italie to sign, started a descendance investigation on her behalf. The whole “investigation” was a hoax, and served only to create a non-Jewish father, and fabricate the required documentary evidence. Betsy’s G1 certificate (Fig. 9.6) arrived in Leiden on 9th March 1943, after the Civil Registry (and the *Entscheidungsstelle*) had accepted D.J. Dommerholt as her father. From then on, she was to be called Betsy Dommerholt. When she was still regarded as Jewish, she was not allowed to leave the orphanage; now that she was classified as G1, she had to leave the orphanage forthwith, entirely in line with the strict separation which the Nazis enforced between Jewish and non-Jewish Dutchmen. Stoffels offered her accommodation and employment, and the next day, 10th March, she officially moved in with Hijme and Emilie. A few days later the orphanage was liquidated: she had moved just in time. Her story is detailed in Chapter 9.2 and the relevant documents are included in her dossier.

For Hans Kloosterman and Piet de Vries, no G1 decision had been received, and both boys were arrested and taken to Westerbork with all the others (Table 7.1) on 17th March. Their story will unfold below.

7.4 17th March 1943: The orphanage is liquidated

Stoffels knew on Tuesday, 16th March, that the following day a major razzia would be held in the town, ordered by the German police and to be executed with full deployment of the (Dutch) police force in Leiden. He had also been told by one of his German contacts in The Hague about the special train being

ordered for the following day. He went over to the orphanage and tried again to convince Nathan Italie to send his children into hiding, telling him (again) that he and Emilie could help in finding *onderduik* addresses even at this very short notice.

That same evening of Tuesday, 16th March, Hijme and Emilie organized a group of trustworthy acquaintances to warn all the remaining Jews in Leiden to seek hiding places immediately. One of the first to be warned was Jacob Philipson's family. Stoffels, having contacts with staff as well as (the older) children in the orphanage, had been advising Jacob long before March 1943. Jacob and his wife were sure to heed the warnings (see Ch. 7.13). The resident staff was also informed about the imminent threat and may have considered going into hiding themselves. But none of them did.

Gerda Meijer was a close contact of Emilie (Stoffels) van Brussel from the time when both lived in the Mariënpoolstraat, and she was already active in the resistance at this time, March 1943 – although she concentrates on later years in her own report (Meijer-Weyler, 1993). Gerda was also involved in passing on the warning to other Jewish families. Her family had moved to the Thorbeckestraat close to the orphanage. She probably did not need to convince her own family members (see the story of Eva Herskovits, Ch. 5.2) but she did visit her "other" erstwhile Jewish neighbours on the Mariënpoolstraat: Rosi Klein and her three children Rita, Ingrid and Ben. Their detailed report (Klein-Roskin, 1995) provides further insight in the events of March 1943 and thereafter, and the role played by Stoffels (Ch. 10.3).

On Wednesday, 17th March, Stoffels went to Italie around 15:30 for a last-ditch attempt to convince him. "*Open the doors; let the children go.*" But again Nathan refused: "*I will keep us all together as long as possible, come what may.*" Later, around 17:30, Hijme and Emilie went together to see Nathan, now to say goodbye. He took Betsy, who had been living in the orphanage for eleven years, and who had only moved to the Stoffels' house six days earlier, with him. Hijme reported (Kerkvliet & Uitvlugt 1973, p. 26): "*While we were talking, the building was suddenly surrounded by ten to twelve policemen, led by van Musscher, Biesheuvel, and de Groot. Van Musscher was in charge*" (Fig. 10.12). They immediately ordered Stoffels to leave the building. He was shocked by being confronted by the reality of the eviction, despite his accurate foreknowledge of what was going to happen. When he got home, he suddenly realized that he had left Betsy in the building. He ran back, a mere 50 metres around the corner, where Biesheuvel, who was in charge outside, initially refused to let him in. Once inside, he succeeded in convincing van Musscher to let Betsy go. Other witnesses, including the son of the janitor of the Leiden police station (Kasteleyn, 2003) counted at least 20 policemen, including members of the German police.

Sally Montezinos who had ignored earlier advice from German officers (Ch. 7.2) to go into hiding, had worked that day as usual in the leather shop of Mr. Brussé. When he got home at the end of the day the orphanage was surrounded by the Dutch police. According to Stoffels (Kerkvliet & Uitvlugt, 1973), one policeman stopped him and whispered: *"Go away. You will all be arrested,"* but Sally just repeated what he had told Brussé: *"If we have to go, we'll all go together."* Hans Kloosterman remembered that Salomon Ritmeester, who came home from work on the horticulture farm around the same time as Sally, was also warned by one of the policemen not to enter the building and disappear as fast as he could. But like Sally, Salomon, who had turned fifteen the day before, ignored it.

The smaller children were delivered to the Leiden railway station later that evening in a bus provided by Eltax (Kerkvliet & Uitvlugt, 1973); the older children were marched to the station on foot. Emilie Stoffels happened to see them around 22:30, walking through the Breestraat under police escort that evening. She came back from bringing a Jewish boy to Valkenburg (Ben Klein?, Ch. 7.12; she did not mention a name to Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt). She realized with sadness that she could not do anything for the orphanage children anymore.

Piet de Vries realized much later that he could have hidden himself easily (with his girlfriend, Fanny Günsberg) in the many nooks and crannies in the building. He knew the cellar well since he had taken over the job as *stoker* (fireman) from Mr. van Ee. But none of the children was mentally prepared to take such a momentous, consequential, decision.

Upon arrival at the station, they were told to enter one of wagons of the old (passenger) train, which had been positioned at the far end of the platform. The wagons had separate compartments. Piet remembered that, once in the train, reality hit them hard. Guidance by the staff had collapsed, children were crying, every feeling of comfort and security which the big building had provided during almost three years of occupation had evaporated. They knew that they would be sent on from Westerbork to "labour camps" in Eastern Europe. Everybody mixed and moved between the compartments as they wished. Some tried to keep up their spirits, talking about how to survive in the camps. Lotte Adler managed to send a postcard to her friend from the Haanstra *kweekschool*, Jopie Vos (Mrs. Schröder), probably while still on the train, telling Jopie that they were doing their best to be strong, but that, while singing songs (no doubt for the smaller children), she was weeping inside. The card was lost after the war, but the photo album which Lotte gave to Jopie for safekeeping was preserved and is now in the Camp Westerbork museum. Lotte's photos could be dated and almost everybody on them identified, which helped to reconstruct life in the orphanage.

The train left Leiden around midnight. The whole operation, at the orphanage, as well as the arrest of the other Jews in Leiden who had not gone into hiding, was

carried out by the Leiden police force, while the German police remained in the background, although they were also seen in the Roodenburgerstraat (Kasteleyn, 2003). As shown (*ibidem*) by notes in the Leiden police archives, Franz Fisher (Ch. 10.10) was present in Leiden that day. Only very few Dutch policemen objected to taking part in the *razzia*, notably J.P. Rozemeijer, and Chief Inspector van de Wal, who was locked up in the police station when he insisted on taking a day off on 17th March. His wife, who was told by a colleague of her husband that he had been locked up, called Stoffels to warn him that the *razzia* was imminent. Van der Wal survived. Stoffels arranged a false pb for his son (Hugo) later in the war, to keep him out of *Arbeitseinsatz* in Germany. Rozemeijer was arrested later for another act of defiance, and was deported to Buchenwald, where he died on 12th March 1945, aged 46. Stoffels was very critical of the Leiden police force; his personal archive contains lists of a few dozen policemen whom he wanted prosecuted by the special tribunals after the war, in some cases for offences which today look rather trivial.

Piet de Vries remembered the *ontruiming* as calm and orderly. But Stoffels told Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt that it was chaotic, with some children crying and screaming, and throwing stuff around. Geertje Gebert (Mrs. Bekooy) told van Zegveld (1993, p. 169) that she cycled past the now empty orphanage on 18th March and spoke to Betsy (Wolff) Dommerholt. Betsy also said that children threw tins of syrup down the stairs in anger. The memory of Hijme and Betsy appears to be confirmed by Leo van der Meide, a young underground co-worker of Stoffels; they went back into the building the next morning and found the place in a chaotic state.¹²

Hans Kloosterman and Mieke Dagloonder (Figs. 7.5 and 7.7) were inseparable in the early years since they arrived in 1929 as two-year-old toddlers (Ch. 4.2). At the beginning of the occupation they were about thirteen years old, and they had begun to grow apart. But in the train which brought them to Westerbork in the small hours of the night 17th/18th March, they cuddled up.

In the weeks before the *razzia*, Stoffels had offered Nathan to try and get him (and his family) added to the "*List van Dam*", so that he would end up in Barneveld rather than Westerbork. Nathan's brother Gabriel was on this list. He had indeed been interned in Barneveld since 27th February 1943 (de Lang, 2009). *Barneveld* was considered "special treatment".¹³ Van Dam was Secretary General of the Education Ministry. With his colleague Frederiks of the Interior Ministry, they put together a list of Jewish Dutchmen whom they tried to safeguard from

¹² Letter, Leo van der Meide to Emilie Stoffels, 22nd March 1993 (in Dossier Stoffels).

¹³ Not much later, the Barneveld Jews were sent to Westerbork after all, but many of them continued to be treated as special cases. Gabriel and his wife survived the war in Theresienstadt.



Figure 7.5: Hans Kloosterman.
Private collection.

deportation because of prominence and valuable contributions to Dutch society before the war. It says a lot about Hijme and his perception of the Nazis that he knew about things like the “Barneveld route” and the G1 procedure. One may speculate that Hijme, who was both assertive and astute, made the offer in conjunction with the pressure he put on Nathan to let children go, hoping to neutralize Nathan’s view that he could not abandon his wards. But Nathan had not told Hijme to go ahead. However, he posted a card to Stoffels when the train halted at the Zwolle railway station just an hour away from its destination, Westerbork. *“Dear friends, can you please do everything in your power to expedite the Barneveld papers.”* Stoffels was shocked that Italie

seemed ready to leave his orphanage children, after refusing to let them go into hiding. He was still angry (in 1967) that Nathan made this reversal too late for him to get more children into hiding, but he assumed that Nathan had lost his self-assurance in the train and decided there and then to seek the special “Barneveld” treatment after all. But when Gabriel’s war diary was published (de Lang, 2009), it transpired that Nathan had already written to his brother the week before 17th March, asking him if he could try to get Nathan and his family added to the Barneveld list as well. He did not ask Hijme Stoffels to arrange this for him, nor did he inform him.

Etty Heerma van Voss, one of the “late arrivals” in Leiden (Ch. 6.8), sent a postcard (Fig. 7.6), dated 18th March, which was pre-addressed and pre-stamped by her foster parents, and which she wrote on the train to Westerbork: *“Thursday, 18th March. We are gone. Wednesday night at 9 they came to take us away. I am now in the train, getting close to Westerborg. Goodbye everybody, lots of kisses, Etty.”* The tone is raw, more so than can be captured in translation; the words are abrupt “weg” (gone), “weggehaald” (taken out, removed, as if concerning pieces of furniture).

The train of 17th/18th March brought the last large group of Jews from Leiden to Westerbork: 59 from the orphanage, and probably 41 who had not gone into hiding and who had been picked up by the Leiden police mostly from their own homes. Some 50 people had already been deported in earlier months. At least 51 had gone into *onderduik*, warned by Stoffels, Gerda Meijer, Beb Bedak and others¹⁴.

14 More people, not original residents, were in hiding in Leiden; see www.herdenkingleiden.nl for results of ongoing research.

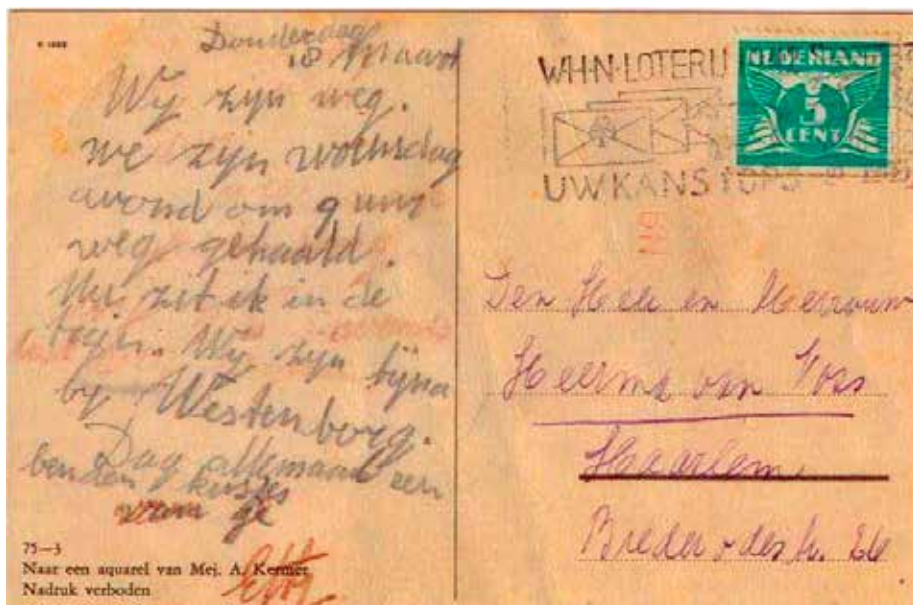


Figure 7.6: The postcard Etty wrote on the train to Westerbork, 18th March 1943.

These were actively hunted down by the above-mentioned Dutch policemen, Biesheuvel and de Groot, who (just as Steven van Musscher) had been placed in the *Documentatiedienst*, a unit of the Leiden police force created specifically to make arrests on behalf of the German police. From the approximately 500 Jewish residents in Leiden and neighbouring townships (reviewed by Kasteleyn, 2003, p. 38), 271 were deported and murdered. Similar police units had been created in other cities. The shocking role of the Dutch Jew hunters is described by van Liempt (2005).

Table 7.1 lists the 59 people who were forcefully removed from the orphanage on the night of 17th/18th March 1943. They were all registered by the Joodse Raad as having arrived and registered in Westerbork on 18th or 19th March. It is not impossible, but unlikely, that there were more people in the orphanage on or just before 17th March. Not everybody who was taken in by the orphanage in 1942 and 1943 was officially registered (for example, Salomon and Bernard Meijers, Ch. 6.8). The police had a list of 198 Jewish citizens of Leiden, of which 74 were supposed to be in the orphanage (Kasteleyn, 2003). Some of these, such as Gusta Wahrhaftig, left the orphanage before 17th March. In Westerbork, some of the older children maintained a careful weekly accounting of the names of those put on transports and those who remained in the camp. They reported this “live” in letters to Stoffels. The dates also match with the registration dates that were recorded by the Joodse

Raad. The list of 59 persons is therefore probably as accurate as possible. Yet, some uncertainty always remains.

7.5 Westerbork, a camp of “hope and despair”

Upon arrival in Camp Westerbork in the early morning of Thursday, 18th March, the group was registered.¹⁵ Nathan sent a second postcard to Stoffels to inform him that they were lodged in Barrack 66. There was no breakfast for them, so they used the emergency rations which the staff had put in each of the rucksacks. Nathan tried to recreate order by having the tables laid with cutlery, also from the rucksacks. When Nathan asked who had brought their prayer book, it turned out that only Hans Kloosterman, probably the “least Jewish” of them all, had done so. Three days after arrival in Westerbork, Sunday, 21st March, they celebrated Purim, the feast of the Book of Esther, commemorating how the plans of Haman, the vizier to the Persian king, to have all Jews in the empire killed, were foiled. During the yearly memorial in March by students from the Erasmus College in Zoetermeer (Ch. 10.5) the story of Esther¹⁶ is told, with sinister relevance.

No doubt that on that Sunday the staff and the senior children had begun to understand that the entire life in Westerbork was focused on the upcoming transport, expected to leave Westerbork on Tuesday morning, and the question of who would be on the transport list. Camp Commandant Gemmeker, of course, had the power to add people to (or remove them from) the list, and he did so if someone annoyed him for some trivial reason (van Liempt, 2019). But otherwise, the preparation of the transport list was in the hands of the relevant department (*Dienstbereich*) within the Jewish organization, and their boss *Oberdienstleiter* Kurt Schlesinger. They used a card index for that purpose and special lists of those who were exempted. To keep the system active, the cards of those deported were removed or destroyed. Schlesinger’s organization¹⁷ in Westerbork included the *Antragstelle*, which was headed by Hans Ottenstein, also a Jewish refugee from Germany. It was an important office for anybody who could make a reasonable claim to special status, to be exempted from deportation (temporarily, at least). Examples relevant to the story of this book are the Palestine connection of Mindel Färber (Ch. 9.3) and the mother of Aron Wolff (aka Ronnie de Paauw, Ch. 9.3), the Haitian nationality of Melna and Louis Fleurima, or the ongoing “Calmeyer” descendancy investigation

15 Some of the Joodse Raad cards used in this study give 19th March as registration date.

16 Courtesy Mrs. Malka Polak, who has provided the introduction for many years. Purim is almost always in mid-March in the Jewish calendar.

17 The complex workings of the Westerbork Jewish organization and the relation with the departments of the Joodse Raad in Amsterdam and The Hague are described by Schütz (2011).

for Etty Heerma van Voss, Hans Kloosterman and Piet de Vries. All the above were initially protected against being selected for deportation. Nevertheless, the pressure of meeting the weekly target number could cause any of these people to suddenly appear on the next transport list. Hans¹⁸ and Piet found their names on the list more than once. They were only taken off again thanks to the assertive actions of Stoffels (see below). It caused them great anxiety, not in the least for Piet, who was aware that his sister Marietje, who had been in an identical situation as he was now, had been deported on 22nd January and nothing had been heard from her since.

It is probably impossible to fully appreciate the impact which the weekly announcements must have had, even after reading the surviving witness accounts (e.g. Etty Hillesum, 2002; Philip Mechanicus, 1964). During the days and the night before each deportation, tensions rose to a terrible peak, until, usually on Monday evening, the names on the list were revealed. Each barrack supervisor read out the people on the list who were in his or her barrack. A terrible moment of breaking tension: condemned to depart to an uncertain but fearful future next morning, or relief: another seven days to stay in the camp. Willy Lindwer (1990) chose an apt title for his account of Westerbork: *"Camp of hope and despair"*. Once the list was revealed, frantic efforts were made by some to get a last-minute reprieve, for example, by asking the doctor to declare them unfit for deportation (Cohen, 1979). But even if one found a sympathetic ear, such requests posed a terrible dilemma: if granted it implied that somebody else would have to take his or her place because the target number of people to be on the train was sacrosanct.

Except the special cases mentioned above, the group from the orphanage in Leiden had no protection, no connections, and no strings to pull in Westerbork, and whoever was responsible to make up the target number for the upcoming transport of 23rd March decided to put 34 of the 59 new arrivals on the list. When the names were read out in Barrack 66, just four days after arrival in Westerbork, the news must have hit them terribly. Included were all nine staff members: Director Italie, his wife, Lies, and their two children, Hanna (seven) and Elchanan (six); the female staff Gobes, Bierschenk, de Leeuw, Klein, and Altenberg; Alice Blitz, as well as Barend de Vries. Also Izak Ensel (four), Salomon Rotstein (five) (Fig. 7.8), the four children van Kam: Arthur (five), Herman (eight), Hijman (ten) and Mary (twelve), Willy Blog (nine), Lotte Adler, who had just turned eighteen, and her sister Henny (twelve), whom she looked after as she had promised her mother Clara in back in Frankfurt; Herman Rozeveld (twelve); Ralph Protter (twelve); Fanny Günsberg (sixteen; Piet's girlfriend) (see Fig. 6.11), and her brother Lothar (fourteen) (see Fig. 7.8); Mieke Dagloonder (fifteen), the early days' girlfriend of Hans; Jopie Beem (sixteen); Chaim Kirschenbaum (sixteen); Max van Stratum (sixteen), Bertha Goudsmit (eighteen),

18 Letter #5 to L.P. Kasteleyn.



Figure 7.7: Passport photographs taken in 1942; courtesy Mary Vromen-de Raay, Israel. Names from top-left to lower-right:

Lotte Adler	Joop Beem	Jet Bobbe	Mieke Dagloonder
Corrie Frenkel	Chaim Kirschenbaum	Reina Segal	Alice Blitz

Jetje Bobbe (eighteen); Reina Segal (eighteen), Margarita (eighteen) and Marianna Velleman (sixteen), and Corry Frenkel (eighteen).

The next morning the selected people were walked to the train, standing ready in the middle of the camp, by members of the OD, and “guided” into one of the cattle wagons. All other camp inhabitants were under curfew to prevent emotional outbursts. By then, each deportee had been reduced to utter destitution; everything had been taken away from them: money, papers, basic rights. When the doors of the wagons were shut, they had effectively even lost their identity: although possibly the list of deportees was given to the German guards who travelled with the train, there is no evidence that anything was ever done with it, and nobody in Sobibor had any interest in the identity of the arrivals. The administrative staff in Westerbork made a secret copy of each list, and all the copies have survived the war, allowing us to know who was deported and on which date (Schelvis, 2001).

The passport photos that were taken in 1942 were the last. For the seven staff members, see Figures 6.16 to 6.18. For eight others, including Alice Blitz, see Figure 7.7. No photograph was found of Barend de Vries, the P.E. teacher. Jopie Beem and Chaim Kirschenbaum, who had just turned 16, were included in the photo

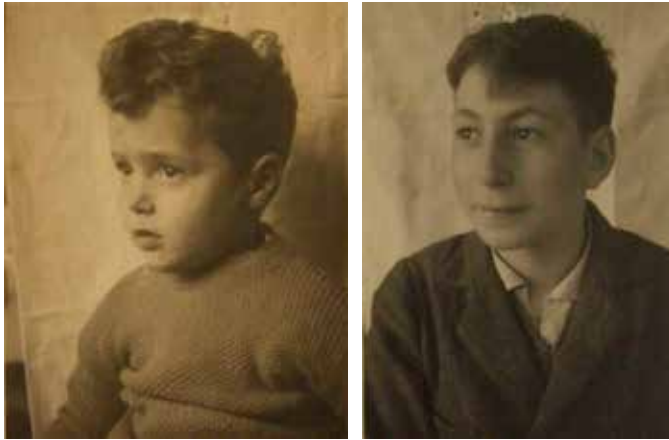


Figure 7.8: Left: Salomon Rotstein; right: Lothar Günsberg. Joods Monument.

session. Chaim and Lothar Günsberg were friends. They shared a Polish refugee background and may even have spoken some Yiddish. For the younger children who were being deported on 23rd March, no contemporaneous photos exist. The photos of Salomon Rotstein and Lothar Günsberg (Fig. 7.8) were taken earlier by or for the Dutch alien police (courtesy the Joods Monument).

The train left Westerbork on 23rd March with 1250 deportees on board, who had no clue where they were going. The destination was Sobibor, an obscure place in occupied Poland. Auschwitz, supposedly a labour camp, was known as the destination for almost all deportation trains from Westerbork in 1942 and early 1943. But nobody had ever heard of Sobibor. Even today, this death camp is not very well known internationally. It was constructed to murder large numbers of Jews in Poland and other occupied territories in Eastern Europe, while Auschwitz remained the preferred death factory for Jews from Holland, Belgium and France and occupied Southern and South-eastern Europe. What caused the Germans to divert the deportations from Holland to Sobibor for a period of five months?

7.6 Sobibor and the “Final Solution”

During 1940 and into 1941 the Nazi leadership had begun to realize that previous ideas about relocating the Jews from the annexed parts of Poland further to the East and relocating the Western European Jews in the same area, was not workable: the numbers were simply too large. The invasion of Poland in 1939 had brought more than 2.5 million Jews under German control. The local

German administrators of the occupied territories in the East were putting up resistance to the idea that “*even more Jews would be unloaded on them*” from Western Europe.

The invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 brought even more millions of Jews within German control, but by that time the Nazi thinking had already shifted from relocation (“emigration”) to downright liquidation. It is estimated that the four *Einsatzgruppen* which followed¹⁹ the German army into Soviet-controlled Eastern Poland, the Baltic states, Belarus, Ukraine, and the western part of Russia, killed at least some 1.1 million Jews (and other people in undesired categories, such as Roma, Poles and Soviet prisoners). But it was soon realized that even for these dedicated killing squads, the numbers were too high. Moreover, the daily killing of so many men, women, and children, mostly by shooting, took its toll even on the toughest members of these squads. A more efficient and “anonymous” method was needed to prevent the perpetrators from being in direct contact with each individual victim they killed. Experiments with gassing took place early in 1941 even before the invasion of the Soviet Union, originating from the pre-existing T4 euthanasia programme in Germany and Austria. The brother of Els and Karel van Santen, Philip, was killed in August 1941 in such a T4 facility in Austria (Schloss Hartheim, Ch. 8.1). These and other gassing experiments, mainly with carbon monoxide, led to the building of dedicated facilities, such as Chelmno (Kulmhof), which began its killing operation on 8th December 1941. Auschwitz I, started in May 1940 as a prison and labour camp mainly for Polish and Russian prisoners, installed a gas chamber in 1941 and experimented with Zyklon B (a cyanide-based insecticide). Auschwitz II (Birkenau) was much bigger. Construction started in late 1941, and the camp became operational in 1942 specifically to handle large numbers of Jewish deportees. The senior Nazis who participated in Heydrich’s Wannsee Conference (20th January 1942) were duly impressed with the staggering numbers of Jews to be destroyed in each of the occupied countries and territories, and the enormous logistical challenges associated with the plans to remove them from the face of the earth. Even a much bigger Auschwitz could never handle the numbers involved. New death camps were therefore built as part of *Aktion Reinhard* to handle the vast numbers of Eastern European Jews, and with only one purpose: to kill and destroy as many humans as possible, as efficiently as possible. Belzec became operational in March, Sobibor in May, and Treblinka II in July 1942.

19 In view of the scale of the operation, and the numbers involved, local auxiliary forces were added to the *Einsatzgruppen* who did much of the killing under German supervision.

The rapid and systematic step-by-step evolution of the Holocaust into a “final solution”, the coherence of the components and the way it all fitted together, suggest the presence of a strong central planning. Jozeph Michman (1987) argued that Hitler, who was in a hurry to realize his ambitions, but who also was a good tactician and patient enough to wait for the right moment, knew exactly what he wanted long before the war, but that he had to wait for his own Nazi organization to come on board with the idea of genocide. He also realized he had to wait until the German army was ready for all-out war in the East before he could execute his plans for the Jews. This could explain the apparent paradox between making a pact with Stalin in August 1939 and invading the Soviet Union in 1941: he needed the time. However, the current historical consensus is that the plans for mass murder at an industrial scale developed gradually, “organically”, as Germany expanded eastward between 1939 and 1942, with a marked acceleration from June 1941 during the invasion of the Soviet Union. In the absence of unambiguous documents, it is not clear what Hitler’s role was during this period, and when and by whom certain decisions were taken. Both points of view may have merits. The T4 euthanasia programme already used gas to kill victims as early as 1940, and used it to kill Jewish deportees from Mauthausen in 1941, including Philip van Santen, the brother of Karel (Ch. 8.1).

Following the early deportations out of Camp Schoorl to Mauthausen in 1941 (Ch. 6.3), it took one and a half years before the plans to deport all the Jews of Western Europe had taken shape. By mid-1942 Westerbork had been taken over by the Germans, and the preparations to identify all Jews in the Netherlands, sequester them in their homes, strip them of all possessions and collect them in Westerbork ready for deportation, had been completed. Preparations to “process” the deportees at Auschwitz were also ready by mid-1942. Systematic deportations from Westerbork to Auschwitz began on Wednesday, 15th July 1942, more or less at the same time as deportations from Drancy (France) and Kazerne Dossin in Mechelen (Belgium). Eichmann’s office at the RSHA in Berlin (for a description of the central SS bureaucracy, see Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2018) coordinated the railway transports with frightening efficiency. Trains had to depart Westerbork on schedule because *they had to arrive at the camps on schedule*; if not, chaos would be the result. In each occupied country, a regular “supply” of Jews to the transit camps should ensure that each train could be loaded with some 1000 to 2000 people. Although Westerbork was periodically overloaded, the execution of the deportations was near perfect, far more so than in Belgium (see the story of Alexander Lipschits, Ch. 8.4). This fact did not escape the attention of Eichmann.

Between 15th July 1942 and 23rd February 1943, 50 trains left Westerbork, to deliver 44,000 Dutch Jews to Auschwitz. As train loads of deportees arrived there from all over Europe and more gas chambers were built, the “capacity” to murder people increased to unimaginable figures. The most serious problem was not how to kill so many people, but how to dispose of the bodies. When the well-known German oven company Topf of Erfurt installed their new highly efficient ovens at Auschwitz, the killing and destruction capacity rose to some 20,000 *per day*.²⁰ It was not enough. When deportations from the Greek city of Thessaloniki (Salonika), which boasted one of the oldest, largest and most famous Jewish communities in the Mediterranean,²¹ started in March 1943 (Mazower, 2005), deportations to Auschwitz from other countries, notably France, had to be suspended. But the transports from Westerbork were not halted. It seems that Eichmann was so impressed with the progress and efficiency of the deportations from the Netherlands that it was decided not to interrupt the deportations, and to divert the transports to Sobibor instead. The first train to Sobibor left Westerbork on Tuesday, 2nd March 1943, with 1105 deportees: the last one left on Tuesday, 20th July, with 2209 people. The journey usually took three days. As a rule, all deportees on board the train were killed upon arrival. There was no labour camp in Sobibor; the camp’s only purpose was to kill as many people as efficiently as possible. Only in a few cases some 40 young and healthy people were picked from a newly arrived transport to work in one of the sub-camps supporting the main camp. Thus, Sally Montezinos (see below) was probably selected to work in the sub-camp Dorohucza, digging up peat for combustion.

In total, nineteen trains carried 34,314 people from Westerbork to Sobibor, of which 34,296 did not survive. In other words, the survival rate for Sobibor was practically zero. For each train, the transport list as put together in Westerbork has been preserved. One of the eighteen Dutch survivors was Jules Schelvis, who published a description of his ordeal (2007a), as well as an analysis of the workings of the camp (2007b). He also published the transport lists (2001) of the nineteen trains from Westerbork to Sobibor. This accuracy, and the fact that we know the names, is unique: it is estimated that between 170,000 and 250,000 Jews were murdered in Sobibor between April 1942 and October 1943, mostly from Poland and other occupied regions in the East. But in the absence of documentation,

20 Topf specialists visited Auschwitz to investigate what the SS required in terms of oven type and capacity. The invoices show that Topf was fully aware that the ovens were used for cremating thousands of bodies of killed people per day. Their ovens used advanced technology, using the combustible components of the human body effectively to reduce fuel consumption. In 2011, Topf & Sons established a Place of Remembrance at the former company grounds in Erfurt (Germany), to acknowledge their role in the Holocaust. See www.topfundsoehne.de/ts/.

21 According to German records, some 45,000 Jews were deported from Thessaloniki to Auschwitz between March and August 1943.

nobody knows for sure how many were killed in Sobibor, nor do we know their names (see Epilogue).

No words can describe the horror of the three-day trip in the cattle cars²² and the arrival in Sobibor, but try we must: a bucket as a toilet for some 60 to 70 people, no privacy whatsoever, no room to sit or lie down, no food and little water; upon arrival, the humiliation which the staff must have felt walking naked to the gas chambers with the 25 children of the transport of 23rd March, the shock when people started to suspect what was going on, the terrible asphyxiation caused by the exhaust fumes of a captured Russian tank. It could take more than 20 minutes before the screaming stopped (Schelvis, 2007a, 2007b).

Following the revolt on 14th October 1943, the Germans liquidated the camp by killing the remaining prisoners and demolishing the structures, covering it with soil, planting trees and disguising it as a farm. The satellite camps were liquidated on 8th November.²³ Several documentaries exist about the revolt in Sobibor, including one by Claude Lanzmann (2001). A joint Polish, Israeli and Dutch team of archaeologists²⁴ started excavations at the site in 2006. They uncovered the foundations of eight gas chambers (Schute, 2020), the train platform, and traces of the postholes that marked the path of what the Nazis cynically called the *Himmelfahrtstrasse* (Ascension Road or the “Road to Heaven”, the path along which the prisoners were marched to the gas chambers), and several small rings and other small pieces of jewellery. Surely, for us in the Netherlands, the most moving finds to date are the metal identification tags of three Dutch children.²⁵

7.7 The miraculous release of Hans Kloosterman and Piet de Vries

Hijme and Emilie Stoffels had successfully arranged a G1 (mixed blood) certificate for Betsy Wolff (Ch. 7.4, details in Ch. 9.1), as well as for Bram Degen (Ch. 9.5). But the G1 status had not yet been approved for Piet de Vries and Hans Kloosterman. Their case was, in principle, more straightforward, because both boys indisputably had non-Jewish fathers, and there was no need to fabricate non-Jewish grandparents. The registry had classified them as J2 (“unsafe half-Jewish”) as they had done with Marietje de Vries. It would appear (van den Boomgaard,

22 Visitors may enter such a cattle in the USHMM in Washington, but even if one would get inside with 60 or 70 people it is difficult to imagine the horror.

23 Witness accounts recorded by the Red Cross, second edition February 1947; in NIOD library (EVDO02_NIOD05_7880.pdf).

24 W. Mazurek, Y. Haimi and I. Schute.

25 Deddie Zak, Lea Judith de la Penha, Annie Kapper; see the Joods Monument or the site of Stichting Sobibor.

JOODSCHE RAAD VOOR AMSTERDAM VOORZITTERS: A. ASSCHER EN PROF. DR. D. COHEN

Emigratiebureau Westerborg
LAGER WESTERBORK, C. 4. 43

Afdeling Algemeene Voorlichting

Onze Ref.: AV/1/NV/Rs Betreft: Oek. Ser.

Uw Ref.: Uw schrijven dtd. 158/5
15063

Den Heer H. Stoffels,
Gronsesteynkade 20
Leiden

WelEd. Heer,

Wij bevestigen de ontvangst van Uw telegram dtd. 3 April, gericht aan den Heer Kloosterman, luidende als volgt:

* G 1 VERKLARING VAN RIJKSINSPECTIE BEVOLKINGS-REGISTER VOOR A. H. KLOOSTERMAN EN P. DE VRIES RIJZ OP DE HAARTE VAN DUITSCHE DIENSTPOST TOEGEZONDEN AAN LAGER COMMANDANT GRONSECKEN*.

Wij verzoeken U met de meeste spoed ons een duplicaat van deze verklaring te willen doen toekomen, de door U toegesonden verklaring niet te bevoegder plaats aanwenzig is. Dit stuk dient uiterlijk zaterdag in ons bureau aanwezig te zijn, opdat aan de hand hiervan een verzoek tot ontslag uit het kamp kan worden ingediend.

Hoogachtend,

Joodische Raad voor Amsterdam
Emigratiebureau Westerborg
Afd. Algemeene Voorlichting.

JOODSCHE RAAD VOOR AMSTERDAM VOORZITTERS: A. ASSCHER EN PROF. DR. D. COHEN

Emigratiebureau Westerborg
AFDELING Algemeene Voorlichting
1/NV/Rs Westerborg, 15. 4. 43

Den Heer H. Stoffels,
Gronsesteynkade 20
Leiden

WelEd. Heer,

Betr.: A. H. Kloosterman, geb. 19. 2. 1927 en
P. de Vries, geb. 13. 3. 1925 :

In aansluiting op ons schrijven van 6 April, deelen wij U thans mede, dat betrokkenen hangende het onderzoek in het kamp mogen blijven. Wij herhalen echter ons verzoek in ons bovengenoemd schrijven vervat, n. l. om ten snelste een duplicaat van de beslissing van de Rijksinspectie van Bevolkingsregisters, dat betrokkenen G 1 verklaard zijn, te willen doen toekomen, opdat aan de hand hiervan een verzoek tot ontslag voor betrokkenen kan worden ingediend.

Hoogachtend,

Joodische Raad voor Amsterdam,
Emigratiebureau Westerborg,
Afd. Algemeene Voorlichting.

Model 104-ALG-10-000-1229 K. 197

To H. Stoffels; Westerborg, 6th April 1943.

We confirm receipt of your telegram of 3rd April to Mr. Kloosterman to the effect that "G1 certificates issued by the Civil Registry Office for A.H. Kloosterman and P. de Vries were despatched by German Military mail service to Lager Commandant Gemmecker." We request that you send us a duplicate of the certificates with utmost urgency, since the original have not arrived at their destination. They must arrive in our office [this] coming Saturday [10th April] at the very latest, for an application to be released from the camp to be submitted.

To H. Stoffels; Westerborg, 15th April 1943.

Further to our message of 6th April, we can now inform you that the above-mentioned boys may stay in the camp, pending the outcome of the investigation. However, we reiterate our urgent request to send us a duplicate of the statements containing the approval by the Civil Registry Office of their G1 status, in order for an application to be released from the camp can be submitted.

Figure 7.9: Two of the many documents underpinning this chapter (see text). For the other documents, see the dossiers of Hans and Piet. Translation below. Both documents are in a private collection.

2019) that the German *Entscheidungsstelle*, headed by Hans Calmeyer, who had to approve the requests for a change in status, was more lenient than the Dutch Civil Registry, and the G1 status for both Hans and Piet was approved on 18th March and despatched to the orphanage in Leiden by registered mail. But the orphanage had just the previous night been liquidated, there was no one to sign for receipt,

and the certificates were returned²⁶ undelivered to the Civil Registry, where they probably arrived on 22nd March 1943.²⁷ Stoffels realized that the two boys were at serious risk when they were taken to Westerbork on 17th March without proof that the G1 decision had come through. He used one of his German contacts²⁸ to find out that the approval had been given on the 18th and arranged for the certificates to be sent by official German military mail service, on 23rd March, directly to Commandant Gemmeker in Westerbork. Stoffels assumed that this ensured timely delivery, but the documents never arrived at their destination (or Gemmeker dismissed them).

On that same day, 23rd March, 34 of the orphanage group were sent to the East, and during the following six days the two boys experienced the growing tension as the moment to announce the names for the transport of 30th March approached. With no news about their G1 status, they realized they were increasingly at risk. But their names were not called for the transport of 30th March. The documents in Stoffels' archive show that there were discussions within the Westerbork bureaucracy (probably involving the *Antragstelle*) about their status. On 2nd April Hans sent a telegram to Stoffels: they had been told that they would not remain "*zurückgestellt*" (i.e. temporarily exempted from deportation to German-occupied Poland), for much longer. Stoffels was surprised and replied to Hans the following day (3rd April) to inform him and Piet that both G1 statements had been despatched already on 22nd (23rd) March. Hans took this telegram to the officials of the Joodse Raad, who then told Stoffels (letter, 6th April, Fig. 7.9) that the statements had not arrived, and asking Stoffels to arrange duplicates "*with utmost urgency*", and that the G1 statements "*must be in our office [this] coming Saturday [10th April] at the very latest*".

That was a very serious and dangerous threat. It gave Stoffels just three days to fix it. He probably managed to communicate with the Joodse Raad officials directly or via a (German) contact, because on 15th April they sent another letter to Stoffels (Fig. 7.9) to tell him that the threat of imminent deportation had been softened:

Further to our message of 6th April, we can now inform you that the above-mentioned boys may stay in the camp, pending the outcome of the investigation. However, we reiterate our urgent request to send us a duplicate of the statements containing the approval by the Civil Registry Office of their G1 status, in order for an application to be released from the camp can be submitted.

26 Letter, Stoffels, 22nd April 1943.

27 Date stamp on the G1 certificate for Hans.

28 An unidentified *Obersturmführer* (Kerkvliet & Uitvlugt, 1973).

This gave Stoffels time to get hold of duplicates and send them to Westerbork. On 18th April Hans writes to Stoffels that they had been earmarked for deportation twice but taken off the list again. Piet sends two postcards and Hans one, to thank Stoffels for sending them food parcels. On 22nd April Stoffels sends the newly acquired duplicate G1 certificates to the “Emigratiebureau Westerbork” by registered mail, under covering letter. He adds: *“I trust that you will now submit a request to release the [two boys] without delay.”* On 28th April, the Joodse Raad confirms to Stoffels that they have received the certificates, and that the boys can now submit an official request (to Commandant Gemmeker) to be released.

On 16th May Piet sends another postcard to thank him, also on behalf of Didia Klein, for yet another parcel. But he regrets:

that the parcel did not contain a new pair of shoes for me, since the only pair I have is falling apart. No further efforts to secure our release can be made, since the matter is now in the hands of the commandant. Photographs for our new persoonsbewijs have been made, and we hope to be released on the coming Friday. The day after, we plan to show up in Leiden. We will send a telegram from Assen. A [new] camp regulation prohibits receiving parcels from non-Jewish friends, or from anybody not resident in Amsterdam.

We hope to see you soon. Please give our regards to Bets and van Ee [...] Daniel. Barrack 64.

(Curiously he signs again as Daniel, and not Piet as he had done after 17th March.) It took another ten days of waiting. On 26th May he sends the promised telegram from Assen: *“On the way home. Arriving tomorrow. De Vries.”*

Hijme and Emilie Stoffels must have spent an enormous amount of time to get from the German and Dutch (Civil Registry) bureaucracy what they needed to get the two boys out of Westerbork. It is sobering to realize how easily it could have gone wrong for both boys, as it did for Piet’s sister Marietje, who had also submitted a “G1” change request. While going through the records and realizing the efforts they made on behalf of so many other people, my admiration for Hijme and Emilie increased accordingly (Ch. 10.3).

Notice the bureaucratic nature of the letters (Fig. 7.9), with reference indicators, no less than five initials indicating checks and approvals, and two stamps, and underneath the official letterhead of the Joodse Raad, the euphemism “Emigratiebureau Westerbork”.

7.8 March to June 1943: Letters from Westerbork

Including Piet and Hans, 25 children and young adults (from the original group of 59) remained in Westerbork after 23rd March. For the first time ever since they entered the orphanage (for Sally Montezinos: sixteen years) they found themselves on their own: the formerly ever present guidance and direction of the staff had disappeared overnight (although there was someone in charge of the children who remained in Barrack 66). It is a testimony to how well Stoffels had been able, in just about one year, to build a relationship, not only with Nathan Italie, but also with quite a few of the (older) children, that so many of them started using their once-a-fortnight writing privilege to send a postcard or a letter to Stoffels.²⁹ It can be somewhat disconcerting to read how easily, as a matter of course, they expected Stoffels to send them regular packages with articles ranging from foodstuffs to a new pair of shoes. But by March-April 1943 there was no one else they could write to for help. They frequently sent postcards back to Stoffels to thank him. Indeed, within two or three days from 17th March, Hijme and Emilie began to send parcels to Westerbork, containing food and all sorts of articles to make their life easier. Sally Montezinos, always the cultured one, wrote a letter on 23rd March (Fig. 7.10) to thank him for the parcels, informing Stoffels that many of the group had been sent to the East that very morning. He ends the letter expressing hope that he will meet Stoffels again soon. *"Sending you regards on behalf of all children, and once again our gratitude for the more than outstanding way you care for us by sending us parcels. [...] [I] hope to meet again in the near future."* Harry sent a postcard (Ch. 7.11) on the same day (23rd March), thanking them for the food package which had reached them the day before.

Piet de Vries also wrote to Stoffels, his undated letter was most likely written on 24th or 25th March. He takes the trouble of listing the 25 children who remained in Westerbork after 23rd March. Together with the Joodse Raad cards, the other letters from Westerbork, and the municipal Civil Registry, it allows the reconstruction with some certainty of the list of the 59 persons who were taken from the orphanage to Westerbork on 17th/18th March (Table 7.1). Piet tells Stoffels that the staff took most of the supplies with them on the train so that *"there is hardly enough left [for the others] to take to Poland"*. He adds a rather long shopping list: they are particularly short of bed sheets, towels, toilet paper, soap, cooking pans, as well as bread, butter, vinegar, lemons, apples, piccalilli, salt, matches. Ms. Bierschenk had told them that they would have enough sheets and towels because the Leiden laundry service van der Loo had promised to send them many items which were left with him the week before.

29 Some of the letters were given to NIOD by Emilie in 1988, the others were found in her archive.

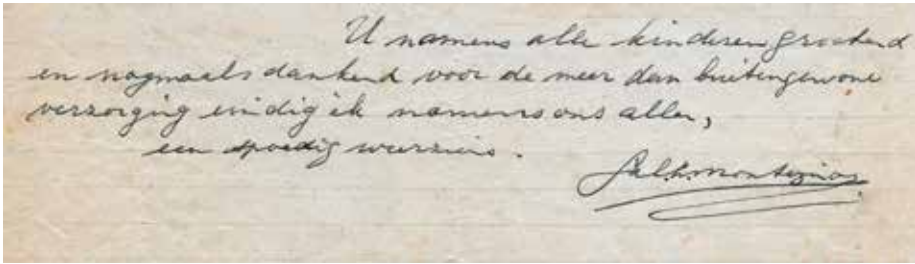


Figure 7.10: Letter (closing sentence) from Sally Montezinos in Westerbork to Stoffels, 23rd March 1943, the day the first large group from the orphanage was put on the train to Sobibor. From the private archive of Emilie Stoffels. Original Private collection.

Jet Mogendorff wrote to Stoffels on 6th April to thank him for more food parcels, asking him to send them more kitchen utensils and candles, and to urge van der Loo again to send them the laundry. There is no indication that the laundry ever arrived in Westerbork. If it did, it may have been sequestered by others as the orphanage group had become small and dispersed in Westerbork after the deportation of the first group on 23rd March.

For 20 days, the remaining 25 children from the group of 17th March were left alone. No one was called for the transports of 30th March or 6th April, which together took 3275 men, women and children to Sobibor. As a result, they had a chance to “settle”, and, for the older ones, to be given something useful to do. A day after arrival, Sally was given a job as “Essenholer [food distributor] in the Krankenhaus [hospital], which gives me extra rations of porridge and 200 grams of bread.” He continues:

Didia has a deep tan as a result of working ‘on the heathland’ surrounding the camp, Frieda Lichtenbaum is ordonnans [orderly, attendant] of her own barrack, so is Harry Spier to Barrack 66, and Hans Kloosterman to the ‘Voorzorg’ [another unit within the self-administration of the camp]. Piet is doing earth work, Cecilia assists with looking after the boys above twelve years, and Jet [Mogendorff] with the children ten to twelve.

Then, unexpectedly, Etty Heerma van Voss, and she alone from the remaining orphanage group, was selected for the transport of 13th April. Her sudden deportation must have shocked the others, who were rudely reminded that they were also likely to be called, unexpectedly, any Monday evening before the weekly transport. Indeed, Sally wrote to Stoffels a few days later that he was surprised to be still there. The background of Etty’s lone selection for transport is described in Chapter 7.11.

Various remarks in the letters suggest that the optimism which had characterized so many of them during the preceding two years and ten months of

occupation was rapidly eroding. Jet Mogendorff writes to Stoffels on 19th April 1943, after first thanking him for receiving yet more packages with food items, and telling him how it had improved their meals, that the four oldest boys: Daniel (Piet) de Vries (who had just turned eighteen), Hans Kloosterman (sixteen), Harry Spier (seventeen) and Sally Montezinos (eighteen), had been transferred to Barrack 64, because of the mixed sleeping arrangement which in Westerbork was not the norm. It was not considered appropriate or acceptable to whomever was in charge. She goes on to complain that the children who remain in Barrack 66 have now been split into age groups, meaning that they still had their meals in the same barrack, but at different tables depending on age. One wonders what possessed the (Jewish) administrators³⁰ in the camp to forbid the children from Leiden, who spent all or most of their life together, to remain in the same barrack, and even to forbid those who stayed in Barrack 66 to have their meals at the same table. She reports their joy of being allowed a shower once a week; they all suffered from the windy, dusty (and if it rained: muddy) conditions at Westerbork. More ominously, Jet adds that they have heard that the G1 papers for Hans and Piet have gone missing, so that *"we are not so confident anymore that they will be allowed to go back [to Leiden]"*.

Nothing, so it seems, could dampen the optimism of Sally Montezinos and Harry Spier. Sally, almost a month after deportation to Westerbork, is still *"fairly content, given the circumstances"* (or so he claims in his letter to Stoffels of 19th April). He is happy with his extra rations, but they lack something to drink. The water in that part of Drenthe is heavy with iron compounds, making it unsuitable for drinking or for making coffee or tea. He plays soccer on Sunday. The fact that they had to move to a different barrack which upset Jet (above), does not seem to bother him. But Sally was from all accounts a reserved, reticent person, and he probably had a fair idea of how precarious their situation was, without wanting to bother Stoffels with his personal fears.

Harry (Fig. 7.11) was a quite different character, unpretentious and uncomplicated, who took life as it came, often in high spirits.³¹ He probably had no need to hide his fears from Stoffels: he simply did not have any, or so it seems. He sent four postcards to Stoffels, the first one, like the letter from Sally, on Tuesday, 23rd March, just after the train of that day had taken 34 of them away to the East. *"Dear All, I arrived here in good health and good spirits. They put me in a barrack for orphans, which is very nice. The food is also quite OK. [...] Yesterday we received the food parcels, also the fish pie. [...] Regards to Betsy and your wife."* All his four postcards are in the

30 Jet Mogendorff mentions (letter, 6th April) that a Mrs. Prins was in charge of all the "orphans" in Westerbork, but whether she played a role in all this is not known.

31 Although the Joodse Raad noted on his card "not very strong (*"flink"*) for his age.



Figure 7.11: They all used their once-a-fortnight privilege to write to Stoffels. Passport photos, Leiden, autumn 1942.

Names from left: Sally Montezinos, Harry Spier, Piet de Vries and Jet Mogendorff

same spirit. Everything is “*fine*” the food is “*OK*”, and many thanks for sending so many parcels.

On 10th April Salomon Ritmeester sent a postcard to thank Stoffels for “parcels”; on 6th May Hans Kloosterman does the same. Hijme and Emilie must have sent dozens of parcels between 18th March and May 1943, when the inmates of Westerbork were no longer allowed to receive parcels from non-Jewish friends outside the camp, and any Jewish friend they may have had, had disappeared from life in Holland.

On Tuesday morning, 27th April, the ninth train from Westerbork to Sobibor took away Jet, Cecilia and Roza Mogendorff, and Sally Montezinos (Fig. 7.11).

Although in Sobibor there was no “selection” as there was in Auschwitz-Birkenau, the SS and their Ukrainian assistants occasionally required labourers in or around the camp. It is known that from this transport (which probably arrived on 30th April) several tens of people were selected for work (Schelvis, 2001). They were often forced to send a postcard to family or friends back home, typically saying things like: “*I am in good health. I have to work hard, but the food is OK,*” and so on. From seven people from this transport of 27th April such a card was received (as registered by the Joodse Raad before the card was forwarded). One such card, from the Sobibor sub-camp Dorohucza, was from S. Montezinos, addressed to A. van Nood in Amsterdam.³² It was assumed after (and possibly already during) the war that the card came from Sally. The card itself did not survive, and it seems strange, given all the letters from Westerbork, that Sally would not write to Stoffels. There is no information about this Mr. van Nood, nor anything which would connect

32 Abraham van Nood, Eerste Oosterparkstraat 28, Amsterdam; list of 8th November 1943. Information about him would be very welcome.

him to Sally or the orphanage in Leiden. On the other hand, in spite of the many members of the families Montezinos (and Montesinos) who were deported to Sobibor, and with the initial S, only Sally was the right age to be selected, so indeed it may have been him.

The exact date of Sally's death is unknown, but it is extremely unlikely that he survived the liquidation of Sobibor on 14th October 1943 and all its sub-camps on 8th November. Sally's official date of death (4th November 1943) established after the war for legal reasons, is probably as good as any. Many official dates of death of Jews who were selected for work before being killed, particularly in Auschwitz (Croes & Tammes, 2004; Schütz, 2011), but also in Mauthausen (Ch. 8.1), are incorrect. In many cases the information available in local registries (such as *Sterbebücher*) was not used after the war, and even if it was used, the date and cause of death were often falsified, particularly when larger numbers of prisoners were killed on the same day. The list at the end of this book therefore maintains the official dates, and readers investigating a particular person should be aware of this.

7.9 The transport of 4th May 1943

On Tuesday, 4th May, a train left for Sobibor with 1187 people on board. None of them survived. The youngest of the remaining "Leiden" children were on this transport: Benjamin (four) and Louis (two) Bobbe, and Regine (René) Klausner, who was just one and a half years old when someone brought her to the Leiden orphanage on 30th April 1942. All three children went to their death without their parents and without their guardians from Leiden, who had already been deported (on 23rd March). The mother of René, Marie Schmarag, was gassed on 7th September 1942; her father Isaak was doing forced labour in Auschwitz-Fürstengrube, a coal mine for IG Farben; he died on 31st January 1943. The father of Benjamin and Louis had been deported on 16th October 1942; he perished in Buchenwald on 1st March 1945. Their mother, Eva Fuld, was deported to Sobibor on 8th June, a month *after* Benjamin and Louis. She was listed as *Häftling*, which suggests that she may have been caught while in hiding. If so, it raises the question why she did not arrange *onderduik* for the children, or maybe she did try, without success. It may also be surmised that she thought they were relatively safe in the orphanage, because being caught in *onderduik* meant certain death.

Also on this train were Philip (twelve) and Harry (two) Poons, but they were possibly reunited in Westerbork with their mother, Roosje Poons-Swaan. All five above-mentioned children were originally from The Hague. Philip and Harry had been in hiding in the orphanage, probably from early 1943. Thanks to their erstwhile



Figure 7.12: Philip Poons, The Hague, c. 1932.
Courtesy Mrs. Henny Schippers.

neighbour in The Hague who came forward in 2017, there is one photograph of Philip (Fig. 7.12), but none of Harry, Benjamin, Louis or René.

Frieda Lichtenbaum (Fig. 7.13) was born in Ginneken, the Netherlands, but her mother, Jospa Lichtenbaum, was a refugee from Poland, who lived in Antwerp, Belgium. Jospa was a nurse, and she was stateless, which probably means that both Poland and Germany refused to give her a passport, before the war. Jospa was deported from *Kazerne Dossin* (Mechelen, Belgium; Ch. 8.4) to Auschwitz on 11th August 1942. Frieda was registered by the Dutch alien police on 10th October 1932, but the photo (Fig. 7.13) must have been taken much later. Frieda arrived in the orphanage in Leiden on 18th August 1932 and had lived there for

more than ten years. She appears on many photographs, such as Figure 4.7 (1932) and Figure 5.10 (1939). She wrote (26th February 1940) in a verse album of a classmate (probably the last year in elementary school, at age twelve): “*Vergeet mij niet, in vreugde en verdriet*” (“Forget me not, in joy or sorrow”). Frieda uses some empty space on Henriette’s letter of 19th April to thank the Stoffels for all their efforts on their behalf, and to wish them a happy Easter (25th-26th April 1943).

Harrie Spier had sent his fourth postcard to Hijme Stoffels on 3rd May with his habitual comments:

Dear Sir, Madam and Betsy. How are things in Leiden? Here everything is ‘healthy’. [...] Today we had barley soup with meat. It tasted quite good. [...] The Mogendorfs and Sally Montezinos have departed [on 27th April], but Leo Auerhaan is still here, Betsy, he sends his regards. [...] Mr. and Mrs. [Stoffels], best regards.



Figure 7.13: Frieda Lichtenbaum, c. 1939. Photo: Alien police.

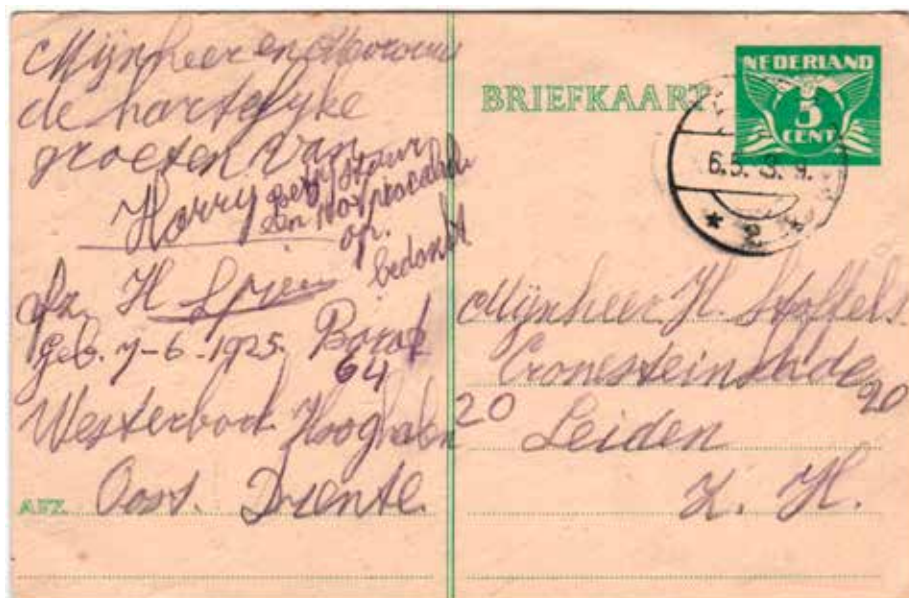


Figure 7.14: Postcard of 3rd May 1943 from Harry Spier to Mr. and Mrs. Stoffels and Betsy Wolff. Back side in dossier.

He scribbles a postscript to Betsy Wolff (Fig. 7.14, next to his signature) “Bets, can you please send us a jar with piccalilli? Thanks.” It provided the title of Kerkvliet and Uitvlugt’s report (1973).

Four days after writing this postcard, Harry, the once indomitable optimist, was no longer alive. He would have been eighteen a month later.

7.10 The transports of 18th and 25th May and 1st June 1943

On the 18th May, the next train to Sobibor took away Maurits Hakker (fourteen) and his brother Simon (ten), Rika Alvares Vega (ten) and her siblings Isaac (almost nine) Henrietta (four), and Willem (three), and Salomon Ritmeester (fifteen). Salomon was transported to Sobibor without his brother, Barend, or his father, Hartog, who were deported two weeks later. His mother had died in 1932 when he was three. He had stayed in Barrack 66, while Barend was in Barrack 58. Their father had been *wehrmachtgesperrt* (exempted from deportation) because as a metal worker he was valuable to the German army, but in the end the plans to eradicate everything Jewish always took precedence over economic or military considerations.

Several children who had left the orphanage shortly before 17th March were also deported on 18th May: Simon Korper (four), Enny Hamerslag (seven) and her siblings

Judith (five) and David (three), the youngest of this group. Many had spent overlapping periods in the orphanage, and they must have known each other. There is no way of knowing if they were put in the same or a different cattle wagon. Ies Cohen was the oldest, at 23, of the in total twelve children who had lived in the Leiden orphanage who were sent to Sobibor on this day. He had lived there for more than eight years, from 1932 to 1938. His brother Lodi Cohen survived the war (Ch. 9.7).

Isaac Slap (seven), who had lived in the orphanage for three months in 1939, follows them a week later, on the 25th, with his father, Joseph.

On 1st June, the weekly train to Sobibor took away Salomon's brother, Barend Ritmeester (thirteen), and their father, as well as Benno Redisch (four), who had left the Leiden orphanage in July 1942, and Harry de Vries and Jupie Pront, who had left the orphanage in 1932 and 1935. Benno sits on the bench with Aron Wolff and other children (Fig. 9.16) in July 1941, the last surviving last photo of him, taken on behalf of Geertje Gebert (Mrs. Bekooy). Barend (Fig. 4.7) lived in the Leiden orphanage from September 1932 to March 1939. He needed special care; in 1939 he was transferred to the Rudelsheim Clinic in Hilversum.

To the best of current knowledge, 59 people were forcefully taken out of the orphanage on 17th March 1943 and delivered to Camp Westerbork the following morning (Table 7.1). By the end of May, two had been released by the Germans; 54 had been deported to Sobibor, and by early June not a single one of those was still alive, with the possible exception of Sally Montezinos who may, at best, have survived until the liquidation of the Sobibor sub-camps on 8th November 1943. The last of the nineteen trains to Sobibor left Westerbork on Tuesday, 20th July 1943, after which transports went to Auschwitz again. At that time 3 of the original 59 were still in Westerbork: Didia, Bram and Mindel. Didia Klein, who became eighteen in May 1943, had married Heinz Cahn in Westerbork. They were both deported to Auschwitz on 21st September 1943. Didia survived Auschwitz, but at unimaginable personal cost (Ch. 9.5). Bram de Beer (five) had a brother, Hartog, who was two years older. Their mother was Betje Meents, who died in 1939. Hartog was taken in by his grandparents from father's side, Bram was lodged in the orphanage in Leiden in July 1942. Their father, Joseph de Beer, married again, with Elizabeth Turfreijer, and they had a son, Simon, who was born in Camp Westerbork on 24th August 1943. Simon therefore was Bram's half-brother. Elizabeth had three daughters from before her marriage with Joseph de Beer; they were Bram's stepsisters. One of these stepsisters died in 1941 in infancy; all the other family member perished in the Holocaust. Bram was in Westerbork when his father, Joseph, arrived in Westerbork with his new wife, Elizabeth, and he was there when Simon was born. There is a letter from Bram's father to Stoffels in his private archive (freely translated):

Westerbork, 7th May [1943]

Dear family,
You probably do not know me, but you are acquainted with my son, whom I have found again here. He has not yet lost his timidity and is still the quietest boy in the camp. I also received your package, for which I thank you very much. I was unable to thank you properly in my previous letter, so I take the opportunity of this postcard to do so. Sir, I regret I don't know what else to write to you, therefore I end this message, again with many thanks on behalf of my son.
J. de Beer, Barrack 65, Westerbork

By the time this postcard arrived in Leiden (it was written on 7th May but stamped at the Assen post office only on 19th May), Stoffels had sent yet another package to Bram. Joseph and Bram sent another card to acknowledge receipt of this parcel on 14th May. This card was postmarked 15th May and it arrived in Leiden first. All family members de Beer and Turfreyer were deported to Auschwitz on 16th November 1943 and killed on 19th November, except Bram's father Joseph who perished on or around 31st March 1944, 28 years old.

Mindel Färber was the very last one of the 59 to be deported (Table 7.1), on 11th January 1944, to Bergen-Belsen, which at that time was a holding camp for Jews in "special categories" who were not to be killed outright. Mindel was in such a category because her mother was in Palestine, and Mindel was eligible for a (British) Palestine entry visa. Her story follows in Chapter 9.3. See also Chapter 9.4 about Aron Wolff.

Paula Jacobsohn, mentioned above, was deported one week after Mindel. Six more erstwhile inhabitants of the orphanage were deported in 1944, all to Auschwitz: Hijman Cohen (deported on 25th January), Leo Auerhaan (3rd March), Salomon and Bernard Meijers (23rd March), Hetty de Jong (19th May) and Ihno ten Brink (4th September). Hetty was killed with her husband and her son, Edward Frankenhuis, who was born in Westerbork on 24th February 1944.

7.11 Etty and Harry in Westerbork and the efforts of the Joodse Raad

Why was Etty Heerma van Voss not included in the first group for the transport of 23rd March, and why was she then selected and deported all on her own three weeks later? The Joodse Raad left four "work cards", which are shown and translated in Figure 7.15.

Etty had arrived in Leiden late, when deportations from Westerbork were already in full swing, after an attempt by her foster parents to arrange a G1 status (Fig. 6.20) had failed. Nevertheless, the Joodse Raad (probably in Amsterdam or The Hague) made significant efforts (Fig. 7.15) to find out if she could qualify for

19 Maart 1943: >H1553/13: heeft 2 Joodse grootouders. svp ouder zoeken.

22 Maart 1943: < x verzorg geel kaartje + neg. verkl. N.I.G.

23 Maart 1943: CV aan Mr. H. Burgersdijk, Leiden, verzorg geel kaartje + neg.verkl.

24 Maart 1943: < op 18/3: verwachten met spoed geel kaartje en negat. verkl. NIG Leiden. Zonder deze bewijsstukken request [tot goedk.G1] onmogelijk. Verzoeken J[oodse] R[aad] Den Haag hiervan in kennis te stellen - 22/3

24 Maart 1943: CV>JR Haag: Antwoord op request doorgegeven

25.III/43: JR.Haag L> CV>Bev.Reg. A'dam Geboorte-bewijs verzorgen

26 Maart 1943: >/Theeboom: Mr Burgersdijk deelt mede, dat gele kaart niet te verzorgen, omdat in gesloten weeshuis, verder dat betr. geen lid van Joodsche Gemeente. x>J [?] zullen bij Mr.B. neg. verkl. aanvragen

26 Maart 1943: CV>JR Haag. Onderhoud met dhr. Meuleman bevestigd (zie voorafgaande notitie) Verzorgt afschrift gele kaart + neg. verkl.

31 Maart 1943: >Theeboom/C: neg. verkl.N.

31 Mrt. 1943: <op 26/3: voor betr. is verzoek ingediend. Verzoeken de nodige stukken met spoed te verzorgen. -30/3

3 Apr. 1943: >Boas/A: uittr. uit geb. reg. A'dam. Erkend door Theodora Noach, naam 1938 veranderd in Heerma van Voss. Mr. Veth is van meening dat niet zonder meer 2 joodsche grootouders kunnen worden aangenomen aangezien pleegouders 4 J. grootouders hebben aangegevn. Waar is haar moeder? Nagaan wie verwekker is.

5 Apr. 1943: <31/3 verzoeken nieuwe negatiefverklaring van NIG Leiden, dat betr. op of na 9-5-1940 niet tot de J. Gemeente of nooit lid is geweest. Toegezonden verklaring onvoldoende. -3/4

6 & 8 Apr. 1943: JR Haag: adres pleegouders en naam bovengenoemde ?niet

10 Apr. 1943: >Theeboom: Neg.Verkl. NIG

10 Apr. 1943: x Neg.verkl. per koerier

15 Apr. 1943: < op 10/4 verzoek afgewezen

3 Mei 1943: bijgaand stukken retour. Verdere stappen geen doel. - 29/4

19th March: Has 2 Jewish grandparents, pls find parent;

22nd March: "Yellow card and negative statement NIG"

23rd March: "CV to Mr Burgersdijk, Leiden : arrange yellow card + neg. decl NIG";

24th March: "Urgently require yellow card and neg. statement ", without these documents request [to approve G1] cannot be made. Please inform JR The Hague";

24th March: CV>JR Hague: Response to request passed on".

25th March: JR Hague L-7 CV L-7, Civil Registry Amsterdam

26th March: B/Theeboom: Mr Burgersdijk informs yellow card cannot be arranged because orphanage is closed, but negative declaration NIG possible. We will ask him to arrange that decl.

26th March: JR Hague, interview with mr Meuleman Confirmed, he will arrange duplicate yellow card and neg. decl.

31st March: >Theeboom/C: neg. decl. N

31st March: On 26/3 request has been submitted; please arrange the required documents with utmost urgency 30/3

3rd April: >Boas/A excerpt birth certificate A'dam. Recognised as her child by Theodora Noach, name changed 1938 Heerma van Voss. Mr Veth is of opinion we cannot assume [only] 2 Jewish grandparents just like that, because foster parents have registered 4 Jewish grandparents. Where is her mother? Check who is her biological father.

5th April: We requested on 31st March new neg. decl from NIG Leiden to effect that this person (ie Etty) was not a member of the NIG on or after 9-5-40, or for that matter, ever. The declaration we received is insufficient.

6th April: JR Hague provided address foster parents Haarlem. Name of above: (unreadable)

8th April: JR Hague: address foster parents

10th April: C/Theeboom: neg. decl. N. by courier

10th April: Neg. decl despatched by courier

15th April: on 10/4: request denied -14/4

3rd May: Returning documents. Further actions serve no purpose - 29/4 -

Figure 7.15: Four "work cards" of the Joodse Raad for Etty Heerma van Voss, recording the efforts of the JR officials to determine whether Etty was "full- or half-Jewish". Translation on the right. Not all scribbles are clear as to their meaning. Courtesy of the Red Cross War Archives, The Hague, 2017.

Frantic efforts to obtain confirmation and documents from the NIG (the Jewish Congregation) in Leiden were of course fruitless: all Jews who had not been arrested and deported in Leiden were in hiding, and no official could be reached. Yet somehow a "Negative declaration" was obtained and sent to Westerbork by courier on 10th April. to support the request to classify Etty as "half Jewish". The request was denied on the same day, and Etty was put on the list for the upcoming transport 3 days later. The last entry of 3rd May reads: "Further actions serve no purpose": Indeed, Etty was put on the train to Sobibor on 13th April, where she was killed on 16th April 1943.

G1 status. Two Joodse Raad officials stand out, both using a fountain pen and dark-grey ink. Their annotations occur on many of the cards which were reviewed for this study.

The very first entry (19th March, the day after she arrived in Westerbork) observes that she has two Jewish grandparents (implying that she might have two non-Jewish grandparents). Assuming that the information was shared with the *Emigratiebureau* and/or the *Antragstelle* in Westerbork, this was likely the reason why Etty was not put on the transport of 23rd March. But on 3rd April the Joodse Raad official notes that the [foster] parents were unable to attest that the other two grandparents were not Jewish, since Etty's biological mother declined to support such a claim (Ch. 6.8). For the same reason they could not make a credible claim that her adoptive father was also her biological father.

Irmi (Etty's foster-mother, Fig. 6.20) wrote her a letter (Kasteleyn, 2003, p. 43) on 12th April. It was postmarked for receipt in Assen (the city nearby Westerbork) on 15th April and sent back to Haarlem when it transpired that Etty was not in Westerbork anymore. The efforts by the Joodse Raad continued for another two weeks until they concluded (last entry 3rd May) that further action served no purpose (Fig. 7.15). No doubt someone in Westerbork had informed him that Etty had been deported on 13th April. As far as we can tell, she made the journey to Sobibor alone; there were no other children from the orphanage group, the people she had lived with for the preceding seven months, on this transport. She was eleven years old. I can only hope that someone in Etty's cattle car cared for her.

Theodora Noach, Etty's biological mother, was imprisoned in Camp Vught according to the Joodse Raad card (the red V at the top, Fig. 7.16) on 24th February 1943, and deported to Auschwitz on 8th June via Westerbork with her husband and their two children. All four were killed on or around 11th June.

Harry Spier had entered the orphanage, not yet three years old, in May 1928, before the inauguration of the new building. Little is known about him, or his family, except that his mother was Froukje Spier, born in Haarlem on 29th January 1883. Froukje married a certain Wellink, who may or may not have survived the war. The Joods Monument comments as follows:

We have been unable to determine whether one or more members of this family survived the war. While their names do not appear on the lists of survivors, we have not been able to trace them in In Memoriam, either. They are therefore labelled as 'surviving' and their names are not listed.

When Harry arrived in Westerbork, Joodse Raad officials, probably in Amsterdam because they refer to the Joodse Raad office in The Hague, embarked on an investigation into the possibility of declaring Harry G1, just as they tried to do

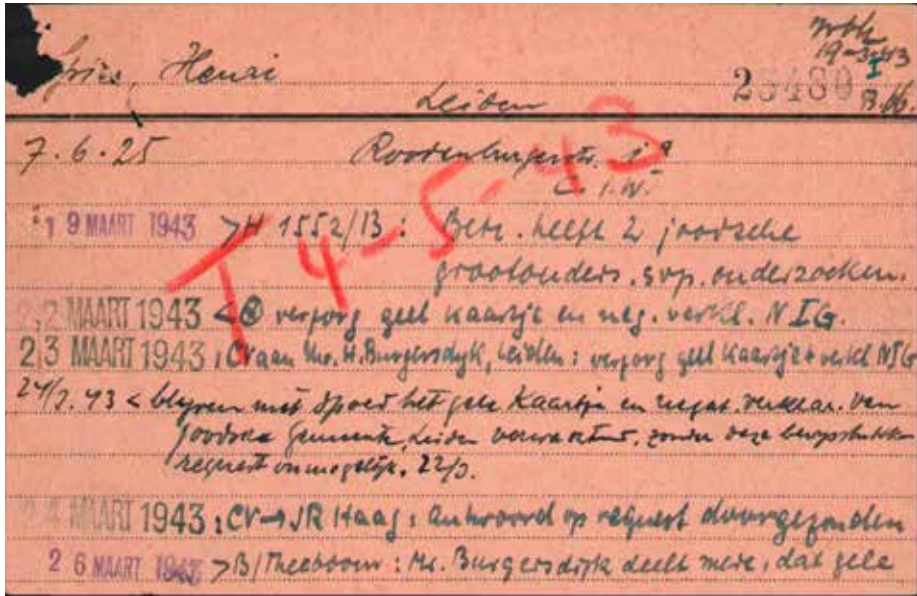


Figure 7.17: One of four work cards of the Joodse Raad for Harry Spier (see text).

faith, to save a pitiful few people from deportation (see the Joodse Raad organigram of March 1943). But month after month during 1943, the whole structure was fading away, dissolving as the *Sperre* were cancelled, one after another, or batch by batch, and the number of vacant positions in the Joodse Raad organization increased until no one was left to answer the phone. Then Asscher and Cohen were also sent to Westerbork (September 1943), and the Germans could proudly declare a village, or city, or country “*Judenfrei*”.

7.12 Jacob Philipson and Jozua Klein and their families

Jacob Philipson (Fig. 7.18) was a member of the permanent staff, but he lived independently with his wife and five children at Van der Waalsstraat 34, a mere 650 metres away from the orphanage. He was its “*administrateur*”, a modest-sounding title for a function which probably included the bookkeeping, the financial and personnel management, and so on; tasks essential to safeguard the short- and long-term financial and organizational health of such an institution.

Jacob refused to go into hiding (testimony of H. Stoffels, 22nd November 1967) and stayed in function until Stoffels told him on 16th March 1943 that the orphanage would be liquidated the following day, and that on the same day a razzia was planned

to arrest all Jews still living in Leiden. The Stoffels had prearranged *onderduik* for Jet Philipson-Simons and her five children, and maintained contact with Jet and the foster parents of (at least some of) the children all through the remaining years of the war. Jacob joined his parents-in-law at their hiding address, Oude Rijn 48. But they were found and arrested by Biesheuvel and de Groot, the infamous Jew hunters of the Leiden police force (Fig. 10.12), on 23rd June. Jacob and his wife's parents were deported from Westerbork and murdered in Sobibor on 23rd July 1943. He was 40 years old.



Figure 7.18: Jacob Philipson, 1942.

Jet and the children were delivered by different people to different addresses. When Hijme and Emilie Stoffels were asked by Elchanan Italie (in November 1969) to put together a list of people who they warned about the impending *razzia* of 17th March 1943, and assisted in finding *onderduik* addresses, they put the family Philipson on top of their shortlist of four families. Sara was brought to the house of Piet "Sik" van Egmond in the village of Rijnsburg. She is included in the family photo (Fig. 7.19). Contrary to the story in de Beer (2015, p. 69), Sara is the only *onderduiker* on the photo; everybody else belongs to Piet's family. Sara narrowly escaped arrest by de Groot and Biesheuvel: Bertha Colijn (no. 4 on the photograph) hurried her away during the raid (Ch. 10.4).

The other children (see Fig. 10.3) were delivered to various addresses by helpers (including Kit and Henna Winkel). They all survived the war. It has always been assumed that Sara was betrayed while in Rijnsburg, but no evidence has (yet³⁵) been found. Rijnsburg, which harboured a surprisingly large number of (Jewish) *onderduikers* (ibidem), was a tight-knit community, and even the local NSB member never dared to betray anybody. It is quite possible that Biesheuvel and de Groot were attracted to Piet's house by the resistance activities of Johannes Post and his comrades (see Hovingh, 1995).

The year before, on 6th March 1942, Jozua Klein, a neighbour of Emilie Stoffels on the Mariënpoolstraat (Fig. 7.20), had been arrested by the Leiden police (Ch. 6.5). Jozua was put on a transport the next day, and was deported to Mauthausen, where he died on 6th July 1942, four months after his arrest. No doubt, the Stoffels heard about Jozua's death, and it only confirmed Hijme's belief that the Dutch Jews

35 More research of the police records is required, which has become easier now that the wartime police archives have been declassified.



Figure 7.19: Piet van Egmond (1), his wife, Jannetje de Mooi (3), Sara Philipson (2) and Bertha Colijn (4), 1943 (see text; de Beer et al., 2015, and Chapter 10.2). Photo courtesy Historische Vereniging Rijnsburg.

were in mortal danger and that they should not allow themselves to be deported. After Jozua's arrest, Rosi Klein-Mendel had continued to live at Mariënpoolstraat 15, next to the parents of Emilie (Stoffels-)van Brussel. Rosi was warned to leave her house on 16th/17th March 1943, but when Gerda (who had been the other neighbour in the Mariënpoolstraat) and Emilie checked on that fateful Wednesday afternoon, they found out Rosi was still there with the three children. It prompted Emilie to take assertive action. From the Klein family's reports (1995; freely translated by the author):

Early morning on the 17th March, Gerda Meijer (who was involved with resistance activities) knocked on our door and told my mother to leave the house and go into hiding [...] because the trains are standing ready at the railway station, and they will come to take all of you away. My mother refused to move: 'I lost my husband. I will not give up my children, and I have a doctor's attestation to the effect that we have diphtheria.' But Gerda replied, you [may] all have doctor's attestations, and yet they will come and take you all away. She was in a hurry to go, since she had lived for a year just two houses down the street from the Klein family, and

she was afraid someone would recognize her. She told us that Emilie [Stoffels] would drop by around 11:00. The first thing Emilie asked when she arrived was: Has Gerda been here to talk to you? Yes, she was here. Emilie talked to my mother to convince her to flee until she gave in. [...] Emilie and a woman who lived in our house put Ingrid and Ben on the back of their bicycle and brought them to Oegstgeest. At 17.30 my mother and I walked through the park (Leidse Hout) to a safe house. An hour later the police van to take us away stopped in front of our house! [...] In the evening [of 17th March] Emilie and my mother brought Ingrid and Ben by bicycle to Valkenburg³⁶ Next day Emilie returned to pick up Ben [to bring him] to an address in Sassenheim.³⁷ He was just two and a half years old and lived there for the remainder of the war. (Klein-Roskin et al., 1995)

The Stoffels took care of Ingrid, who had a difficult time. They moved her a few times, but she was unhappy, until Emilie found an elderly couple in the small farming village of Nieuwe Wetering, where she felt safe. She stayed there until the end of the war. Rita was brought to a hiding place in Rijnsburg, just as Sarah Philipson. She was given the name *Rita Roelofs* and was supposed to be a homeless refugee from the bombardment of Rotterdam in May 1940 (just like Aron Wolff, Ch. 9.4). Rita's *onderduik* parents were Jan and Grietje van Egmond-Star. She attended school with the children of Jan and Grietje (Fig. 7.21). On occasion, when a *razzia* was expected, they brought Rita by bicycle to Sassenheim to stay with the family Ciggaar, who was sheltering her brother Ben. Like so many other Jewish children in *onderduik*, both Sarah and Rita appear on "family" photographs taken during their sojourn in hiding (see de Beer et al., 2015).



Figure 7.20: Jozua Klein and family at Marienpoelstraat 15, 1941. They were neighbours of Emilie van Brussel before she moved in with Hijme Stoffels in 1942. From left: Ingrid, mother Rosi, Benjamin, Rita.

³⁶ Like Rijnsburg, Valkenburg is a small village west of Leiden.

³⁷ In the flower bulb region, north-west of Leiden. Nieuwe Wetering is north-east of Leiden. All these villages are within bicycle distance from Leiden.



Figure 7.21: Rita Klein, aka Rita Roelofs (right), with the two children of her *onderduik* parents, Jan and Grietje van Egmond.

It is difficult to imagine how Emilie and Hijme managed to take care of the children under the stressful conditions, a *razzia* going on, German police present in the city, and all by bicycle. They made use of their extensive social networks, covering both Protestant (Hijme) and Catholic (Emilie) communities. They could rely on a number of safe houses and addresses where people were prepared to accept “guests” at very short notice. They never bragged about it after the war and were obviously not concerned that their role in arranging *onderduik* was not always acknowledged.³⁸

Table 7.1 Jewish Orphanage in Leiden; Arrested on 17th March 1943 and brought to Westerbork (listed by deportation date from Westerbork)

	Place of birth	Date of birth	Deported on:	Date of death	Place of death	Age
Adler, Lotte	Frankfurt a/M	8-2-1925	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.1
Adler, Henny Henriette	Frankfurt a/M	23-7-1930	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	12.7
Beem, Jozef David	Rotterdam	4-7-1926	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	16.7
Blog, Wilhelmina (Willy)	Apeldoorn	1-1-1934	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	9.2
Bobbe, Jetje (Jetty)	The Hague	25-4-1924	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.9
Dagloonder, Mietje (Mieke)	Amsterdam	29-11-1927	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	15.3
Ensel, Izak	Rotterdam	20-8-1938	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	4.6
Frenkel, Cornelia (Corry)	Rotterdam	25-4-1924	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.9
Goudsmit, Bertha	The Hague	14-8-1924	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.6
Günsberg, Fanny Susanne	Gelsenkirchen	15-1-1927	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	16.2
Günsberg, Lothar	Gelsenkirchen	22-4-1928	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	14.9
Italie, Hanna Sara	Leiden	11-5-1935	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	7.9
Italie, Elchanan Tsewie Italie	Leiden	8-2-1937	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	6.1
Kam, Marianne (Mary) van	Rotterdam	16-1-1931	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	12.2
Kam, Hijman van	Rotterdam	15-3-1933	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	10.0
Kam, Herman van	Rijswijk	18-1-1935	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	8.2
Kam, Arthur van	Rijswijk	23-8-1937	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	5.6
Kirchenbaum, Chaim (Charles)	Belfort	2-9-1926	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	16.6
Protter, Ralph Heinz	Köln	10-5-1930	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	12.9
Rotstein, Salomon	Amsterdam	20-7-1937	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	5.7

³⁸ Post-war attention naturally focused on the host families which provided the shelter, more than on those who arranged the contact.

	Place of birth	Date of birth	Deported on:	Date of death	Place of death	Age
Rozeveld, Herman Bert	Leiden	25-12-1930	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	12.3
Segal, Reina	Amsterdam	5-1-1925	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.2
Stratum, Mozes (Max) van	Groningen	3-3-1927	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	16.1
Velleman, Margarita Henriette	Rotterdam	4-3-1925	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	18.1
Velleman, Marianna Rosa	Rotterdam	6-9-1926	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	16.6
Altenberg, Floortje (staff)	Amsterdam	23-3-1904	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	39.0
Bierschenk, Rachel (staff)	Amsterdam	1-11-1894	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	48.4
Gobes, Mietje (Mien) (staff)	Amsterdam	21-12-1899	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	43.3
Italie, Nathan (staff)	Leeuwarden	10-4-1890	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	53.0
Italie-Cohen, Lies (staff)	Leiden	2-3-1902	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	41.1
Klein, Esther (staff)	Oldenzaal	17-8-1909	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	33.6
Leeuw, Jet de (staff)	Barneveld	29-12-1888	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	54.2
Vries, Barend de (staff)	Leiden	20-6-1922	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	20.8
Blitz, Alice (staff)	Leiden	18-7-1923	23-3-1943	26-3-1943	Sobibor	19.7
Heerma van Voss, Ety	Amsterdam	16-6-1931	13-4-1943	16-4-1943	Sobibor	11.8
Mogendorf, Henriette (Jetty)	Amsterdam	23-11-1925	27-4-1943	30-4-1943	Sobibor	17.4
Mogendorf, Cecilia	Amsterdam	5-11-1926	27-4-1943	30-4-1943	Sobibor	16.5
Mogendorf, Roza	Amsterdam	1-12-1932	27-4-1943	30-4-1943	Sobibor	10.4
Montezinos, Salomon Levie (Sally)	The Hague	6-5-1924	27-4-1943	4-11-1943	Dorohucza	19.5
Bobbe, Benjamin	Rotterdam	11-2-1939	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	4.2
Bobbe, Louis	The Hague	7-3-1941	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	2.2
Klausner, Regine (René)	The Hague	22-7-1940	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	2.8
Lichtenbaum, Frieda Ita	Ginneken	17-10-1927	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	15.6
Poons, Philip	The Hague	6-12-1930	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	12.4
Poons, Harry	The Hague	13-7-1940	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	2.8
Slier, Henriette (Henny)	Rotterdam	26-12-1930	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	12.4
Spier, Henry (Harry)	The Hague	7-6-1925	4-5-1943	7-5-1943	Sobibor	17.9
Hakker, Maurits	The Hague	29-3-1929	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	14.1
Hakker, Simon	The Hague	24-2-1933	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	10.2
Ritmeester, Salomon	Amsterdam	16-3-1928	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	15.2
Vega, Rika Alvares	Amsterdam	17-9-1932	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	10.7
Vega, Isaac Alvares	Amsterdam	19-6-1934	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	8.9
Vega, Henriette	Amsterdam	1-9-1938	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	4.7
Vega, Willem Alvares	Amsterdam	5-8-1939	18-5-1943	21-5-1943	Sobibor	3.8
Klein, Didia	Paris	12-5-1925	21-9-1943		Survived	
Beer, Abraham (Bram) de	Amsterdam	10-8-1939	16-11-1943	19-11-1943	Auschwitz	4.3
Färber, Mindel	Düsseldorf	5-4-1939	11-1-1944		Survived	
Kloosterman, Anthonius H. (Hans)	Amsterdam	19-2-1927		Not dep'd	Survived	
Vries, Piet (Daniël) de	Amsterdam	12-3-1925		Not dep'd	Survived	

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- Schelvis, Jules, 2007b; *“Sobibor: A history a Nazi death camp”*. Oxford, Berg, in association with USHM, ISBN 978184520418. Republished in 2014 by Bloomsbury, ISBN 1472589068.
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- Schütz, Raymund, 2011; *“Vermoedelijk op transport. De Joodsche Raad Cartotheek als informatiesysteem binnen sterk veranderende kaders: repressie, opsporing en herinnering. Een archiefwetenschappelijk onderzoek naar de herkomst, het gebruik en het beheer van een bijzondere historische bron”*. MA thesis, Free University of Amsterdam. [An indispensable report when interpreting the index cards kept by the Joodse Raad of Amsterdam on all people who were to be deported from the Netherlands. The cards were kept by the Red Cross (War Documentation) in The Hague until February 2018; now in the Holocaust Museum, Amsterdam. Also ITS Arolsen. Dutch text available at <https://www.joodsebibliotheek.nl>.]
- Wijk, Cor van, 1946; *“Mijn werk in de Nederlandse Verzetsorganisatie ‘Strijdend Nederland’”*. Typescript, Regionaal Archief Leiden (now Erfgoed Leiden & Omgeving). [An account of his wartime activities, including the provision of (at least) 420 blank but genuine pbs to the Leiden underground movement. No less than 124 of these were used by Stoffels.]
- Zegveld, W.F. van, 1993; *“Joods Wees- en Doorgangshuis Leiden, bewoners 1890-1951”*. Originally in: *“De Joden van Leiden”*. Unpublished; 4 volumes. [Several copies were made, available (i.a.) at Erfgoed Leiden (ELO) and the Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam. The results of his painstaking research have served as a basis for subsequent investigations. Note that his report is an important source of information on children and staff in the Leiden orphanage who are not included in this book because they had left before the move to the new building in 1929, as well as Jewish citizens of the Leiden region who were not connected to the orphanage.]