



Federal Ministry
of Justice and
Consumer Protection

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REMEMBRANCE. REFLECTION. RESPONSIBILITY. | VOLUME 2

Fashion and Persecution

The Fate of Jewish Clothiers in the Nazi Dictatorship
on the Premises of Today's Justice Ministry



Map of Berlin, p. III A

Map of Berlin, ratio of 1:4000, p. IIIA, municipal surveying office. Engraving, printing by Geographisches Institut Julius Straube, Berlin 1908, LAB F Rep. 270, A 2012.

Cover

Three Mannequins at the Wolf & Schlachter Company

Photo from 1935 by an anonymous photographer on the business premises of the “Wolf & Schlachter” company, which was located on Mohrenstrasse 36/37. The photo also takes an ironic look at the difficulties faced by Jewish companies beginning in 1933.

Photograph on silver gelatine baryta paper, 6.5 x 9.5 cm; Jewish Museum Berlin, gift from Peter Sinclair, formerly Peter Jacob



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Preface

The Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection has its seat in the former Jewish ready-made garment district of Berlin. That district existed until the Nazis first confiscated the businesses and then murdered their owners.



Our Ministry stands in the service of law and justice. Those who work in the Ministry today should be aware of the injustice done to people who previously worked on the same premises.

I therefore requested Humboldt University to do a study on the history of our building and the fate of its inhabitants. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Michael Wildt, Dr. Christoph Kreuzmüller and Eva Lotte Reimer for the study, which this brochure introduces to the public.

With it, we are striving to keep the memory of the expelled and murdered individuals alive and to face up to our responsibility for the present. There is no end to history. Today as well, there are dangers to humanity and freedom. Being aware of history can sharpen our awareness when human rights and the rule of law are again called into question.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Heiko Maas', written in a cursive style.

Heiko Maas

Federal Minister of Justice and Consumer Protection

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Introduction

Until World War II, Hausvogteiplatz, a square that had been laid out from the walls of the former city prison, was the uncontested centre of the German fashion world – and a location with international flair. Many of the ready-made fashion shops were run by clothiers who were Jewish or were considered by the National Socialists to be Jews. Today's Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection is located on a site where the headquarters of fifty-nine (!) Jewish businesses were located.

Beginning in 1933, these businesses were attacked by the National Socialists, supported by their lackeys and sycophants, with violent blockades and boycotts. They obstructed the operation of the businesses with a flood of regulations and laws. While some of them were initially able to compensate for domestic losses with their foreign exports, at the latest following the pogrom in

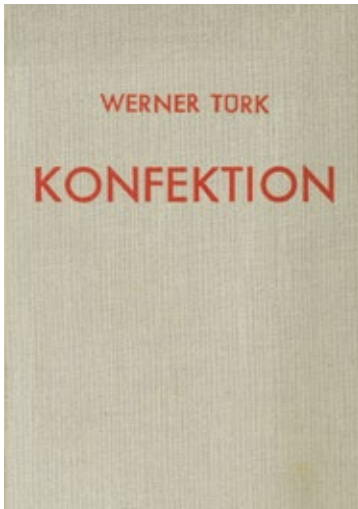
November 1938 all Jewish business owners on the premises of today's Ministry were forced to give up their shops. A total of at least nine businesses were transferred to the possession of non-Jews, and 50 were liquidated.¹

Many clothiers were able to emigrate due to their international reputation, but others were deported and murdered by the Nazis. The Reich Justice Ministry flanked the efficiently organised mass murder with legislative initiatives.

This brochure has been published at the initiative of the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection. Its aim is to recall and record the individual fates of the Jewish entrepreneurs who operated their companies on the premises of today's Ministry, thus bringing them back from oblivion. Due to the astonishingly high number of companies, in the interests of readability we

have decided to focus on and portray individual fates which are especially informative and gripping, and to embed them within the phases of the destruction of Jewish businesses. We also show how the Jewish clothiers struggled to stand up against their persecution – often with verve and sometimes even with success.

We began our research with the database of Jewish companies (Datenbank jüdischer Gewerbebetriebe – (DjGB)); and supplemented that information with files from the Berlin Commercial Register that remain in the Berlin Land Archives, files from the Reparations Offices (also in the Berlin Land Archives) and – thanks to the support of the Federal Ministry of Justice



Two novels about Hausvogteiplatz

Two novels about the ready-to-wear garment district were published in 1932. In “Konfektion” and “Leute machen Kleider. Roman vom Hausvogteiplatz,” Jewish authors Werner Türk and Gustav Hochstetter used the background of the economic crisis to provide an unvarnished view of the often hectic operations of the ready-to-wear garment industry on Hausvogteiplatz. Those books were burned on 10 May 1933 on today’s Bebelplatz square. Werner Türk managed to emigrate to Great Britain, where he died in 1986. Gustav Hochstetter was deported to the Theresienstadt Ghetto and fell victim in 1944 to the terrible living conditions there.

Covers of the novels “Konfektion” by Werner Türk and “Leute machen Kleider. Roman vom Hausvogteiplatz” by Gustav Hochstetter (both: Berlin, 1932).

and Consumer Protection – files from the archives of the Federal Offices for Central Services and the Resolution of Outstanding Property Issues. The files from the Berlin Compensation Office were of special significance for tracing the individual fates of

the persecuted Jews, along with the search tools of the Stiftung Warburg Archiv (Hamburg), the archives of the Yad Vashem Memorial (Jerusalem), the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (Jerusalem) as well as the Wiener Library (London).

Dr. Christoph Kreutzmüller

Eva-Lotte Reimer

Prof. Dr Michael Wildt



Ahders & Basch A.G.

Das Haus der Frauenkleider

Berlin W 8
Kronenstr. 37-38

Georg Heymansohn
Kleider
"Blusen"
BERLIN W 8
KRONENSTR.
41

HIELSCHER & CO.

BÄCKFISCH- UND FRAUENMÄNTEL

Berlin W 8

Paul Aschuer
Jugendliche Kleider - Sport

BERLIN W 8
KRONENSTRASSE 35

H. Rosenberg & Co.

Berlin W 8 19

Jerusalemmer Str. 26

Arthur Gadler

Sportliche Kleider
Engros - Export

BERLIN W 8
Kronenstr. 38

Adolf Baehr Kleider

BERLIN W 8 MOHRENSTR. 36/37

ERWIN FEDER

MÄNTEL UND KOSTÜME

BERLIN W 8
Kronenstrasse 35

Lusc & Co

GOLDBERG & SANDER

G. M. B. H.

Berlin W 8, Kronenstr. 36/40

FABRIKATION JUGENDLICHER MÄNTEL UND KOSTÜME KINDERMÄNTEL

BERLIN W 8
KRONENSTR. 36-40

Colani & Co., Damenstoffe engros

Kronenstr. 41

Merkur 5177



Jakobowski & Cohen

Mäntel - Kostüme

Halbes Land

Berlin W 8

Kronenstr. 37, 38 / Rosenhoff

HUGO JSAAC
AGENTUR UND COMMISSION
JERUSALEMER-STRASSE 50-51
Ecke Sternstrasse



KURT SEIFNER
Röcke, Charmeuse-Kleider
jetzt **MAX SEIFNER**

BERLIN W 8
Kronenstr. 37-38

Stenger & Schott G. m. b. H.

Kronenstr. 35, pr.

Berlin W 8
Kronenstr. 35
Ecke Rosenhoff

LEWINER & SCHÖNLANK

SPEZIALITÄT DAMEN-MÄNTEL UND KOSTÜME
IN JUGENDLICHERM GENRE



MICHAELIS & GRÄFENBERG

ENGROS

DAMEN-MÄNTEL-FABRIK

EXPORT

Leonhard Wertheim Berlin W 8
Kronenstr. 37-38

Berlin W.
Kronenstrasse 39/40

Treitel & Meyer

Graumann & Stern



Berlin W 8
Mohrenstrasse 36-37

C. NEUMANN & CO.
DAMENKLEIDER

BERLIN W 8,
Mohrenstraße 41

HIRSCH & SÜSSKIND

Damen- und Bleckfisch-Mäntel



Berlin W 8
Mohrenstraße 37 a

Wolf & Schlachter

FABRIKATION MODERNER DAMENBEKLEIDUNG

Max Frank jr.
Kronenstraße 36

BERLIN W 8.
MOHRENSTR. 36

Nümburger & Tschernitz

DAMEN-MÄNTEL UND -KOSTÜME



Berlin W 8
Mohrenstraße 37
KRONENSTRASSE 33

ERNST NUSSBAUM KLEIDER

BERLIN W 8 - MOHRENSTR. 36-37 - TEL. 146 - MERKUR 7381



Sally Fraenkel

Damen-Mäntel-Fabrik

BERLIN SW 68
Jensburger Straße 8

SCHAUL & MANASSE

Velvets - Cords - Seide

BERLIN SW 10
Lindendamm 14

Brüder Topp
Damenmäntelfabrik

Berlin W 8
Kronenstr. 40

Seligers & Co.

BERLIN W 8
KRONENSTR. 40-40

Max Behrendt

Engros - Kleider und Röcke - Export

CASPER & CO. BERLIN W 8

MÄNTEL / KOSTÜME
EIGENE ATELIERE



Berlin W 8

Graumann & Schreibmann

SACHTUCH- UND KISSERKONFEKTION

Berlin C 19,
Jensburger Straße 22

WALTER WACHSNER
KLEIDER - BLUSEN - RÖCKE

W. WACHSNER
FABRIKANT

"MOTU"

ARNOLD FORK & CO.

Modische Kleider u. Blusen

BERLIN W 8
Mohrenstraße 36-37

Kurt Glesinger

FABRIKATION VON KLEIDERN U. REGENMÄNTELN
AMSTERDAM - KOPENHAAGEN - LONDON - PARIS - ZÜRICH

BERLIN W. 56
MOHRENSTR. 36/37

Jewish companies between Kronen-, Mohren-, and Jerusalemer Strasse

Today's Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection is located on the properties of Kronenstrasse 35 to 41, Mohrenstrasse 36 to 38 and Jerusalemer Strasse 24 to 28. Around 1933, there were a total of 59 Jewish businesses located on those properties:

Mohrenstrasse 36 – 38

36/37

- S. Binswanger Knopfgroßhandlung (1900 – 34)
- Meyersohn & Tobias Seidenwaren (1902 – 38)
- Max Behrendt Kostümröcke (1904 – 40)
- Salomon & Kaminsky Damen- und Mädchenmäntel (1910 – 37)
- Glaß & Graetz Damenmoden im besseren Genre (1911 – 40)
- Wolf & Schlachter Damenbekleidung (1919 – 39)
- Brüder Feige Damenmäntelfabrik (1920 – 38)
- Graumann & Stern Damenmäntel und Kleider (1922 – 38)
- Ahders & Basch Modellkollektionen (1928 – 38)
- Walter Wachsner Damenkonfektion (1933 – 38)
- Motü Modische Kleider und Blusen GmbH (1934 – 36)
- Ernst Nußbaum Kleider (1936 – 39)

37

- Ella Lehmann GmbH, vorm. Conrad & Rogozinski Damensportbekleidung (1934 – 36)
- Max Leissner, Einzelkaufmann, Inhaber (1935 – 39)

37 a

- Simon Westmann Damen Konfektion & Trauer Magazin (1900–32)
- Gebrüder Ries Textilwaren en gros (1920–40)
- Hirsch & Süßkind Damenkonfektion (1923–39)
- Ernst Plachta Pelzfabrikation (1926–39)
- Georg Eichelgrün Damenmäntel (1927–33)
- Paul Aschner Damenbekleidung (1933–35)
- Lebram & Wallach Damenmäntel (1933–39)
- Herbert Labandter Damenkleiderherstellung (1934–38)

38

- Sally Fraenkel Damenmäntel und Jacken (1901–34)

Kronenstrasse 35–41

36

- Embeco Modische Bekleidungs-Kompagnie Abromeit & Huth Damen-Oberbekleidung (1901–39)
- H. Kantorowicz & Co. Damenblusen, Kinderkleider (1902–39)
- Max Frank jr. Futterstoffe (1905–39)
- Hermann Schwersener Kleider und Blusen (1929–38)
- Arthur Gadiel Kleiderkonfektionsfabrik (1934–37)
- Heinrich Bielschowsky Damenmäntel (1934–38)
- Ernst Loepert Damenbekleidung (1934–39)
- Erwin Feder Damenmäntelfabrik (1937–40)

38/40

- Bibo & Jackier Damenmäntel (1902–38)
- Hugo Ivers Textilvertretungen (1903–39)
- Leonhard Wertheim Spezialfabrik für garnierte Kleider (1905–37)
- Adolf Wittkowski Schürzen und Jupons (1907–37)
- Berthold Hammel Damen- und Kinderbekleidung (1911–41)
- Arnold Frischmann Damenkonfektion (1913–39)
- Jakobowski & Cohen Damenkonfektion (1914–37)
- Sonnenfeld & Jaroczynski (1919–38)
- Gumpel, Rosenbach & Co. Damenmäntel-Fabrikation (1919–40)
- Treitel & Meyer Blusen und Kleider (1920–39)
- Lux & Co. Backfisch- und Knabenkonfektion (1921–39)
- Goldberg & Sander Damen- und Kinderbekleidung en gros (1922–38)

- Weinstein & Landauer AG (1932)
- Fritz Weil & Co. Damenbekleidung (1935 – 39)
- Philipp Gerber Blusen (1936 – 39)

41

- S. Jaraczewer Damenbekleidung Mittelgenre (1902 – 39)
- Lewinnek & Schönlink Mädchenmäntel en gros und Export (1910 – 40)
- Fließer & Rosenthal Damenkonfektion (1930 – 40)
- Hielscher & Co. Backfisch- und Damenmoden (1933 – 40)
- Erwin Leibke Bekleidung (1934 – 39)
- C. Neumann & Co. Damenkleiderfabrikation (1937 – 38)

Jerusalemer Strasse 24 – 28

24

- Max Süßkind & Co. GmbH Kostüme (1926 – 35)

26

- Mendelsohn, Meyerhof & Co. Bernhard Mendelsohn Blusen und Kleider (1934 – 36)
- B. Rosenberg & Co. Kleider, Blusen und Röcke (1934 – 39)
- A. Falkowitz & Co. Damenkonfektion (1935 – 40)

28

- Eugen Herzberg Agentur (1901 – 40)
- S. Rosenbaum Damenmäntel en gros (1902 – 38)
- Silberberg & Auerbach Besatzartikel (1910 – 36)

A photograph from the Jewish professional journal titled “Der Konfektionär” of 1 April 1930 shows four men with long dark coats wearing felt hats, who are pressing white sheets of paper onto a post. The – posed – photo was

made from a few meters away in daylight, and the group seems to be standing to the left of the entrance to a courtyard. The observer discovers where the photo was taken from the headline: on Hausvogteiplatz – a square in

the midst of Berlin's ready-made fashion district and immediately adjacent to the Ministry's current premises. The caption states exactly where they were located: "Between Hausvogteiplatz and Dönhoffplatz" – meaning on Jerusalemer Str. (see map). The picture caption says that the men are "textile salesmen," who come to this building daily "around three o'clock in the afternoon" in the hopes of getting commissions. The description of the wall as the "Wailing Wall" is surprising: according to the subtext, this is "a piece of the 'Original Wailing Wall' in Jerusalem," which had been "recently moved to Germany." This was clearly an April Fool's joke – if a part of the Wailing Wall had really been shipped from Jerusalem to Berlin and erected on Hausvogteiplatz, this would have been the subject of more media attention than merely a mention in a professional journal. But the ensemble of the headline, photograph and subtext tells us a great deal: It identifies Hausvogteiplatz as a place of pilgrimage for the German fashion industry. Everyone who needed commissions had to go where the fashion firms were headquartered en masse – to Hausvogteiplatz. The rather dry and ironic determination that the commission books stayed empty makes the observer aware of the



A Wailing Wall on Hausvogtei Square – An April Fool's Joke?

Overseers and managers made regular pilgrimages to Hausvogtei Square to obtain commissions as sub-contractors of the well-known clothiers. The professional journal published by Jewish publisher "L. Schottlaender & Co." portrayed satirically how bad sales were in 1930 during the global economic crisis.

Article from "Der Konfektionär," 1 April 1930

economic crisis, which of course was felt in the textile industry as well. Using the term "Wailing Wall" also identified Hausvogteiplatz as a Jewish location. Given the

anti-Semitic atmosphere in Berlin in 1930, one's first instinct is to assume that anti-Semitism is behind this report. But the journal belonged to the "L. Schottlaender & Co." publishing company

on Krausenstrasse, which was considered to be Jewish by the Nazis after they assumed power in 1933, and was taken over by non-Jews in the course of the 1930s.²

The Early Stages of Persecution (1933)

Despite the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Germany's capital, which included street fighting between supporters of the Communists (KPD) and Nazis (NSDAP), many Jewish families moved from the German provinces to Berlin in the early 1930s. The open anti-Semitism in small communities forced many people to give up their businesses and seek a new livelihood in the metropolis of Berlin. A third of all Jews in Germany and over half of the Jews in Prussia lived in Berlin.³ Hausvogteiplatz was considered to be the "Jewish quarter" within Berlin, and the ready-made fashion industry was considered to be Jewish as well. Anti-Semitic attacks did not begin when the National Socialists came to power in 1933; rather, they can be documented as early as 1930, when violent supporters of the Nazi party, following the constitutive session of the Reichstag in October

1930, rioted in the shopping streets of Leipziger Strasse and Friedrichstrasse and also destroyed shops in the neighbouring ready-made garment district. Café owner Isidor Dobrin, for example, was forced to watch the destruction of his pastry shop on Jerusalemer Strasse, which was renowned throughout Berlin.⁴ After anti-Semitic attacks committed within the company, Walther Rabow, partner in the well-known ready-made clothing company of "Graumann & Stern," died of heart failure as early as January 1931.⁵

The National Socialists' rise to power on 30 January 1933 represented a caesura (not only) for Jewish clothiers. It caused the last remaining inhibitions to disappear, and anti-Semitic violence was connected with measures of persecution at both the city (magistrate) and state levels. Although the "National Socialist

Business Cell Organisation” (Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation – NSBO) did not play the same role in terms of pure numbers as it did in other areas, such as courts and insurance agencies ⁶, there were active Nazis in the ready-made garment industry as well, who organised into “business cells” and terrorised their Jewish bosses (and co-workers). They were quantitatively not in the majority, but from a micro-historical perspective the quality of their anti-Semitic actions in the perception of the Jewish entrepreneurs and the resulting effects should not be underestimated.

The “Boycott” on 1 April 1933, which was organised by the State, and staged and carried out throughout the Reich, represented a new low point for the businesses of the Jewish clothiers. Relating their memories, surviving former clothiers described that day as the beginning of the persecution measures. That violent action in April 1933 was the first step toward the “destruction of Jewish business activity.” The term of “boycott” did not really reflect reality; the action is more accurately viewed as a blockade ⁷: It did not follow the goal of achieving political change; rather, it was carried out by the SA, which had the status of an auxiliary



Boycott?

Intimidated by censorship, the Berlin trade and stock market paper “Börsen-Courier” reported on the so-called Boycott with a great deal of reserve. It did not mention that this first nationwide action against companies, physicians and attorneys was not only accompanied by violent attacks, but was also an immense shock to all Jews.

Börsen-Courier newspaper on the “Boycott” of 1 April 1933.

police force – at least in Prussia, the largest region in the Reich – and was marked by violence in many cases. As late as in 1935, Jewish lawyer Eduard Reimer had the courage to brand the “boycott” of 1 April 1933 as “contrary to public morals.” His book was apparently banned upon its publication, and can therefore today be found in only a very few libraries. ⁸

At the local level – that of the Magistrate of Greater Berlin – the Chamber of Industry and Trade (Industrie- und Handelskammer, IHK) and the Local Court began detailed controls of ready-made clothing companies that they viewed as Jewish, often targeting them for harassment.⁹ The IHK worked closely with the foreign exchange office of the Land tax office, which focused primarily on companies that were strong in exports. Another Nazi actor active on Hausvogteiplatz was the “Adefa.” This was the acronym for the Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutsch-arischer Fabrikanten der Bekleidungsindustrie e.V. (Working Group of German-Aryan Manufacturers in the Garment Industry), a registered association founded in May 1933 and active throughout the Reich; it had prominent supporters and was promoted by the Reich Economics Ministry, the Propaganda Ministry, and IHK and the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labour Front).¹⁰ The founding members were avowed Nazis and worked somewhere on the junction between the garment industry and politics. The top level of the association included Georg Riegel and Herbert Tengelmann, members of the Nazi party and IHK functionaries.¹¹ “Adefa” chose headquarters in the midst of Berlin’s ready-made garment

industry – on Kronenstrasse 48/49. The initial goal of “Adefa” was to unite all non-Jewish companies within the clothing industry. They were then supposed to band together in discontinuing cooperation with those companies considered to be Jewish. “Adefa” engaged in propaganda, put on fashion shows and trade shows, and became known for its aggressive behaviour. At least in Berlin, it also cooperated with the Chamber of Industry and Trade.¹²

Graumann & Stern

Established in the “Dreikaiserjahr” (Three Emperors’ Year) of 1888, Graumann & Stern was among the ready-made women’s clothing companies with an international reputation even before World War I.¹³ The construction of its own off-the-rack fashion store on Mohrenstrasse 36 can be seen as an expression of its financial might and standing – “Haus Stern” was built in 1900/01, and expanded by several floors on the occasion of the 25th company anniversary.¹⁴ In 1913, brothers Albert and Siegfried Stern were the owners of the buildings at Mohrenstrasse 36, 37 and “Laden 1 Unter den Kolonnaden” – the main entrance of today’s Ministry. Additional “Graumann & Stern” operations were located at Mohrenstrasse 33



Letterhead of “Graumann & Stern Kommanditgesellschaft auf Aktien”

The artistically illustrated letterhead by an unknown artist from the 1920s provides an impression of how influential the traditional company “Graumann & Stern” was in the ready-made garment district. The left of the picture shows the “Mohren collonades” built by Carl Gotthard Langhans in 1787, which originally served as an arcade over the moat and today form the entrance to the Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection.

Berlin Land office for residents and regulatory affairs – Div. 1 – Compensation file reg. no. 271990 Seev William Stern, p. 11 E2.

and 34/35.¹⁵ After World War I, in addition to its Berlin flagship store, Graumann & Stern maintained well-known branches in New York, London, Copenhagen and Amsterdam. In the 1920s, the company bought “Sommerfelder Textilwerke AG,” a spinning and weaving mill located in the Krossen district east of Frankfurt/Oder, which is now in Poland. This new development within the Berlin ready-made garment industry allowed everything “(...) from spinning the yarn to finishing the coat, to be done completely under our own management (...).”¹⁶

That expansion led to a doubling of annual sales, from 12 million to 20 million Reichsmark in 1920.¹⁷

After the founder of the company retired in 1931, Heinz Graumann and Wilhelm Stern continued the company as a general partnership (oHG – offene Handelsgesellschaft) until Graumann left as well. Thereupon, in summer 1932, Stern became the sole owner of the company, which had been transformed into a sole proprietorship for that reason.¹⁸ While the company’s legal form had changed toward the outside,

Graumann & Stern initially remained unchanged. Due to the economic crisis and the anti-Semitic atmosphere, Wilhelm Stern decided to downsize and modernise the company. During an extended visit to the USA, he had become familiar with the most modern methods of operations management and production processes.¹⁹ Therefore, conditions were good for the experienced clothier, who had been training since childhood to take over his traditional family business on Mohrenstrasse. About 40 business clerks worked in about 800 square metres of workspace, and more than 65 overseers were given commissions for the manufacture of ladies' coats and suits.

However, the company climate was changing even before the Nazis came to power, and Wilhelm Stern was forced to deal with anti-Semitic employees and customers whose – initially verbal – attacks against him increased. The Nazis rose to power within the first year of Stern's leadership of the company, which had begun on 1 December 1932. Stern witnessed the state-ordered "boycott" against Jewish companies and, drawing the consequences for himself and his family from the political developments, decided to leave Berlin. However, he had underestimated just how attractive

his business was. In the face of mass unemployment and a weak economic situation, closing this company would have meant a loss even though it was Jewish; after all, it brought in hard currency. Stern discovered this in a very painful manner: A "business cell" formed in his operations on Mohrenstrasse 36, and Stern's chauffeur Steffin advanced to be its head.²⁰ The ringleader had collected resignation letters from all of the staff and, under threat of violence, forced Stern to compose a "declaration of obligation," in which he stated his intention to continue to operate the company "for the benefit of the staff and the German people."²¹ But even that scene was apparently not enough for Steffin: Followed by a horde of 25 SA men, on the following evening he forced his way into the Stern family's home and forced his boss to compose a new declaration in which he reversed course on the company closure and assured the "business cell" of his cooperation.²² This method of using violence to grab and secure power was a fundamental part of the early phase of National Socialism.²³

The subsequent events were, as Stern soberly summed it up several decades later, "economically foolhardy, but necessary under the circumstances."²⁴ The

Wilhelm Stern
 Komot - Gashaus, Post Tel-Amts,
 den 17. Januar 1936.

An das
 Amtsgericht Berlin
 Handelsregister
 Berlin N. 65.
 Gerichtstrasse 27

Nr.: 551 IIIA. 77729, Bl. 22 H.A.
 Offene Handelsgesellschaft Graumann & Stern,
 Berlin N.O. Mohrenstr. 36/37

Ich, der unterschriebene Kaufmann Wilhelm Stern war Gesellschafter der oben bezeichneten Firma. Ich bin aus dieser Gesellschaft ausgeschieden. Ich melde dies hiermit zur Eintragung in das Handelsregister an.

Die verbleibenden Gesellschafter Herbert Brückner und Max Sternberg haben das Geschäft allein übernommen. Sie führen die bisherige Firma allein weiter. Mit der Fortführung der bisherigen Firma bin ich einverstanden.

Wilhelm Stern


Verhandelt zu Jaffe, Deutsches Konsulat, J.N. No. 199/36.
 am 14. Januar 1936.

Der Unterzeichnete durch Nr. 1658/171/31 des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin, Polizeiamt Köpenick-Neukölln, 171. Polizeidivision, lat. Berlin-Köpenick, des 9.10.1931 gültig bis 8.11.1936 legitimierte Deutsche staatsangehörige, früher Kaufmann, jetzt Landwirt Wilhelm Stern, geboren in Berlin, am 16.4.1897 wohnhaft in Hans-Neuehewer-Str. 147 Berlin, ...

Im Namen der oben bezeichneten Gesellschaft
 Wilhelm Stern

Im Namen der beteiligten Personen nämlich:
 1. des Deutschen staatsangehörigen Dr. jur Richard Hoffmann,
 2. der Deutschen staatsangehörigen Martha Hoffmann, beide aus Berlin.
 Im Namen der Beteiligten
Richard Hoffmann
Martha Hoffmann

Jaffe, den 14. Januar 1936.
 Der Deutsche Konsul

 K. 9.935.-bez.

clothier offered two longtime staff members a partnership in the company. For the new business year beginning on 1 December 1933, the sole proprietorship was changed back into a general partnership (offene Handelsgesellschaft). Herbert Brückner, a Christian, and Max Sternberg, a Jew, became partners of Stern, for whom the conditions were not very lucrative: Neither of the new partners were required to invest any significant capital into the partnership. But they were promised a 25% share of the profits in the first business year, which was to increase to one-third in the following year.²⁵ Stern took advantage of that forced change by travelling through Europe to procure export contracts for the women's coats and suits of Graumann & Stern. The company's sales increased again in the second business year, attaining two million Reichsmark. Stern travelled to the Netherlands and Switzerland, procured clients in Belgium and Luxembourg and also took more trips to Palestine. His wife had travelled there as a tourist in autumn 1933 with the two children, and had settled there.

Letter from Wilhelm Stern to Berlin Local Court, 14 January 1936.

Berlin Land archives, A Rep. 342-02, 18687.

And Wilhelm Stern did not return from a trip he took to Palestine in March 1935. The Stern family then lived in the small town of Ramot-Hashawim, which had been founded by German Jews in Palestine in 1933.²⁶ They had left all of their assets and possessions behind in Berlin, and attempted to to build up a new existence in Palestine by becoming farmers.²⁷

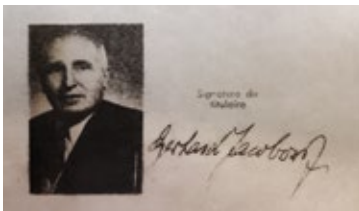
Wilhelm Stern notified Berlin Local Court on 14 January 1936 that he was leaving his father's company, and declared his consent for his partners to continue the

company. After Max Sternberg was also forced to leave the company because he was a Jew, Brückner continued the company until it was liquidated in 1938; but the winding up took until well into the 1940s.²⁸

The Nuremberg Laws (1935)

The year 1935 in Berlin was characterised by violence; in July, there were even pogrom-like riots on Kurfürstendamm, during which shop windows were broken and people who “looked Jewish” in the eyes of the (mostly) young thugs were attacked. All over town, so-called Stürmerkästen depots were set up to distribute the anti-Semitic smear sheet “Der Stürmer,” which was published in Nuremberg. Professionally made

stickers, which first appeared in the districts on the outskirts of the city, were later distributed and posted in the city centre as well; they proclaimed, “Those who buy from Jews are traitors to the nation.”²⁹ But these types of provocations inspired other Berliners to raise their voices against the violence and to resist the anti-Semitic activities.³⁰ One of them was Gerhard Jacobowitz, who had been a regular visitor to Kronenstrasse 35 for many years.



Passport photo and signature of Gerhard Jacobowitz on an identification card of the Belgian delegation of the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations (UNHCR), Brussels 1952.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Gerhard Jacobowitz), p. M5.

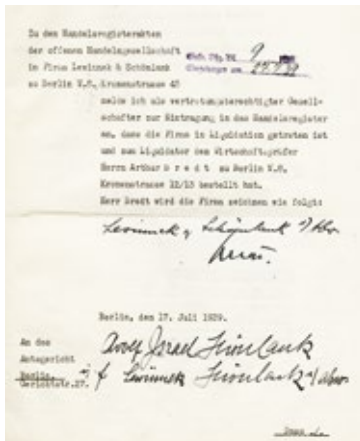
The clothier and active social democrat was forced to stand by while his brother was abducted and placed in a torture chamber run by the SA auxiliary police, which had been set up in Berlin “independently or upon orders by the State” in the course of the power grab.³¹ Shocked by the omnipresent anti-Semitism, Jacobowitz openly complained against the policies of the Nazis. After the “Nuremberg Laws” were passed in September 1935, which

defined Jacobowitz as a Volljude (full Jew), someone denounced him to the Gestapo. But the courageous clothier was lucky enough to be warned in time by a Gestapo man with whom he had fought on the front in World War I. Jacobowitz fled to Belgium in a mad rush on 22 September 1935. The Gestapo appeared at his doorstep on the next day, but found only his wife Zoé Lauvaux at home. As a Belgian Jew, in 1935 she did not yet need to acutely fear arrest in Berlin; for that reason, she escaped harm and shortly thereafter followed her husband to her home country. ³²



Permission to leave the country
Due to a heart condition, Ludwig Lewinnek was issued a restricted permit to leave the internment camp in southern France for spa treatment in Aix-en-Provence.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 64806 (Ludwig Lewinnek), unnumbered document



On 17 July 1939, Adolf Schönlang applied for the liquidation of the company, and signed with the forced middle name of "Israel."

Berlin Land archives, A Rep. 342-02, 44617, p. 21

After the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, Hermann Mansfeld fled the country as well. He had been the general agent and partner at Lewinnek & Schönlang on Kronenstrasse 41, and emigrated to Amsterdam. Ludwig S. Lewinnek and Adolf Schönlang were able to continue running the company as a general partnership (oHG) until its liquidation in 1939. Lewinnek emigrated to Belgium in May 1939, where he married Gertrude Wolff. Only a few months later, the newlyweds were forced to



Max Behrendt's invitation to the presentation of the Spring collection, Berlin 1930–1939.

Jewish Museum Berlin, Photo: Jens Ziehe.

go underground because of the German occupation. In May 1940, Ludwig S. Lewinnek was discovered and taken to Gurs, a camp in southern France. Two years later in 1942, he succeeded in being discharged from the camp due to a heart condition. He returned to his wife, and together they fled to Switzerland. They were interned there in a refugee camp near Basel until 1945, and emigrated to Australia after the war.

Max Behrendt

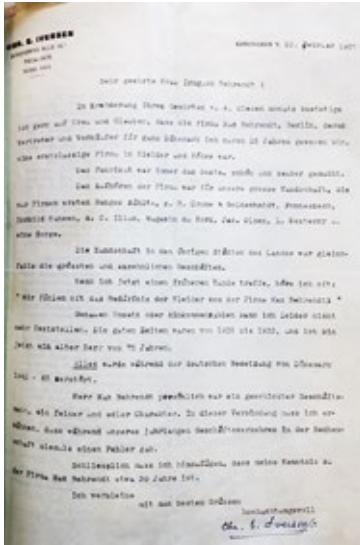
Businessman Max Behrendt, the sole proprietor of the

company bearing his name on Mohrenstrasse 36/37, emigrated to London with his wife on 15 October 1935.³³ In 1904, businessman Max Behrendt, who was 25 at the time, founded a “skirt factory” (Kostümrockfabrik), which



Off-the-rack clothes manufacturers like Max Behrendt did not custom-tailor clothes; instead, they made clothes in certain sizes which they sold in their own shops, delivered to department stores, and exported.

Jewish Museum Berlin, colour lithograph, paper, 56 x 36 cm, Photo: Jens Ziehe

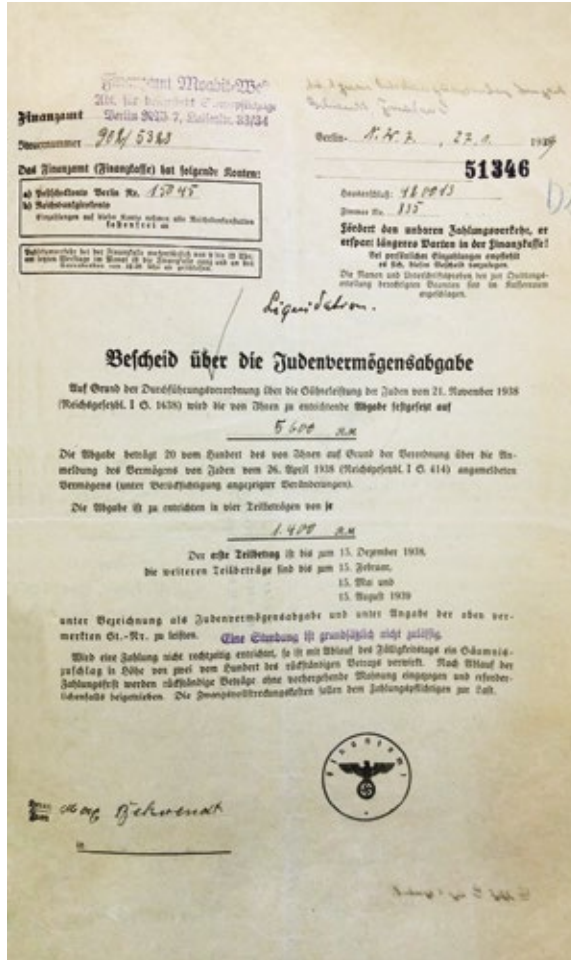


Letter from Chr. E. Iversen to Irmgard Behrendt, 10 February 1957
To aid the compensation proceeding, the Danish businessman confirmed the excellent reputation of the Max Behrendt company.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 51346 (Max Behrendt), p. 2 E2.

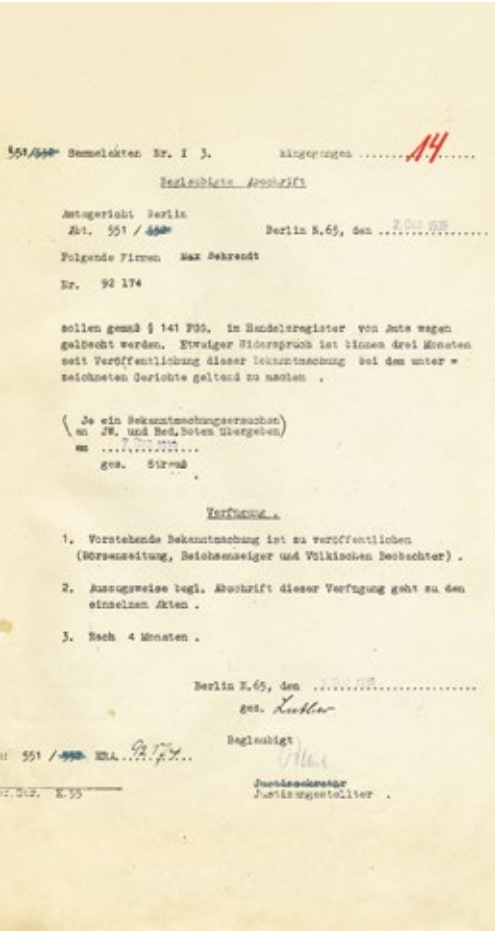
quickly advanced to become one of the most successful companies in the business. Behrendt exported goods primarily to Denmark and Great Britain, where he established a branch office; following his escape from Germany, he was able to continue his business there.

Due to his export business, Behrendt was subjected to more extreme controls by the currency control office (Devisenprüfstelle).³⁴



Assessment of Jewish Asset Tax, 27 January 1939
After the pogrom in November 1938, Jews in Germany were subjected to a special tax. The “atonement contribution” (Sühneleistung) was payable in four instalments, and filled up the empty Reich coffers to the tune of more than a billion Reichsmark.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 51346 (Max Behrendt), p. D2.



Letter from the Local Court to Max Behrendt dated 2 December 1939

With the letter, the Local Court notifies the businessman that his company has been deleted from the commercial register. Max Behrendt was not able to file an objection to this because the Local Court had sent the letter only to the company address; due to the war, only limited correspondence was possible with the United Kingdom

Berlin Land Archives A Rep 342-02, 28764.

But he had managed to transfer assets for establishing the branch office in London without the full knowledge of the German tax authorities. In an auditing report dated October 1938, the expert recommended having the non-Jewish authorised signatory of the company on Mohrenstrasse, “who has a Jewish wife although he is Aryan,” arrested, thereby exerting pressure on the clothier in London. To that end, the signatory’s passport was even confiscated so that he could not flee. ³⁵

Operations ceased completely following the pogrom. The company’s substantial assets were used to pay the so-called “Jewish asset tax” (Judenvermögensabgabe) and other taxes. The company was deleted from the commercial register in April 1940. In England, Max Behrendt encountered payment difficulties, and a forced settlement with creditors was entered into in 1941. He died in London a few days before the liberation of Berlin. ³⁶

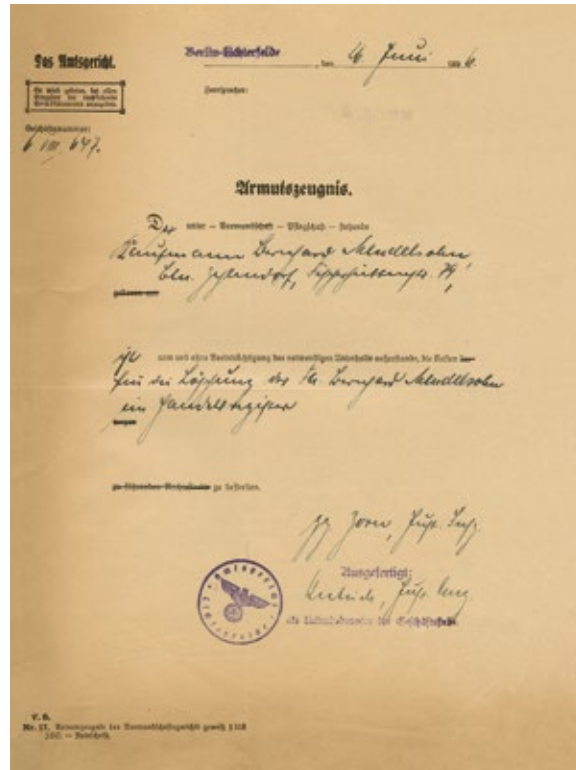
The rapid financial and social decline of persecuted clothiers and their families is shown by the fate of dress and blouse manufacturer Bernhard Mendelsohn. Since 1934, Mendelsohn had been the owner of a blouse and dress factory on Jerusalemer Strasse 26 since 1934. His business dealing were

successful at first; but then, he was hassled by “Adefa” members with defamation and persecution. He finally suffered a stroke, which made him unable to work. His non-Jewish wife attempted to continue the business and remain financially viable, but she was unsuccessful.³⁷

The certificate of poverty, 26 June 1936

The certificate of poverty affirms that Mendelsohn was “poor and not in a position, without compromising the necessary subsistence, to pay the costs for the deletion of the Bernhard Mendelsohn company from the commercial register.”³⁸

Berlin Land Archives, A Rep. 342-02, 45206.



Radicalisation of Persecution (1937/38)

Since its establishment in May 1933, “Adefa” had been working tirelessly to distribute newsletters to its members. It continually called upon them to terminate their business relationships with Jewish companies. It becomes clear from the newsletters that until 1938, although many businessmen were members of “Adefa” they continued to conduct business with their Jewish colleagues. One reason for this was surely that it would have been economically foolish to break off longtime business relationships. The Reich Economics Ministry likewise pursued pragmatic policies until the end of 1937, and pointed out that the persecution of Jews should not affect export business (too much).³⁹ Also, there was no uniform rule as to when a company was to be considered “Jewish.” For that reason, the executive board of “Adefa” decided in November 1937 that all member companies should identify themselves as such and

mark their goods with the notation “goods of Aryan origin.”⁴⁰ This decision was accompanied by a propaganda campaign lasting for several weeks, with the goal of making the work of “Adefa” better known to the public.⁴¹ At the same time, Herman Göring, as the successor to Hjalmar Schacht as Reich Economics Minister, made sure that Jewish commercial enterprises were defined as such and then systematically disadvantaged.⁴² However, all of these actions also show indirectly that up until that time, Jewish entrepreneurs in the fashion industry were still able to hold their own against persecution.

Karl Leissner

The example of a finished fashion company on Mohrenstrasse 37 shows that anti-Semitic persecution by “Adefa” went

hand in hand with the policies of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce. This company was originally founded in July 1933 by Kurt Schmidt, who was not Jewish. Even without experience in the business, Schmidt hoped to be able to build up a lucrative company with the help of an overseer; but he did not make any decent profits. In that situation, Schmidt turned to his friend Karl Leissner, who had lent him money in 1933 to build up the company. Thereupon, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce accused the company of having Karl Leissner as its de facto company head, and referred to “impermissible naming.”⁴³ But that was not the case: Karl Leissner did not take over the company until 1934; and he did not change the name from “Kurt Schmidt.” However, because Leissner also had very little experience in the women’s ready-made clothing business, business did not get better under his leadership. Thereupon, his brother Max Leissner took over the company in December 1935. Like his brother, Max Leissner was a Polish Jew living in Berlin. He had more than 15 years of business experience, and the company first started to make a profit under his leadership. “Adefa” had been observing these business developments, and denounced Max Leissner to the Chamber

of Industry and Commerce; he was thereupon again accused of running a company under a false name. It was demanded of him that he liquidate his company.⁴⁴ However, Max Leissner notified the Local Court of his plans to change the company name to “Max Leissner.” During the transition period, he stamped over the words “Kurt Schmidt” with “Now: Max Leissner” (see image).⁴⁵ Leissner’s attorney made it clear to the Local Court that neither the company’s reputation nor its commercial success was dependent upon the company name of “Kurt Schmidt” because nobody was familiar with that company. With his courageous conduct, Leissner managed to head the company from 1935 to 1938. Because he was a Polish Jew, he still enjoyed a certain degree of protection in Nazi Germany. However, this changed fundamentally in October 1938 because Leissner fell victim to the so-called “Polish action.” The background was a diplomatic conflict between Poland and Germany and Poland’s intention – largely motivated by anti-Semitism – to rescind the citizenship of Poles living abroad. Heinrich Himmler responded by issuing a ban on residence for Polish Jews and organised a Gestapo action, during the course of which 17,000 Polish Jews were arrested, taken forcibly to the



Power of attorney issued by Max Leissner, Warsaw 22 November 1938

From Warsaw, Max Leissner issued a power of attorney to a German trustee to liquidate and wind up the company.

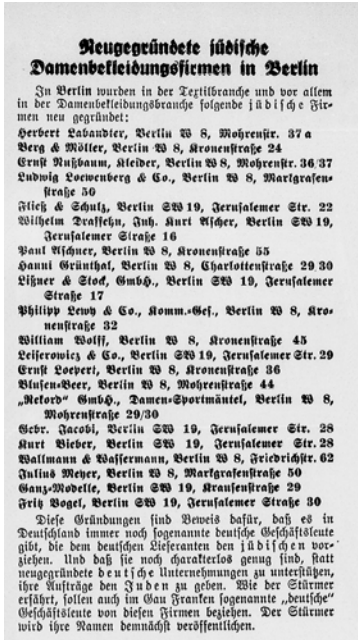
Berlin Land Archives, A Rep. 342-02, 43467.

German-Polish border on trains, and shooed across the border. ⁴⁶ Max Leissner was deported to Poland as well. From Warsaw, Max Leissner empowered a German trustee to wind up and liquidate the company.

SoPaDe, the exile organisation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, reported on the extent of the expulsion of Jewish clothing companies on Hausvogteiplatz and stated that as of “1 April [1938] (...)

about 40 of the largest Berlin ready-made clothing companies decided to shut down their companies or to transfer them to Aryan hands (...)!” ⁴⁷ The SoPaDe reported on the aggressive policies of “Adefa” on Hausvogteiplatz.

A smear campaign appeared in the anti-Semitic weekly paper “Der Stürmer” in 1938; its goal was to poison the atmosphere against Jewish clothing companies. ⁴⁸ The article listed the company names and addresses of 21 Berlin women’s clothing companies that had supposedly not been founded until 1938. These included the companies of “Herbert Labandter on Mohrenstrasse 37a, “Ernst Nussbaum” on Mohrenstrasse 36/37 and “Ernst Loepert” on Kronenstrasse 45. But the entries into the Berlin Commercial Register show that none of those companies was established in 1938 – rather, they were founded between 1934 and 1936. That claim in “Stürmer” was simply a lie, and had the function of publicly threatening and intimidating Jewish clothiers as well as their suppliers and customers, and thereby forcing them to give up their businesses. Beginning in 1934, Herbert Labandter ran a business which manufactured clothing on the ground floor of the building on Mohrenstrasse 37a, whose opening he celebrated in July 1934. ⁴⁹ Labandter was specialised in



Anti-Semitic hate speech

In January 1938, a smear campaign in the anti-Semitic weekly paper “Der Stürmer” disseminated false claims against Jewish clothing companies.

Article from “Der Stürmer,” January 1938.

the manufacture and sale of black mourning clothing and wedding dresses.⁵⁰ The clothier apparently wanted to ensure constant sales that were not subject to seasonal fluctuations. Although the claim in “Stürmer” was false, the intended effect apparently ensued. In the same year, the Labandter company was liquidated under unknown circumstances.

Ernst Loepert

Ernst Loepert, whose company of the same name was also listed, was not even still in Germany when the article was published. He had emigrated to Manchester, England in 1938, leaving his business behind.⁵¹ Loepert, born in 1895, had been a travelling salesman of ready-made girls’ clothing before founding the company. With his own capital of 10,000 Reichsmark, he founded his company on 1 January 1933, only a few weeks before the National Socialists came to power. Loepert rented 150 square metres of space for a monthly rent of 250 Reichsmark. It included a sales room, an office, as well as equipment and packing rooms. Employees of the company included a “business apprentice,” as well as a clothier and a domestic worker. Up to 15 overseers received commissions from Loepert; they had the clothing manufactured in their workrooms outside the company.⁵²

In order to monitor both the existence of companies and their financial situation, the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce wrote to every company entered into the commercial register beginning in fall 1937. That procedure was supposed to serve to update the commercial register. If the IHK

did not receive a response, it applied for the company to be deleted from the commercial register, and published the planned deletion with a deadline of three months.⁵³ Furthermore, the current address was obtained from the central registry of residents. Against this background, the IHK turned to the Local Court of 12 November 1938 to apply for the deletion of the “Ernst Loepert” company from the commercial register, because the result of an evaluation was that the business had been “discontinued for years.”

⁵⁴ In the context of the Jewish ready-made fashion industry on Hausvogteiplatz, this bureaucratic routine procedure seems rather macabre, given that the violent anti-Semitic riots in Berlin had not yet even fully ended by 12 November 1938, and the business premises of the Jewish companies on Hausvogteiplatz had been looted and destroyed. A few days later, the Local Court demanded that Ernst Loepert delete the company from the commercial register. But Loepert was already in Manchester, England, as the Resident Registry Office informed the Local Court.⁵⁵

The “Third Executive Order to the Reich Citizenship Law” of 14 June 1938 officially determined when a company was to be considered Jewish: if at least one owner, partner or shareholder was



Letter from the Local Court to the Chief of Police, 19 June 1939

Upon inquiry by civil servants in charge of the commercial register, the resident registry office notified the chief of police that John Feige had “given notice of departure to London on 28 May 1938”.

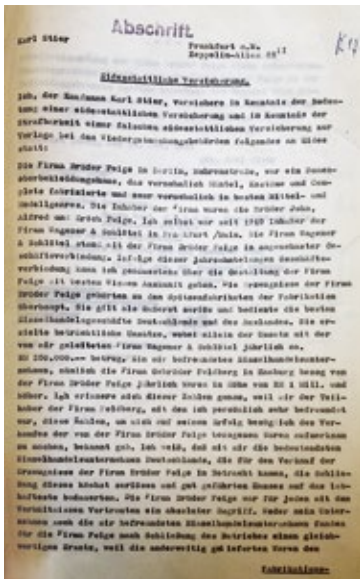
Berlin Land Archives, A Rep. 342-02, 37773.

considered to be a Jew pursuant to the “Nuremberg Laws” of 1935.⁵⁶ At the same time, an order from the chief of police allowed Jewish businesses in Berlin to be specially marked.⁵⁷ The flood of ordinances and the competition from “Adefa” members, whose financial means were virtually unlimited, resulted in the closure of six Jewish finished fashion businesses on the premises between Mohren, Jerusalem and

Kronenstrasse even before the November 1938 pogrom.⁵⁸

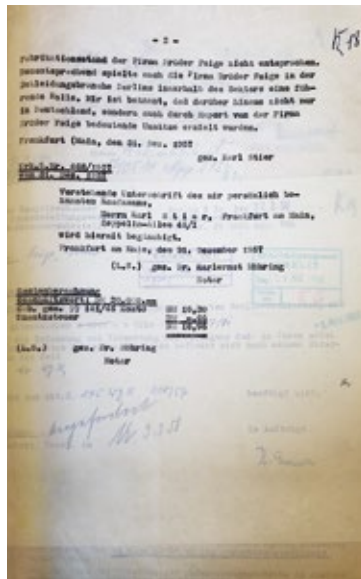
The Feige brothers, whose company headquarters was located on Mohrenstrasse 36/37, also emigrated before the November pogrom. Brothers Alfred, Erich and John Feige came to Berlin from East Prussia after World War I and established a women's coat company bearing their name in 1926. The company's reputation

was so good that they did not need to employ any agents. Customers poured into Mohrenstrasse as soon as a collection was finished.⁵⁹ The Feige brothers were, correspondingly, one of the few companies able to build up a branch office in London after 1933 with the approval of the Reich Economics Ministry. But beginning in 1934, the brothers were subjected to internal agitation by the National Socialist "business



Karl Stier certification, 31 December 1957

The Frankfurt businessman confirmed the excellent reputation of the Feige Brothers company for the compensation proceeding. Their coats were of such high quality that a "comparable substitute" could not be found.



cell” within the company. With increasing frequency, even old customers terminated their business relationships with the company. When the Feige brothers were personally brought before the Gestapo and threatened, they decided in spring 1938 to flee to

London. As a result, their company was liquidated and deleted from the commercial register in April 1940. The significant accounts receivable and positive balance of the company and its partners were confiscated to pay off arbitrarily imposed tax liabilities.⁶⁰

The November Pogrom (1938)

“A group of ten or eleven men, armed with long iron poles and axes, broke into the wholesale businesses in order to smash up everything – and I mean everything – they got their hands on. (..) Clothing, furs, typewriters, lamps, clothes stands, and even flowerpots from the large sales floors were thrown onto the street. All of the accounting files, work papers and card files were dumped onto the street. (...) Outside, agitators and watchdogs made sure the street was free of police.”⁶¹

This is how a passer-by described what she saw during the multi-day pogrom in the Berlin ready-made garment district. This was not the first time that the ready-made garment district, which had been stigmatised as “Jewish,” had been sought out by violent anti-Semites. But the November pogrom was the climax of violence against the Jewish company owners around Hausvogteiplatz. Many of the shops that were still operating were destroyed in broad daylight and in full view of everyone.

After the orgies of violence, Hermann Göring, Prime Minister of Prussia and head of the 4-year-plan authority, called together

countless Nazi institutions, as well as representatives of industry and the insurance industry, to a conference on 12 November 1938 in the Reich Aviation Ministry on Wilhelmstrasse, today’s Federal Finance Ministry location, in order to discuss the consequences of the pogrom. One consequence was the “Order to Exclude the Jews from German Economic Life,” which provided that Jewish retail stores, skilled trades businesses and cooperatives be closed as of 1 January 1939.⁶² Only a few weeks later, on 3 December 1938, the “Order on the Utilisation of Jewish Assets” would force Jewish entrepreneurs to sell or wind down their business operations.⁶³

No. 161.

Bericht einer Dame aus Berlin, "Arierin":

Donnerstag Mittag gegen 1 Uhr trat eine Bande von 13 bis 14 Mann im Konfektionsviertel auf. Drei Mann in guter Garderobe befehligten die uebrigen, welche die "kochende Volksseele" repraesentierten. Diese Gruppe von 10-11 Mann drang, mit langen Eisenstangen und Beilen bewaffnet, in die Engros-Geschaeft(e) ein, um dort alles, aber auch alles, was es nur zu zerstoeeren gab, in Truemmer zu schlagen. Damit war jedoch dieser "kochenden Volksseele" nicht Genuege getan. Kleider, Pelze, Schreibmaschinen, Lampen, Garderobenstaender, ja sogar die Flumenteeffe aus den grossen Verkaufssaesumen wurden auf die Strasse geworfen. Die gesamten Buchhaltungen, Arbeitszettel und Kartotheken flogen auf die Strasse. Alles, was man davon berichten kann, ist schwach gegen die Wirklichkeit. Von 1 Uhr bis 6 Uhr klirrten die Scheiben. Auf den Strassen haeuften sich Berge von Glas und das Papier der Buchhaltungen lag wie Schnee ueber alles. Wenn die Horde aus den einzelnen Haesuern zurueckkam, wurden den Leuten von den drei Antraeibern die Taschen visitiert, denn die kochende Volksseele durfte nichts stehlen. Unten sorgten die Antr ueber und Aufpasser dafuer, dass die Strasse frei war. Mit den Worten: "Strasse frei, hier kommen gleich die Scheiben herunter", wurden die Passanten zurueckgehalten, waehrend ein anderer den Auto-Verkehr umleitete und parkende Wagen vorher zur Seite geschoben wurden. Bemerken moechte ich ausdruecklich, dass waehrend der ganzen Aktion selbstverstaendlich auch die regulaere Streifen-Verkehrs-Polizei auf den Strassen waren, ohne irgend welche Notiz von den Geschaessissen zu nehmen.

Pogrom

In Amsterdam and London, Alfred Wiener, who had fled from Germany, and his team systematically collected information from the German Reich in order to tell the world about the fate of the Jews. The report from the unknown lady is a part of that collection.

Wiener Library London, undated report 046-EA-0450. Books. B.161.

Still in the winter months of 1938–1939, 17 Jewish ready-made clothing companies on the premises of today's Justice and Consumer Protection Ministry were liquidated, and two other companies were transferred to the ownership of non-Jews. In 1940, another nine clothing companies were liquidated, and one was taken over.⁶⁴

Wolf & Schlachter

The company "Schlachter & Wolf," founded in 1919, was one of those ready-made clothes companies that was transferred to the ownership of non-Jews directly following the November pogrom. The company's business premises were originally located on Jerusalem Strasse 21, then moved to Mohrenstrasse 36 in July 1933 and to Kronenstrasse 42/43



The photo shows the staff of the clothing company “Wolf & Schlachter” on Mohrenstrasse 36/37. The women’s coats, made in fixed sizes, can be seen on coat racks in the background. Berlin, about 1918–1920.

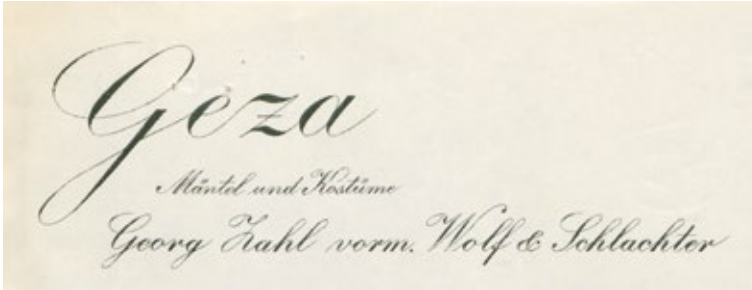
Jewish Museum Berlin, gift from Peter Sinclair.

as of 1938.⁶⁵ The partners were Louis Schlachter and Bruno Wolf, who concentrated mainly on the export of women’s clothing. For that reason, their sales were not radically reduced following the ascension to power of the National Socialists. Within the course of a company audit in December 1935, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce notified the Local Court of annual sales of approx. 1 million Reichsmark and a staff of over 20 employees.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, Louis Wolf emigrated to Paris and issued



Bruno Schlachter, partner in the “Wolf & Schlachter” company, approx. 1935 with visitors in his office on Mohrenstrasse

Jewish Museum Berlin, gift from Peter Sinclair.



Georg Zahl, who bought the Jewish women's coat company "Wolf & Schlachter," which was well-established and very strong in the export market, had stationery printed for the transitional period that showed both the old and new company name.

Berlin Land Archives, A Rep. 342-02, 14736, p. 70.

a power of attorney to his partner Bruno Schlachter to make all decisions on his behalf. Schlachter remained in Berlin, and slowly but surely experienced his own loss of power as the chief executive officer. As many Jewish companies were forced to do at that time, he initially named one of his non-Jewish employees as the company's trustee. In 1938, that employee was named "head of operations" by the Berlin "Reich work trustee."⁶⁷ After the pogrom, Schlachter had no other alternative but to sell his company.

Non-Jews initially had to apply to the chief of police before acquiring a Jewish company. He had the company evaluated by the Nazi district economic adviser Heinrich Hunke, who was considered to

be especially radical; nonetheless, Hunke was able to continue his career in the Finance Ministry of Lower Saxony after the war.⁶⁸ Potential buyers were evaluated as well: the focus was on professional expertise and the amount of equity available; but loyalty to National Socialism played an important role as well. On 23 November 1938, the purchase agreement was concluded between the partners of the "Wolf and Schlachter" general partnership and businessman Georg Zahl. It provided that Bruno Schlachter and his colleagues were required to train Georg Zahl and act as consultants with regard to the export side of the business.⁶⁹

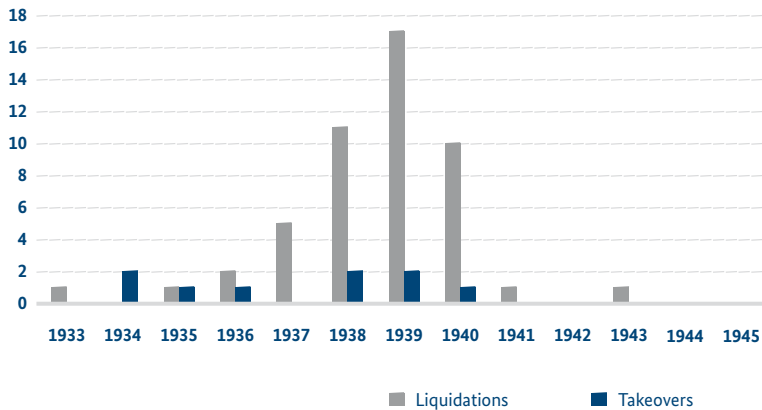
The purchase agreement was forwarded by Berlin's chief

of police to the “division on Jews” of the Reich Economics Ministry. “Staff counsel on Jews” Dr. Alf Krüger approved the contract, but imposed various conditions.⁷⁰ For example, the payment of the purchase price of 56,000 Reichsmark had to be paid by the end of 1939 to the Golddiskontbank, a subsidiary of the Reichsbank. He also assessed the amount of the “De-Jewing Contribution” (Entjudungsabgabe) at 20,000 Reichsmark. This was a type of commission for the Nazi state which Georg Zahl was required to pay into the Reich’s main coffers.⁷¹ The liquidation of the “Wolf & Schlachter” general partnership, and Georg Zahl as the

sole proprietor of the company, was entered in the commercial register on 5 June 1939.⁷² Meanwhile, Bruno Schlachter was planning his emigration to London with his wife Selma Wolf, née Jacob. After paying all of the forced “Jewish Asset Tax” (Judenvermögensabgabe) and the “Reich Flight Tax” (Reichsfluchtsteuer), the couple barely had any capital left to build up an existence in London. Bruno Schlachter died in London on 24 December 1951 at the age of 73. His wife received only a very small pension, which she was forced to supplement in her old age with seamstress work.⁷³

Liquidations and takeovers of fashion companies 1933–1945 on the premises of today’s seat of the Justice and Consumer Protection Ministry

The table clearly shows the increase in liquidations of Jewish companies. The year 1939 saw the most, with 17 liquidations and two takeovers.



Flight to Shanghai (1938/39)

The pogrom represented a caesura in the history of the Berlin ready-made garment industry that cannot be underestimated. After the pogrom, it would become virtually impossible for Jewish victims of persecution to work in the industry; this forced many people to emigrate.

The Salomon Family

The fate of the Salomon family shows how extensive the consequences of the pogrom could be. On 28 February 1939 – a Tuesday – 49-year-old Berlin clothier Paul Salomon, along with his wife Margarete and 17-year-old daughter Irmgard, left Germany in order to seek refuge in the “open city”⁷⁴ of Shanghai. Paul Salomon had made his living as an independent textiles representative in Berlin’s ready-made garment district. The companies he

represented were destroyed during the November pogrom of 1938. This robbed Paul Salomon of his livelihood for himself and his family, and increased the fear of being deported to a concentration camp. The family was left with no other alternative but to emigrate. But the Chinese metropolis, 8,000 kilometres away, was not a voluntarily selected destination: in 1939, Shanghai was among the few cities worldwide to where persecuted people from Central Europe were still able to flee.⁷⁵ At the same time, Shanghai was considered to be a horrible place for which there were virtually no alternatives. Michael Blumenthal answered the following to the question of why he and his family selected Shanghai as the place to flee to: “We fled because we feared for our lives, and no other country would have let us in!” Blumenthal, born in Oranienburg, a former U.S. Treasury Secretary and Director

of the Berlin Jewish Museum, recalls, “Shanghai had a fearsome reputation as a lawless, wild city in a China which had been devastated by the war (...).”⁷⁶

Paul Salomon was a native of Berlin and had been trained in the ready-made garment business. He laid the foundation for his career in Berlin’s fashion district in a women’s coat factory near Berlin’s city palace. That career would last more than 36 years, less a three-year deployment as a soldier in World War I. After his vocational training, Paul Salomon gradually worked his way up the employment ladder: He first worked as a furnisher at “Rosenberg & Krumbek,”⁷⁷ then became a clothier at “Sally Fraenkel” on Mohrenstrasse 38, and finally founded his own company specialising in ladies’ skirts, on 1 April 1933 – the day of the state-organised boycott.⁷⁸ His business was located adjacent to Hausvogteiplatz in a building with plenty of natural light.⁷⁹ His wife Margarete took over the bookkeeping, and business developed well at first: They employed a domestic worker, two agents, and had enough orders to keep seven or eight overseers busy.⁸⁰

However, attacks by “Adefa” became so bad that after four



Paul Salomon had the letter of recommendation written before his emigration to Shanghai. The Jewish company “Plessner & Co.” was liquidated in 1939.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. E4.

years, Salomon could no longer maintain his resistance, and he had to declare bankruptcy in 1937.⁸¹ He gave up his business space, but took advantage of a network he had built up over decades in order to get hired as a representative for renowned companies. He was initially able to sustain his livelihood that way. But it resulted

in his own downward mobility and the unemployment of his wife. During the November pogrom, the premises of the companies that Salomon was working for were destroyed to the point of being forced to close down.⁸² This took away Salomon's last hope of pursuing his profession.

With his application for compensation after the war, Paul Salomon included letters of recommendation that had been issued by the company owners about two weeks before his emigration to Shanghai.⁸³ They truly constitute witnesses to that era: On the one hand, they certify that Paul Salomon had an excellent working style, was clearly an expert in his field, and was extremely popular with the customers. A former employer wrote that due to the "circumstances (...) Mr. Salomon [was] also forced to give up his employment with us." He thereby also bore witness to the fact that even after five years of National Socialist dictatorship, anti-Semitic persecution and pogroms, Jewish company owners had the courage to speak about their persecution – even though they may have done so hesitantly.⁸⁴ The letters of recommendation also constituted an important part of the preparations for emigration to secure an existence for the future in the new and unfamiliar country.

Two weeks after the pogrom, on 21 November 1938, Salomon paid a deposit of 50 Reichsmark for the ship passages to a travel agency whose headquarters were located on Unter den Linden boulevard; on 17 February 1939 he paid an additional 250 RM.⁸⁵ Previously, he had cashed out his life insurance for a paltry surrender value in order to be able to pay for the passage.⁸⁶ Salomon contacted the "Assistance Organisation of Jews in Germany" (Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland) to seek support for his departure to Shanghai.⁸⁷ During the Nazi era, the significance of that organisation increased dramatically with regard to the emigration of persecuted Jews. Its task had become to "(...) find locations throughout the whole world where Jews who were willing to work and prepared to emigrate could find a peaceful, happy future," as formulated by Hamburg banker Max M. Warburg in 1936 at the general meeting.⁸⁸ From 1933 to 1938, the organisation helped over 31,000 people with their emigration – about 20,000 of them fled to countries outside of Europe.⁸⁹ A preserved receipt confirms that Paul Salomon came to the business premises of the organisation on 10 February 1939 to pay 400 Reichsmark, presumably to obtain transit visas and pay processing fees.⁹⁰



An employee of the Aid Association of Jews in Germany issued the payment receipt in the name of Paul “Israel” Salomon. A nationwide order on 10 January 1939 required all Jewish men to adopt the middle name “Israel” and Jewish women to add the middle name “Sara.”⁹¹

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. D12.

At that time, in February 1939, Paul Salomon was among the total of 36,075 Jewish “independent unemployed” in Berlin – a direct consequence of the November pogrom as well as the “Order to Remove the Jews from German Economic Life.”⁹²

In the preceding years, the family’s financial situation had not allowed them to save significant amounts of money. The Salomons sold a portion of their possessions at “bargain basement” prices in order to be able to pay for their emigration and journey to Shanghai.⁹³ The compensation file contains a listing of their furniture which contrasts the purchase price with the amount received from the sale; it shows all too clearly the

desperation of the family members and the time pressures they were subjected to. For example, they had to leave behind all of their bedroom furniture, which they had bought for 2,000 RM. Paul Salomon sold his radio and speakers, which he had bought a few years previously for 300 RM, to “unknown” for less than 25 RM.⁹⁴

On 28 February, the Salomons travelled by train to Munich, and then onward to Naples. We can assume that, as reported by many others, they suffered humiliating measures from the German border police when crossing into Italy: Walter Manes summed up the departure from Germany in his memoirs: “there was another scary moment, but we survived that.”⁹⁵ In accordance with the German exchange regulations of 1938, emigrants were allowed to take out of Germany a maximum of 10 Reichsmark, less 15 Pfennigs processing fee.⁹⁶ They were not allowed to take along new clothing and other items. The goal was to force the refugees into complete poverty. Only a few succeeded in illegally getting small sums to a transit country or to their destination country. The Salomons boarded the Japanese steamship “Suwa Maru” in Naples on 28 March 1939. The journey lasted about one month, whereby the emigrés were not allowed to leave the

ship even for a few hours until they had arrived in Singapore.⁹⁷ When they arrived in Shanghai, the newcomers were greeted by a Jewish aid committee and transported on lorries from the harbour to the Hongkew quarter. During the “Battle for Shanghai” of 1937, during the Chinese-Japanese War, the Hongkew quarter had been largely destroyed. The ruins had been repaired in a makeshift manner and made into collection camps, into which the penniless refugees moved. These camps were “quite literally lifesavers,” and for most “it was a miserable life, but still much better than in a concentration camp.”⁹⁸ They then had to register at the German consulate – otherwise, they might have risked losing their German citizenship.

Paul Salomon was shocked by what he saw in the city, and the subtropical climate caused him significant health problems. He required constant medical care while he was there, and described the conditions in retrospect as “a murderous climate” exacerbated by “inadequate hygiene.” The combination of the two “did not allow him to ever completely regain his health.”⁹⁹ Until moving to the USA in 1947, he was dependent on the charitable services of the Jewish Refugee Committee.

As a reaction to the enormous increase in refugees, Shanghai Jews established the “Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai” on 19 October 1938; it functioned as an umbrella organisation for individual aid projects and also cooperated with the “American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.”¹⁰⁰ Its main tasks were to house people and use aid funds to provide medical and financial support, as well as to establish job-creation measures.¹⁰¹ The majority of the refugees lived in the quarter of Hongkew, but there was, of course, freedom of movement. People who found jobs in one of the neighbouring quarters were able to establish a livelihood, modest as it may have been.

In addition to the everyday hurdles faced in an unfamiliar culture, the political climate would change palpably beginning in 1941: On 7 December, 1941 during the course of the Pacific war, Japanese troops occupied the “previously still free part of the city.”¹⁰² Japan was Germany’s ally, but did not follow the same openly anti-Semitic course as Germany. However, beginning in mid-1942, more and more anti-Semitic pamphlets started to appear in Shanghai, in which Nazi jargon was used to give the Jewish refugees the blame for “black market

trade, crime and espionage.”¹⁰³ Although it was called for by a Gestapo officer in Tokyo following the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942, no concentration camps were established in Shanghai. But the Japanese military authorities succumbed to German pressure and announced that as of 18 February 1943, “all stateless refugees arriving after 1937” would be required to remain within a “certain area.”¹⁰⁴ The Hongkew quarter then turned from a quarter for European Jewish refugees into a ghetto in which Jewish residents were forced to wear a distinguishing button and received a special ID card that stigmatised them.

These orders applied to the Salomon family as well; as of 25 November 1941, they were no longer German citizens: Pursuant to the “11th Order on the Reich Citizenship Law,” they were stripped of their citizenship, and their property which had remained in Germany was confiscated – as was that of the other deported and emigrated Jews.¹⁰⁵

The war in the Pacific ended in August 1945, and the ghetto was dissolved. However, this did not yet mean that leaving Shanghai was possible. Paul Salomon, his wife Margarete and his daughter Irmgard decided against returning to Berlin. But two more years would pass before they received entry visas for the United States. They left Shanghai on 17 June 1947, and arrived one month later in Minneapolis. Salomon worked there until 1955, first in various clothing companies, and later as an administrator. His health initially improved, but he suffered a heart attack in 1955 that forced him to stop working. He died in the USA in 1960, weakened by the gruelling persecution measures of the Nazi regime.”¹⁰⁶

Deportations (beginning in 1941)

Charlotte Baehr

The “Adolf Baehr” company on Mohrenstrasse 36/37 had been in existence for only two years when Adolf Baehr died in January 1935 under unknown circumstances. He left behind a well-functioning business on Mohrenstrasse – on premises measuring 340 square metres, 19 staff members worked on the design and sale of ladies’ dresses, and 25 overseers had the garments sewn off premises. After his death, a relative of his widow led the company; however, this ended in 1937, when the company was liquidated and deleted from the commercial register. His widow, Charlotte Baehr (née Markwald) and their 14-year-old daughter Ruth were thereafter forced to live on the family’s savings. Charlotte was successful in enabling her daughter Ruth to emigrate to Switzerland. The young woman was able to complete her acting training there. Under disastrous conditions, she emigrated on to Palestine in 1940.¹⁰⁷

Charlotte Baehr remained in Berlin. She was arrested by the Gestapo in October 1941 and brought to a collection camp in Berlin. On 24 October 1941, she was deported from Berlin to the Litzmannstadt/Łódź Ghetto. At that time, all of her assets were transferred to the German Reich, and Charlotte Baehr was stripped of her German citizenship. In the Łódź Ghetto, at the end of 1941 more than 200,000 Jews were detained under horrific conditions on less than 4 square kilometres.¹⁰⁸ On 4 May 1942, Charlotte Baehr was deported to the extermination camp Kulmhof am Ner and murdered.¹⁰⁹

Sally Fraenkel

The “Sally Fraenkel” women’s coat company had been in existence for 56 years when brothers and directors Max and Manfred Fraenkel, forced to use the name “Israel,” applied for their deletion

from the commercial register on 6 March 1939. Sally and Siegmund Fraenkel had founded the company in 1882, and entered it into the commercial register on 19 April 1901.¹¹⁰ While Sally Frankel dealt with the creative side of the fashion business, his brother Siegmund focused on the business issues. This division was normal in the ready-made garment industry, and was considered to be a successful approach.¹¹¹ In the 1920s, Max and Manfred, Sally Fraenkel's sons, took over the company and managed to survive the economic crisis. In 1929, they moved business operations to Hausvogteiplatz 3/4, from where they witnessed the April boycott and the initial years of National Socialism. Sales plunged dramatically – while Max Fraenkel still earned 15–18,000 Reichsmark in 1934, his income was cut in half by 1937.

A close look into the Berlin directory shows that attempts were made to drive “Sally Fraenkel” from Hausvogteiplatz, probably by the owners of the building; but the company executives were able to maintain their location by renting space in an adjacent building. Between 1936 and 1939, the ladies' coat company moved not once, but twice – and the moves coincided with a change in ownership of the respective buildings. The company

did not move into Mohrenstrasse 38 until the end of 1936.¹¹² Until 1937, Jewish button manufacturer Otto Sochaczewer owned the buildings on Jerusalemer Strasse 24 and Mohrenstrasse 38.¹¹³ Sochaczewer, who was also persecuted, dissolved his company, sold his property, and emigrated to Amsterdam in May 1938. The new owner of the two buildings was W. Eichmann, non-Jew and retired high-level civil servant.¹¹⁴

During the course of 1938, the company moved again, this time to Jerusalemer Strasse 8. This can definitely be considered to be an attempt on the part of Max and Manfred Fraenkel to hold their ground against their displacement.¹¹⁵ It is unclear whether the company was still located on Mohrenstrasse 38 during the November pogrom in 1938, or whether it had already moved to Jerusalemer Strasse 8. But it is clear that the pogrom represented an enormous caesura for the company, and therefore for the family as well: Manfred Fraenkel was one of the many thousand Jewish men who, in the course of the pogrom, was taken to the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp on orders of Heydrich; those men came from Berlin, northern and eastern Germany, as well as eastern Prussia.¹¹⁶ In Sachsenhausen,

Manfred Fraenkel was designated as prisoner number 9110 and was assigned to “Prisoner block 38,” the “Jew’s block” as it was known in SS jargon. This is where the “November prisoners”¹¹⁷ were kept under catastrophic conditions. The men in the camp were subjected to arbitrary violent outbursts by the SS camp staff, and had to perform brutally hard physical labour. This terror was designed to force the prisoners to emigrate.¹¹⁸

Fraenkel was released from the camp on 26 November 1938 after assuring that he would emigrate to England.¹¹⁹ Before they left for England, which was more like an escape given the recent detention in the concentration camp, brothers Max and Manfred liquidated the company and dissolved the business, including the merchandise storage room, which had been looted and destroyed after the pogrom. Manfred and his wife Rose left Germany in August 1939. Their moving crates, which were supposed to be shipped to England, remained in Germany and were auctioned off in April 1941 – the profits were collected by the German State.¹²⁰ Determining the assets of the Fraenkel couple would take until 1945. In addition to the cash assets of Rose Fraenkel, it was also determined that she had a

positive balance due to an unused ship’s passage on the “deutsche Amerika-Linie.”¹²¹ Apparently, the Fraenkels managed to travel safely to England on a foreign ship. However, that notification from the Asset Processing Office in Bremen seemed suspicious to the the responsible civil servant in Berlin, and so he inquired of the Resident Registry Office in Berlin as to whether Manfred Fraenkel had been “evacuated.”¹²² The civil servant used that term as a euphemism to inquire whether Manfred Fraenkel had been deported. In January 1945, the Gestapo applied to the security service of the SS for confiscation of the determined assets.¹²³

Manfred’s brother, Max, and his wife Martha Fraenkel, née Krzywinius, had three young daughters who they succeeded in keeping safe until 1939. Daughters Judith (born 1921) and Eva (born 1924) were sent to London, England on so-called children’s transports (Kindertransporte). Hannah (born 1922) went to Haifa, Palestine with a “youth transport” (Jugendtransport).¹²⁴ In order to pay for those transports, the Fraenkels sold their apartment, including the furniture, on Trautenaustrasse 1 in Berlin’s district of Wilmersdorf. They moved into a one-room apartment on Konstanzer Strasse 51,

which they had to share with other women and men. From there, daughter Judith received the last sign of life from her parents.¹²⁵ They were arrested and detained in one of the 15 collective camps until the day of their deportation.¹²⁶ There, they were forced to put in writing that they were leaving their assets to the State. On 29 November 1942, they were deported to Auschwitz from the freight rail depot on Putlitzstrasse in the central Berlin

district of Moabit.¹²⁷ On that train, there were 988 Jewish children, men and women who were deported in freight cars to Auschwitz, a journey that took two days. This was the first transport from the “Old Reich” (Altreich) to Auschwitz.¹²⁸ Max and Martha Fraenkel were never seen or heard from again.¹²⁹ It is unknown whether they were first forced labourers, or whether they were immediately “selected” and murdered.

The Textile Industry During the War

The persecution and destruction of the Jewish ready-made garment businesses on Hausvogteiplatz, the premises of today's Federal Justice Ministry, meant the end of a tradition spanning more than 100 years. Non-Jewish fashion companies did continue to exist. But those companies were in the minority on Mohren-, Kronen- and Jerusalemer Strasse, and most of them did not have the same excellent reputation enjoyed by their former Jewish competitors. But "Adefa" members had access to all kinds of resources, made available by the "Sponholz & Co. (formerly Herz)" Bank. That bank was located on Jerusalemer Strasse 25 and provided non-Jewish entrepreneurs with credit. This made it possible for them to take over formerly Jewish companies even with a very low amount of equity, and to soon begin making profits. This was the path chosen by the partners of "Hensel & Mortensen."¹³⁰ That company, on Kronenstrasse 41, first appeared in the Berlin directory

in 1939. That fact is already an indication that this could not be a Jewish company, because an order from the beginning of 1938 had introduced an obligation to obtain approval before opening a clothing store. Jewish businesspeople were no longer issued such approval. The two partners of "Hensel & Mortensen," although they had equity capital of merely 25,000 Reichsmark, received credit from "Sponholz & Co. (formerly Herz)" of over one million Reichsmark in order to buy up formerly Jewish companies!¹³¹

"Adefa" dissolved in 1939, after it had destroyed the substance of the Jewish business activities in the fashion industry. It was decided at the final membership meeting that the assets after liquidation should be used to establish a foundation. Its purpose was to be "to support former Adefa members who encounter emergencies through no fault of their own, or their surviving relatives."¹³²

Mohrenstr.	Kronenstr.	Jerusalemstr.		
<p>36. 37 E. Deutsches Reich. V. Reichsliche Gewandfabrikfab. n. d. F. Erdbeere Handelt. abt. n. d. F. Minersstr. 1</p> <p>37a E. Reichliche Fabrik- Gefell. (W. B. Ueber- leiten. 60) V. Götter, H. Bernell. (Brettern. Gaezle. 4) Wissner, E. Meier (L. T. T.) Wahr n. G. H. K. G. Röder T.</p> <p>Broth. G. Sandstr. T. Kraulier, Rich. G. m. d. F. Weber T. Hermann, H., Wiener Weden T. Fraginger & Gelye, Lammbeide. T. Jensen, F., Luchter, Berl. Buro Str. 1 Reiter H., Ansplicherei T. Röhre, H. & Co. Beide. T. 1. 2. T.</p>	<p>37a Rebsam, Gde. Gsch. Taschmühl T. Rode G. Sandstr. T. Röhl, Qdmig, E. G. Taschmühl T. Söll & Co. Regen- hölz. T.</p> <p>38 I. a. Jerusalemstr. 24. Edmann, W. Dr. Reich- sam. (Berth. Gsch.) Uebermann-Str. 57) von Baum, R. G., Ta- schmühl T. Sch. G. Gschwert Reich, G., Taschenmühl T.</p> <p>← Jerusalemstr. Gie. → ← Hausvogteiplatz → Gsch. - Taschenmühl T.</p>	<p>← Jerusalemstr. Gie. → 33 E. u. V. mit Str. 37. 35 E. u. V. mit Str. 37. Wagner, O. Rullger. 37 E. Rühl. V. Götter, H. Bernell. Reich, G. Gsch. 38 - 40 E. Hausvogteiplatz R. III (W. G. Taschen- mühl Gie. 17. 18) Hausvogteiplatz 44 T. Reiter, H. & Co. R. G. Reiter T. Reich, G. Taschenmühl T. Reiter, H. Reiter. 41 E. mit Str. 42. 43 gel. 1. Reiter, H. 37.</p>	<p>← Hausvogteiplatz → ← Reiterstr. 36 → 24 I. a. Mohrenstr. 36. E. Edmann, (W. B.) Göthe-Geschäft-Gie. Str. 57-68) Reiter, H. Dr. 64 T. 35 E. Edmann, (W. B.) Göthe-Geschäft-Gie. Reiter, H. Taschenmühl. Reich, G. Gsch. 36 E. Reiter, H. Gsch. Göthe & Co. Gsch. T. Reiter, H. Gsch. 37 E. Reiter, H. Gsch. Göthe & Co. Gsch. T. Reiter, H. Gsch. 38 E. Reiter, H. Gsch. Göthe & Co. Gsch. T. Reiter, H. Gsch. 39 E. Reiter, H. Gsch. Göthe & Co. Gsch. T. Reiter, H. Gsch.</p>	<p>27 E. Reiter, H. Gsch. (W. B.) Taschenmühl Gie. 33) E. Edmann, (W. B.) Göthe-Geschäft-Gie. Reiter, H. Gsch. (W. B. Taschenmühl Gie.) Reiter, H. Gsch. 38 E. Reiter, H. Gsch.</p> <p>← Kronenstr. →</p>

After the Jewish owners and renters were expropriated and expelled, most of the prominently located properties were nationalized.

Berlin directory for 1942 using official sources, nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:kobv:109-1-4427630

Even before the war, in the context of the four-year-plan, the propaganda maxim in the German fashion industry was “old material is raw material” (Altstoff ist Rohstoff).¹³³ Although consumer needs were frowned upon during the war, a great deal of clothing – especially uniforms – needed to be mass-produced. After 1939, many of the German clothing companies began to have their clothing produced in ghettos – some of them even established branch offices next door to the ghettos.¹³⁴ Production there was primarily of military clothing, for instance of SS coats from

horse leather or other uniforms. Company owners also had forced labourers produce civilian clothing for a fraction of the usual cost. For example, the “Charlotte Röhl” company, headquartered on Hausvogteiplatz 11, received “half-finished goods” from the Litzmannstadt Ghetto,¹³⁵ which made it into one of the many who profited from the National Socialist policies of persecution and then extermination.

What followed was, for the most part, nationalisation of the prominently located properties: After “Graumann & Stern” was

chased away, the German Reich became the owner of the property on Mohrenstrasse 36/37. The new tenant was the “Scientific Research Society,” a limited liability company that was junior to the Reich Economics Ministry. Its name concealed the Society’s true purpose, which consisted of fulfilling war-relevant tasks for the arms industry.¹³⁶ The same was true of the property at Kronenstrasse 38–40, which had been owned by the Jewish bank “Mendelssohn & Co.” before it became the property of the Reich air force (“Luftgaukommando No. III”) in 1941.¹³⁷

The buildings on Hausvogteiplatz and Gendarmenmarkt were bombed, some of them repeatedly, during the allied air attacks on Berlin. Nonetheless, German bureaucracy continued to function: The partners in the “GeZa” company, which had taken over “Wolf & Schlachter,” notified the Local Court on 23 February 1944 of “total destruction” and requested new excerpts from the commercial register.¹³⁸ Upon a subsequent second request, the Local Court responded in February 1945, three months before the war ended, that the commercial register files were not available because they had been moved due to the war.¹³⁹

Compensation and Restitution (1945 – today)

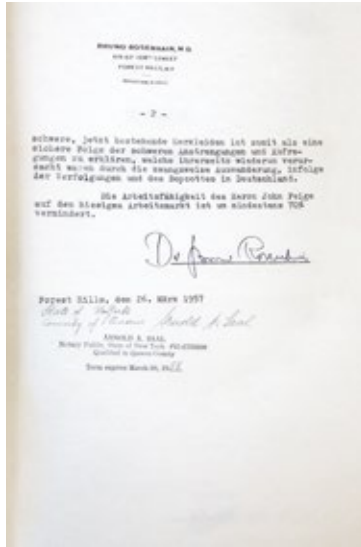
For those who applied, the euphemistic-sounding terms “compensation” and “reparations” often meant a bitter fight which sometimes lasted for decades and over generations, and whose result was uncertain. Restitution of the assets confiscated unlawfully during those days has still not been fully completed.¹⁴⁰

Those Jewish former clothiers from Hausvogteiplatz who survived the war were required in the post-war years to write down their experiences and to fill out compensation forms. They were forced to look for neighbours, colleagues and fellow prisoners in order to obtain affidavits regarding the events between 1933 and 1945. The same was true for the survivors of those people who had been deported and murdered.

Their goal was to receive reparations – the term in German

was Wiedergutmachung, which literally means “to make good again.” Applications poured into the compensation office in Berlin from the USA, Palestine/Israel, Australia, Belgium and Great Britain. But it would often take many years until the applications were complete and were processed and decided upon.

Gerhard Jacobowitz from Kronenstrasse, who was considered a “full Jew” according to the Nazi “Nuremberg Laws,” had emigrated to Belgium in 1935 and lived there underground. He submitted an application on 25 September 1955 for compensation for “damage to body and health,” “damage to liberty,” “damage to assets,” as well as “damage to professional advancement.” Five years would pass before he received two one-time payments totalling only 6,000 Deutschmarks as compensation for his physical suffering and



Certification from Doctor Bruno Rosenhain, New York, 26 March 1956

The doctor certified how severely his patient John Feige’s health had been affected by the persecution measures in the Third Reich, his protracted flight, and the disappointing attempt to build up a new existence in New York.

LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 50555 (John Feige), p. B9 et seq.

the “damage to liberty.”¹⁴¹ Jacobowitz found a Bundestag parliamentarian from the CDU who worked on his concerns, and also received support from the German Embassy in Belgium. Jacobowitz fought for 20 years to be compensated by the Federal Republic of Germany because he could not find gainful employment after his emigration. The compensation office rejected his application because he supposedly did not submit any credible evidence.¹⁴² The exchange of

correspondence, characterised by misunderstandings and bitterness, went on for decades. Jacobowitz suffered a stroke in 1977.

Paul Salomon, the clothier from Hausvogteiplatz who emigrated to Shanghai after the pogrom, submitted an application for compensation in 1951. He was able to include all of the obligatory documents with his application: An excerpt from the criminal register without any entries, a curriculum vitae, original letters

of recommendation from former employers, proof of income during the period before emigration, etc. He received a fixed sum based on his ghetto detention in Shanghai, and shortly before his death, he received notification that he would be receiving a small pension.¹⁴³

The result of the division of the city into East and West Berlin meant that claims for restitution in the eastern part could not be asserted until after the Berlin Wall fell, and were then submitted based on the “Resolution of Outstanding Property Issues Act” (Gesetz zur Regelung offener Vermögensfragen) of 1990.¹⁴⁴

Because Hausvogteiplatz was in East Berlin, the former clothiers’ applications were denied until after the Wall fell. After the Wall fell, these were de facto compensation payments, because as a rule the companies no longer existed and “therefore were not subject to restitution.”¹⁴⁵ John Feige from the “Feige Brüder” company, whose application for compensation had been rejected, filed an objection to that decision, which was rejected by the Berlin Regional Court in 1960. After the fall of the Wall, the Jewish Claims Conference took up the case, and it was resolved by way of settlement in 2005.¹⁴⁶

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- A Rep. 342-02, 37773, p. 5 (Fa. Brüder Feige)
- A Rep. 342-02, 43607, p. 6 (Fa. C. Neumann & Co.)
- A Rep. 342-02, 582535, p. 41 (Fa. Casper & Co.)
- A Rep. 342-02, 47300, p. 1 (Fa. Ernst Nussbaum)
- A Rep. 342-02, 40527, p. 4 (Fa. Erwin Feder)
- A Rep. 342-02, 57664, p. 62 (Fa. Goldberg & Sander)
- A Rep. 342-02, 18687, p. 16 (Fa. Graumann & Stern)
- A Rep. 342-02, 47858, p. 12 (Fa. Hielscher & Co.)
- A Rep. 342-02, 47173, p. 7 (Fa. Hirsch & Süßkind)
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- A Rep. 342-02, 34112, p. 1 (Fa. Kurt Glesinger)
- A Rep. 342-02, 44617, p. 12 (Fa. Lewinneck & Schönlack)
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- A Rep. 342-02, 38764, p. 7 (Fa. Max Behrendt)
- A Rep. 342-02, 43467, p. 22 (Max Leissner / Kurt Schmidt)
- A Rep. 342-02, 42068, p. 7 (Michaelis & Gräfenberg)
- A Rep. 342-02, 47654, p. 7 (MoTü)
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- A Rep. 342-02, 31989, p. 98 (Seliger & Co.)
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- A Rep. 342-02, 40045, p. 10 (Walter Wachsner)
- A Rep. 342-02, 14736, p. 17 (Wolf & Schlachter)

Notes

- 1 According to the German Civil Code, the possessor of an item is the person who has actual control over it. However, the owner is solely the person to whom the item legally belongs. As such, when transactions are described as “transfer of possession,” it is assumed that the purchaser has obtained an item against the will of the owner and the seller who was forced to sell remained the legal owner of the item. Restitution was based upon that reservation of ownership. Cf. **Ludolf Herbst/Christoph Kreutzmüller/Ingo Loose/Thomas Weihe, Introduction**, in: **Ludolf Herbst/Thomas Weihe (Eds.), *Die Commerzbank und die Juden 1933–1945*, Munich 2004**, pp. 9–19, here, pp. 10–13.
- 2 Cf. Database of Jewish businesses in Berlin 1930–1945; an excerpt of the database is accessible online at: www2.hu-berlin.de/djgb [current as of: August 2016].
- 3 Cf. **Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Ausverkauf. Die Vernichtung der jüdischen Gewerbetätigkeit in Berlin 1930–1945***, Berlin 2013, p. 89.
- 4 Attack on Isidor Dobrin’s pastry shop on 13 October 1930, in: **Christoph Kreutzmüller, Bjoern Weigel, *Kristallnacht? Bilder der Novembepogrome 1938 in Berlin***, Berlin 2013, p. 48.
- 5 Affidavit of Seew William Stern, 20 October 1965, in: Landesamt für Bürger- und Ordnungsangelegenheiten Berlin (Berlin Land office for citizens’ affairs – LABO) – Div. I – (Seew William Stern, pp. 074–077, here: p. 075).
- 6 Cf. **Rüdiger Hachtmann, Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterorganisationen in Berlin (1930–1945)***, in: **Michael Wildt, Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Berlin 1933–1945. Stadt und Gesellschaft***, Berlin 2013, pp. 111–126.
- 7 Regarding the use of terms, see **Christoph Kreutzmüller, *Der „Boycott“ am 01. April 1933***, in: **Zerstörte Vielfalt, Wittenbergplatz, berlin.de/2013/themenjahr-open-air/stadt-markierungen/01-wittenbergplatz-vom-boycott-zum-pogrom/der-boycott-am-1-april-1933** [current as of: August 2016] as well as: *ibid.*, *Ausverkauf*, p. 22 et seq.
- 8 **Eduard Reimer, *Kommentar zum Gesetz gegen den unlauteren Wettbewerb zum Zugabe und Rabattrecht***, Berlin 1935, p. 559. On Reimer’s fate, see: **Simone Ladwig Winters, *Anwalt ohne Recht, Das Schicksal jüdischer Rechtsanwälte in Berlin nach 1933***, Berlin 2007, p. 244.
- 9 Regarding anti-Semitic persecution by the Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Local Court, see **Kreutzmüller, *Ausverkauf***, p. 184 et seq.
- 10 Cf. ***Der Terror gegen die Juden***, February 1938, in: **Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Sopade), *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozial-demokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 5th vol. (1938)**, p. 191.

- 11 Cf. **Irene Guenther**, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*, Oxford / New York 2004, p. 155 et seq.
- 12 Articles of association of the Adefa Foundation, 15 August 1939, in: Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB), C Rep. 105, no. 4530, p. 2.
- 13 **Uwe Westphal**, *Berliner Konfektion: Die Zerstörung einer Tradition 1836–1939*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1992, p. 182.
- 14 Cf. „Haus Stern“ in: **Hans-Jürgen Mende, Kurt Wenicke**, *Berlin Mitte. Das Lexikon*, Berlin 2001, p. 278.
- 15 Cf. Berlin historical address directory, 1913.
- 16 Affidavit of Seev William Stern, 14 February 1954, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. -no. 271990 (Seev William Stern), p. M6-M9, here: p. M7.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Charlottenburg Local Court, page from the commercial register, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 18687.
- 19 Affidavit by Seev William Stern, 14 February 1954, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 271990 (Seev William Stern), p. M6-M9, here: M8.
- 20 Ibid., p. M6
- 21 Ibid., p. 077.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 On the early phases of terror in Berlin, cf. **Stefan Hördler** (ed.), *SA-Terror als Herrschaftssicherung. „Köpenicker Blutwoche“ und öffentliche Gewalt im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 2013.
- 24 Affidavit of Seev William Stern to the Berlin compensation office, 20 October 1965, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 271990 (Seev William Stern), p. 074-077, here: p. 077.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Affidavit of Seev William Stern, 14 February 1954, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 271990 (Seev William Stern), pp. M6-M9, here: p. M9.
- 27 Ibid.

- 28 DjGB.
- 29 Letter from the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish faith to the 11 police precinct, 1 March 1935, in: Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP), HM2 8806 (RGVA 721/3161).
- 30 Cf. **Wolf Gruner**, *Die Verfolgung der Juden und die Reaktionen der Berliner*, in: **Wildt/Kreutzmüller**, *Berlin 1933 – 1945*, p. 311 – 323.
- 31 **Stefan Hördler**, *Entgrenzung und Eingrenzung der Gewalt*, in: **Wildt/Kreutzmüller**, *Berlin 1933 – 1945*, pp. 297 – 310, here: p. 298; **Irene von Götz/Petra Zwaka (Eds.)**, *SA-Gefängnis Papestraße. Ein frühes Konzentrationslager in Berlin*, Berlin 2013; **Eva-Lotte Reimer**, *Der Folterkeller in der Petersburger Straße*, in: **Moritz van Dülmen, Wolf Kühnelt, Bjoern Weigel (Eds.)**, *Zerstörte Vielfalt – Berliner Themenjahr 2013*, Berlin 2013, in print or online at: berlin.de/2013/themenjahr-open-air/stadtmarkierungen/11-frankfurter-tor-vielfalt-im-untergrund/der-folterkeller-in-der-petersburger-strasse [current as of: August 2016].
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- 33 Affidavit of Irmard Behrendt, 5 March 1951, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 51346 (Max Behrendt), p. D7.
- 34 Currency monitoring report on the Max Behrendt company, 20 October 1938, in: Brandenburg Land Main Archives, 36A, 2556.
- 35 Ibid.
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- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Newsletter from the scarf and dress fabric industry group of Adefa, 3 February 1938, in: CAHJP, HM2/8806 (3162), p. 34.
- 40 **Guenther**, *Nazi Chic*, p. 157.
- 41 Ibid., p. 157 et seq.

- 42 Cf. **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, pp. 201 – 205. The history of the Reich Economics Ministry is currently being examined by a commission of historians under the leadership of Albrecht Ritschl.
- 43 Letter from Chamber of Industry and Commerce to the Local Court, 27 February 1934, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 43467, p. 4.
- 44 Notification from Chamber of Commerce and Industry to the Local Court, 29 December 1937, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 43467, p. 13.
- 45 Power of attorney issued by Max Leissner, 28 November 1938, in: *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 46 **Hans Reichmann**, *German citizen and persecuted Jew. Novembepogrom und KZ Sachsenhausen 1937 – 1939*, edited by Michael Wildt, Munich 1998, p. 20; **Trude Maurer**, *Abschiebung und Attentat. Die Ausweisung der polnischen Juden und der Vorwand für die „Kristallnacht“*, in: **Walter H. Pehle (ed.)**, *Der Judenpogrom 1938. Von der „Reichskristallnacht“ zum Völkermord*, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, pp. 52 – 73.
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- 52 Letter from Chamber of Industry and Commerce to the Local Court, 11 May 1934, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 44357, p. 2.
- 53 Cf. **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, p. 30.
- 54 Letter from Chamber of Industry and Commerce to the Local Court, 12 November 1938, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 44357, p. 4.
- 55 Notice from the Resident Registry Office to the Local Court, 29 November 1938, in: *ibid.*
- 56 **Gruner**, *Judenverfolgung*, p. 52.
- 57 **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, p. 194 et seq.
- 58 The information is based on independent research.

- 59 Letter from Bruno Schmitz to the Berlin Compensation Office, 8 April 1957, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 50555 (John Feige).
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Eyewitness report of an “Aryan” lady, undated (November 1938), in: Wiener Library London, B. 161; cf. **Kreuzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, p. 160.
- 62 Reich Law Gazette (*Reichsgesetzblatt – RGBl.*) 1938 I, p. 1580.
- 63 Order on the Utilisation of Jewish Assets, 3 December 1938, in: RGBl. I, p. 1709.
- 64 The Information is based upon an independent examination of the commercial register documents.
- 65 Notification from oHG (offene Handelsgesellschaft – general partnership) to Berlin Local Court, 21 July 1933, in: LAB, A Rep. 342-02, 14736, p. 9.
- 66 Report from Chamber of Trade and Industry to Berlin Local Court, 19 December 1935, in: *ibid.*, p. 4
- 67 Letter from former director of operations Walter Klebba to attorney Walter Scholz, 22 February 1961, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg.no. 74565 (Bruno Schlachter).
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- 69 Copy of the purchase agreement between “Wolf & Schlachter” general partnership and Georg Zahl, November 1938, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 74565 (Bruno Schlachter), p. D35 et seq.
- 70 Letter from Dr. Alf Krüger, Reich Economics Ministry to Georg Zahl, 13 April 1939, in: *ibid.*
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- 75 **Georg Armbrüster / Michael Kohlstruck / Sonja Mühlberger (eds.)**, *Exil Shanghai 1938 – 1947. Jüdisches Leben in der Emigration*, Teetz 2000.
- 76 **Michael Blumenthal**, *In achtzig Jahren um die Welt*, Berlin 2010, p. 103.
- 77 DjGB (database of Jewish companies): Rosenburg & Krumbeck GmbH, Damenmäntel (Ladies' Coats), founded in 1914, liquidated: 1936, Kronenstrasse 23 (Mitte).
- 78 Salomon did not enter his company into the trade register, which is why it does not appear in the database of Jewish companies (DjGB). The reason for his decision was the "atmosphere against Jewish businesses which was dominant at that time," in: LABO Berlin, compensation file, reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon) p. M25.
- 79 CV of Paul Salomon, 16 November 1954, in: *ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 Cf. entries into the database of Jewish companies: "Pleißner & Co." Damenkonfektion und Backfischmäntel (Ladies' Finished Fashion and Young Ladies' Coats), founded in 1930, liquidated in 1939, Krausenstrasse 38, and "Erich Wolfsohn KG": Damenröcke (Ladies' Skirts), founded in 1935, liquidated in 1939.
- 83 Letters of recommendation from "Plessner & Co." to Paul Salomon, 26 December 1938 and "Erich Wolfsohn Kom. Ges." to Paul Salomon, 7 February 1939, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. E4.
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 Letter from lawyer Heinz Lohmüller/Dietrich Jacob to the Berlin compensation office, 30 September 1957, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. D6.
- 86 Letter from Nordstern Lebensversicherung-Aktiengesellschaft (Life insurance stock company) to lawyer Dietrich Jacob, 10 November 1955, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg- no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. F3.
- 87 The organisation, founded in Berlin in 1901, was originally called "Assistance Organisation of German Jews, registered association," and was forced to change its name after the Nuremberg Race laws of 1935.
- 88 Max M. Warburg was the chairman of the curatorium of the assistance organisation; cf. and cited from: **Max M. Warburg**, *Programmatische Ausführungen des Herrn Max M. Warburg auf der Generalversammlung des Hilfsvereins am 30. April 1936 (Programmatic statements by Mr. Max M. Warburg at the general meeting of the assistance organisation*

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- 91 **Wolf Gruner**, *Judenverfolgung in Berlin 1933 – 1945. Eine Chronologie der Behördenmassnahmen in der Reichshauptstadt*, 2nd revised and expanded edition, Berlin 2009.
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- 93 Questionnaire D. on damage to assets, 8 November 1955, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. D1.
- 94 List of sold and/or left-behind furniture, in: *ibid.*
- 95 Manuscript, **Walter Manes**: *Life in Germany and Shanghai, China. 1911 – 1948*, London 2011, in: Wiener Library, 1548/1, p. 6.
- 96 **Jewish Museum**, *Leben im Wartesaal*, p. 21.
- 97 Cf. *ibid.*
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- 99 Affidavit, health report of Paul Salomon, 27 November 1956, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. B4 et seq.
- 100 Cf. **Barbara Geldermann**, *Shanghai a City of Immigrants. Shanghai und die Gründer der ersten jüdischen Gemeinde, die bagdadischen Juden*, in: **Armbrüster / Kohlstruck / Mühlberger (Eds.)**, *Exil Shanghai*, pp. 46 – 57.
- 101 **Jewish Museum**, *Exil in Shanghai*, p. 24.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 34
- 104 Cited by: *ibid.*, p. 35
- 105 **Gruner**, *Judenverfolgung*, p. 148.

- 106 Affidavit, health report of Paul Salomon, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. 4 et seq.
- 107 Curriculum vitae of Ruth Spicer (née Baehr), 16 June 1957, in: LAB Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 51246 (Charlotte Baehr), p. M12.
- 108 **Stiftung Topographie des Terrors** (Ed.), *Berliner Juden im Getto Litzmannstadt 1941 – 1944. Ein Gedenkbuch*, compiled by Ingo Loose, Berlin 2009, p. 42.
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- 112 Cf. directory, 1936/37.
- 113 Database of Jewish companies.
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- 115 Cf. **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, pp. 239 – 331.
- 116 Cf. **Günter Morsch, Astrid Ley** (Eds.), *Das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen 1936 – 1945. Ereignisse und Entwicklungen*, Berlin 2008, p. 50 et seq.; throughout the Reich, about 26,000 men were imprisoned in the concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen during the November pogroms, cf. **Stiftung Topographie des Terrors** (Ed.), *Die Novemberpogrome 1938. Versuch einer Bilanz*, Berlin 2009; **Andreas Nachama / Uwe Neumärker / Hermann Simon** (Eds.), „Es brennt!“ Antijüdischer Terror im November 1938, Berlin 2008.
- 117 **Mark Siegelberg**, *Jew in Protective Custody no. 13877, Shanghai ca. 1940*, p. 176.
- 118 Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives, D 1 A/1030, p. 442; Cf. Erlebnisbericht: **Hans Reichmann**, *Deutscher Bürger und verfolgter Jude. Novemberpogrom und KZ Sachsenhausen 1937 bis 1939*. Worked up and introduced by Michael Wildt, Munich 1998.
- 119 Sachsenhausen Memorial Archives, D 1 A1020, p. 442.
- 120 Notification from Gestapo Berlin to Berlin Moabit-West Tax Office for the confiscation of forfeited assets, 25 April 1941, cited by: Bundesamt für zentrale Dienste und offene Vermögensfragen (Federal Office for Central Services and the Resolution of Outstanding Property Issues (BADV)), Fraenkel restitution application.

- 121 Notification from the Vermögensverwertungsstelle (Asset Processing Office) in Bremen to its counterpart in Berlin, Bremen 8 June 1943, in: *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 122 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 123 This was provided for by section 8 of the 11th Order to the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 November 1941.
- 124 Curriculum vitae of Judith Bravman (née Fraenkel), Ilse Kaplan (née Fraenkel), Eva Gottlieb (née Fraenkel), undated, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 254448 (Max Fraenkel), pp. M14-M16.
- 125 Curriculum vitae of Max Fraenkel, compiled by Judith Bravman (née Fraenkel), undated, in: *ibid.*, p. M11; since 2006, there has been a “stumbling block” at Konstanzer Str. 51 which remembers Lizzy Schwerdtfeger (née London). She was deported to Theresienstadt on 11 January 1944 and died there in 1945, cf.: berlin.de/ba-charlottenburg-wilmersdorf/ueber-den-bezirk/geschichte/stolpersteine/artikel.179314 [Current as of: August 2016]
- 126 **Akim Jah**, *Die Deportation der Juden aus Berlin. Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik und das Sammellager Große Hamburger Straße*, Berlin 2013.
- 127 Cf. *ibid.*, *Sammellager – Deportationsbeginn in der Nachbarschaft*, in: **Moritz van Dülmen, Wolf Kühnelt, Bjoern Weigel** (Ed.), *Zerstörte Vielfalt – Berliner Themenjahr 2013, Stadtmarkierung 03 Mathilde-Jacob-Platz. Der Weg der Deportierten*, Berlin 2013, online at: berlin.de/2013/themenjahr-open-air/stadtmarkierungen/03-mathilde-jacob-platz-der-weg-der-deportierten/sammellager-deportationsbeginn-in-der-nachbarschaft [Current as of: August 2016]
- 128 **Alfred Gottwaldt, Diana Schulle**, *Die Judendeportationen aus dem Deutschen Reich 1941 – 1945*, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 398 *et seq.*; cf. search result on the transport of 29 November 1942 from Berlin, in: Database of the international Holocaust Memorial Yad Vashem “*Transports to Extinction. Shoah (Holocaust) Deportation Database*,” db.yadvashem.org/deportation/search.html?language=en [current as of: August 2016].
- 129 Curriculum vitae of Max Fraenkel, compiled by Judith Bravman (née Fraenkel), undated, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 254448 (Max Fraenkel), p. 11.
- 130 Cf. *ibid.*
- 131 *Ibid.*
- 132 “Adefa Stiftung” (Adefa Foundation), in: LAB, C Rep. 105, no. 4530.
- 133 Cf. Deulig Tonwoche 369/1939, Wochenschau-Sujets (Weekly newsreel), Germany 1939, 10 min.

- 134 Cf. **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, p. 86.
- 135 Cf. **Peter Klein**, *Die ‚Ghettoverwaltung Litzmannstadt‘ 1940 – 1945. Eine Dienststelle im Spannungsfeld von Kommunalbürokratie und staatlicher Verfolgungspolitik*, Hamburg 2009, p. 273; **Kreutzmüller**, *Ausverkauf*, p. 86.
- 136 On this point, cf. inter alia: **Rainer Karlsch / Raymond G. Stokes**, *Faktor Öl. Die Mineralölwirtschaft in Deutschland 1859 – 1974*, Munich 2003.
- 137 Cf. Historic Address Directory for Greater Berlin, 1941.
- 138 “GeZa” notice of total destruction to Berlin Local Court, 23 February 1944, LAB, A Rep. 342-02, no. 14736, p. 73.
- 139 Memorandum from Berlin Local Court to “GeZa,” 2 February 1945, in: *ibid.*, p. 74.
- 140 Cf., e.g., **Aktives Museum (ed.)**, *Verfahren. Wiedergutmachung im geteilten Berlin nach 1945*, Berlin 2015.
- 141 Order from the Berlin compensation office to the Senator for Federal Matters, Agent of the Land of Berlin at the Federation, 26 August 1960, in: LABO Berlin, compensation file reg. no. 265926 (Gerhard Jacobowitz), p. M33.
- 142 Letter from Berlin compensation office to the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 9 August 1978, in: *ibid.*, p. M80.
- 143 Notification from the Berlin Compensation Office to Attorney and Notary Heinz Lohmüller and Attorney Dietrich Jacob, 26 March 1959, in: LABO Berlin, Compensation file reg. no. 75384 (Paul Salomon), p. M21.
- 144 Text of the VermG (in German only) at: gesetze-im-internet.de/vermg/BJNR211590990.html [Current as of: August 2016].
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- 146 BADV files, Feige Brothers, Mohrenstrasse 36/37, in: BADV, file no 1-877/03 and file no. 1-7349/03.

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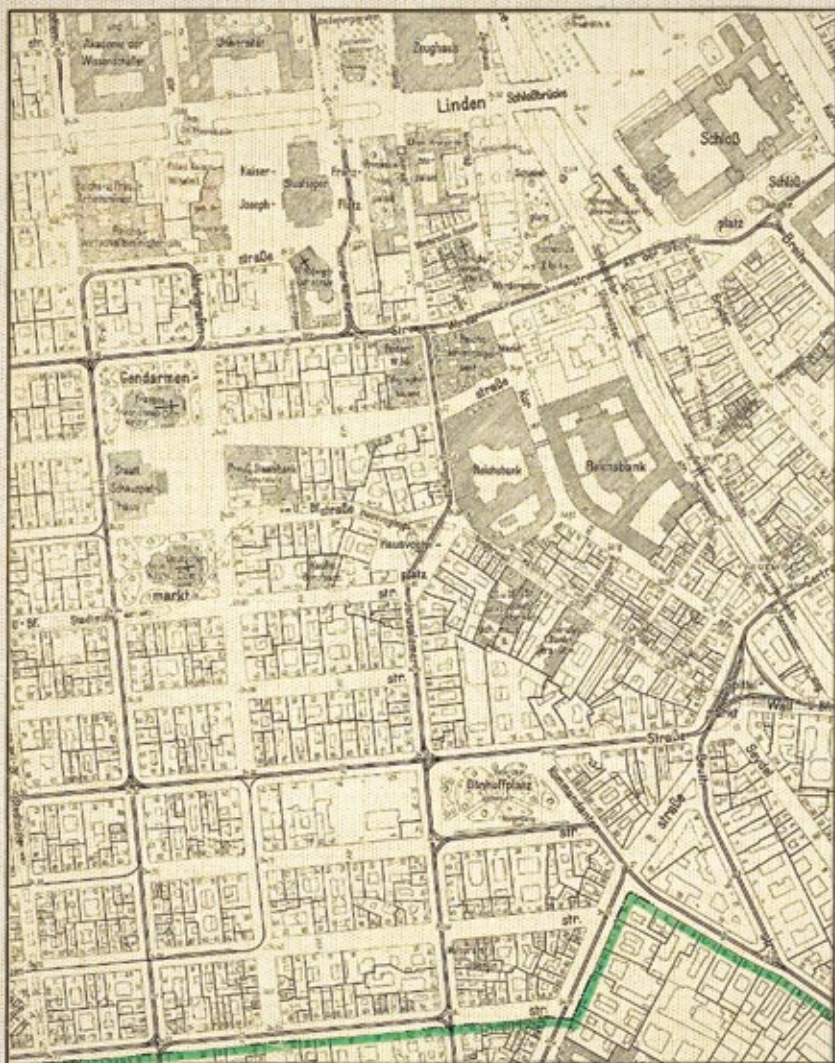
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Map of Berlin, p. 4232

The map excerpts have been taken from the "City map of Berlin" official map collection of 1908 and 1940. Depicted are the properties of Mohrenstrasse 36 to 38, Jerusalemstrasse 24 to 28, and Kronenstrasse 35 to 41 – the current premises of the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection.

Map of Berlin at a ratio of 1:4000, p. 4232, Main surveying office of the Reich Capital of Berlin, Berlin 1940, LAB F Rep. 270, 4232_40.

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