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The pogrom of 1938 in Innsbruck

Victims and locations of terror

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“... we Tyroleans are noted for putting up with all sorts of things before we really strike.”

The Innsbruck November pogrom. A short overview

In the months following the Anschluss in March 1938, most Jewish businesses in Austria were Aryanised, Jewish citizens were harassed, sometimes arrested and ill-treated, and forced to emigrate in a hurry. In Innsbruck most of the young Jews had already fled by November 1938, and just the older ones and some children were left behind.

On 9 November 1938 Ernst vom Rath, a career diplomat in the German Embassy in Paris, died of gunshot wounds inflicted on him there two days earlier by a desperate 17-year-old Jew called Herschel Grynszpan. The National Socialist regime used the diplomat's death as a pretext to have local party organisations throughout the Reich carry out pogroms under the guise of spontaneous popular uprisings.

The fact that the annual celebrations commemorating the failed 1923 putsch by the NSDAP were being held on the evening of the same day was ideal from the point of view of the Nazi regime. In the Rathaussaal in Munich, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels held a speech at a gathering of old Nazi militants in which he indirectly but unmistakably incited the regional party leaders to organise pogroms. While still in Munich, the Tyrolean Gauleiter Franz Hofer ordered the SS (Schutzstaffel), SA (Sturmabteilung) and NSKK (National Socialist Motor Corps) to stand by in Innsbruck. At midnight the SS held a swearing-in ceremony on the Adolf-Hitler-Platz in front of the Landestheater. At about the same time, the SA assembled at their headquarters in the Bürgerstrasse and the NSKK on the Bozner Platz.

On his return to Innsbruck, Gauleiter Hofer explained the need for the people 'to rise up' in the Tyrol to leading officers of the SS, SA, Gestapo, the Security Service of the SS (SD) and the police and also to the Commissioner for Aryanisation, Hermann Duxneuner. Hofer also said the police were not to interfere. The SA and NSKK leaders Johann Mathoi and Rudolf Mayerbrucker then addressed their comrades gathered at the SA-Standartenheim and on the Bozner Platz. They called for violence to be done to the remaining Jewish citizens in order to make it clear to them that they were no longer wanted in Innsbruck. When asked whether they could also be killed, Mathoi's SA men were instructed that they should do what they considered necessary. They were told that the operation had the backing of the Gestapo, that the police would not intervene and that the 'boiling soul of the people' would be given free rein. SS-Oberführer Johann Feil and SS-Sturmbannführer Erwin Fleiss ordered the SS officers assembled in the Salurner Strasse to kill four prominent Jewish citizens, namely Ing. Richard Berger, Ing. Richard Graubart, Dr. Wilhelm Bauer and Karl Bauer – they should do so attracting as little attention as possible –, and also to destroy the synagogue in Sillgasse. The SS organised separate detachments in civilian clothes for this purpose, and they set about

their task at about half past two in the morning. At the same time squads of thugs formed by the SA und NSKK were provided with addresses from the lists of Jews compiled by Aryanisation Commissioner Duxneuner and they were let loose at the same time as the SS.¹

The SS, SA and NSKK executed their orders with great thoroughness and extreme brutality. Three Jews, Ing. Richard Berger, Ing. Richard Graubart and Dr. Wilhelm Bauer, were murdered; Karl Bauer was fortunate to survive albeit seriously injured. Ing. Josef Adler, a sick man, was left paralysed by the mistreatment he received at the hands of SA men and died in January 1939 after an emergency operation. Julius and Laura Popper were thrown into the River Sill by the SA and were only just able to save themselves. In the night of 9 November 1938 at least (!) 28 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women were injured in Innsbruck, some of them seriously. The gangs forced their way into two shops and at least 36 apartments belonging to Jewish citizens, where furniture and fittings were damaged or destroyed. There were also isolated instances of theft. The SS demolished the prayer room of the Jewish community, which the Hitler Youth (HJ) subsequently converted into a store. Not all of the attacks and assaults were recorded. On 12 November 1938, the Security Service (SD) wrote, "if some Jews did not come to harm during this operation, it is presumably because they were overlooked."²

In the course of the night, the Gestapo took several Jewish men into 'protective custody'. The Security Service confiscated documents from the Jewish Community and was kept in readiness to monitor operations against the Jewish population. The Gestapo stopped the police from investigating the murders. In the face of the horrific events and their hopeless situation, two Jewish women, Klara and Lotte Kohtz, who were expelled from Garmisch-Partenkirchen on 10 November 1938, threw themselves into the Inn River shortly after their arrival in Innsbruck and drowned.

After the pogrom, wild and ludicrous rumours circulated in Innsbruck: The violence was triggered by provocateurs, possibly communists; through their intervention, the SS were able to prevent worse things from happening. The author of a newspaper article in the 'Innsbrucker Nachrichten' wrote, "we Tyroleans are noted for putting up with all sorts of things before we really strike. But then we do things properly; Tyrolean fists have lost none of their strength and anyone who knows anything about history will understand this threat."³ In fact, the November pogrom⁴ in Innsbruck was organised with particular discipline and executed with extraordinary brutality by the Nazi

¹ For the perpetrators see Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck* (Innsbruck-Wien 2016) and Thomas Albrich / Michael Guggenberger, "Nur selten steht einer dieser Novembervbrecher vor Gericht". *Die strafrechtliche Verfolgung der Täter der so genannten „Reichskristallnacht“ in Österreich*, in: Thomas Albrich / Winfried R. Garscha / Martin F. Polaschek (eds.), *Holocaust und Kriegsverbrechen vor Gericht. Der Fall Österreich* (Innsbruck 2006), 26–56.

² Niederschrift Fast, SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol, 12.11.1938, in: *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 451.

³ Editor-in-chief Ernst Kainrath in the evening edition of the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 10.11.1938.

⁴ Also called Reichskristallnacht, Night of Broken Glass.

organisations SS, SA and NSKK. In relation to the small number of Jews living in the city, it accordingly claimed a particularly large number of lives.⁵

⁵ For comparison: slightly over 90 murders were documented for the whole of the German Reich.

“Take a look at the houses to see if we can make use of them; we need villas!”

The murder of Dr. Wilhelm Bauer and Ing. Richard Graubart by the SS

Preparations⁶

SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger⁷ reports to Standartenführer Erwin Fleiss: The SS companies lined up in front of the Innsbruck theatre at midnight are all present and correct. The units then march from the Adolf-Hitler-Platz to the regimental base of the SS in the Salurner Strasse. SS-Oberführer Johann Feil summons Aichinger and other SS officers and informs them of an expected ‘popular uprising’ against the Jews. The SS is to be deployed to ‘maintain public order’. Reliable and tested SS men are to be selected, and they must immediately proceed to the SS base in civilian clothes.⁸

In private Hans Aichinger asks Erwin Fleiss to give him the full facts. Aichinger allegedly pleads for a “more elegant” solution to the Jewish question.⁹ He nevertheless complies with the order at once. Obersturmführer Rudolf Schwarz also selects a few SS men for this “demonstration”¹⁰, including Untersturmführer Rudolf Exner, Stabsscharführer Benno Bisjak and Unterscharführer Robert Huttig.

Aichinger goes home to change his clothes and arrives back at the SS base between one and half past one in the morning. About 50 SS officers and NCOs have assembled there.¹¹ Robert Huttig and Oberscharführer Gottfried Andreas are among those who are sitting on the floor in the corridor waiting for orders, while some higher ranks are called to the offices where they are instructed by Johann Feil and Erwin Fleiss following their meeting with Gauleiter Hofer. Feil and Fleiss instruct the assembled SS leaders¹² to devastate the synagogue in the Sillgasse and to “kill”¹³ the Jewish men living at 4 and 5 Gänsbacherstrasse and at 13 Anichstrasse in a “night of the long knives”¹⁴. They are given the addresses by word of mouth only. The hit squads are to be “led separately”, “in three groups”.¹⁵ Of the SS men assigned to the murders at 5 Gänsbacherstrasse, Hans Aichinger, Rudolf Schwarz and Rudolf Exner are

⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46 Aussagen Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945, 22.8.1945, 12.9.1945, 14.9.1945, 1.4.1946, 5.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Gottfried Andreas 21.8.1945, 23.8.1945, 13.9.1945, 2.4.1946, 8.4.1946, 15.10.1946, 3.2.1958, 13.3.1958; Robert Huttig 5.2.1958 u. 7.3.1958; Rudolf Schwarz 4.2.1958 u. 7.3.1958; Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andreas 16.8.1946; Urteil Aichinger u. Andreas 16.10.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47 Aussagen Gottfried Andreas 20.8.1947; Robert Huttig 23.7.1947, 11.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 22.9.1950 (Gnadengesuch); Rudolf Schwarz 21.7.1947, 20.8.1947 u. 11.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947; Urteil Huttig u. Schwarz 11.12.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussage Hans Aichinger 19.5.1961.

⁷ On behalf of Obersturmführer Sepp Pfefferkorn, who is unable to attend. Aichinger arrives from St. Anton am Arlberg especially for this purpose.

⁸ Meanwhile, the SS-Stürme are to remain on standby in their premises.

⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945.

¹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Rudolf Schwarz 11.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹¹ According to Gottfried Andreas. According to Aichinger, there are 50 to 60 SS members.

¹² According to Rudolf Schwarz about 20 SS-Führer and Unterscharführer.

¹³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 12.9.1945.

¹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Beschluss des Sondersenats des Obersten Parteigerichts 9.2.1939.

¹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussage Alois Schintlholzer 21.4.1961.

present in Feil's office, and Benno Bisjak is probably also there.¹⁶ Standartenführer Erwin Fleiss briefly explains the plan: The murders are to be carried out as quietly and inconspicuously as possible in order to keep the role of the SS secret whatever happens. Oberführer Johann Feil says that he will personally observe the handling of the mission at the operational sites and he adds, "Take a look at the houses to see if we can make use of them; we need villas!"¹⁷

After the briefing, the waiting SS men – members of the Innsbruck companies and their officers – are selected by the leaders for the various operations. Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger and Obersturmführer Rudolf Schwarz, who have the order to eliminate Ing. Richard Graubart and Dr. Wilhelm Bauer at 5 Gänsbacherstrasse, assemble a hit squad of about ten to twelve men¹⁸. In addition to themselves, it includes the following men: Oberscharführer Gottfried Andreaus, Stabscharführer Benno Bisjak, Oberscharführer Franz Dobringer, Untersturmführer Rudolf Exner, Unterscharführer Robert Huttig, Oberscharführer Herbert Rendl, Scharführer Walter Saurwein and possibly Unterscharführer Ferdinand Kurz.¹⁹ Andreaus says he cannot absent himself from the operation "for moral reasons alone".²⁰ It is considered a special honour to be involved.

Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger is given the task of leading the squad. He allegedly appeals to his men's consciences, "Don't get involved in such a thing. It's perfectly sufficient to give them a beating and smash some furniture."²¹ He nevertheless passes on the order to kill,²² and the results of his night-time mission will expose his words as an attempt to escape the consequences of his deeds.

Aichinger orders Gottfried Andreaus to fetch the battalion car, a four-seater BMW. At the same time as the 4 Gänsbacherstrasse hit squad²³, the Aichinger SS group sets off for the Saggen district of Innsbruck. It includes a number of divisional officers of the SS²⁴. Hans Aichinger is carrying a leather bag containing his pistol, a Walther PP 7.65 mm. Andreaus also has his gun with him. The other SS men are armed with knives and pistols.

Aichinger, Schwarz and about three other men ride in one car with Andreaus; the others are in a second car.²⁵ As already agreed at regimental headquarters,

¹⁶ According to Hans Aichinger present. According to Robert Huttig also Scharführer Walter Saurwein.

¹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Hauptverhandlung, Aussage Hans Aichinger 15.10.1946. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946.

¹⁸ According to Grete Graubart, six men go up to the first floor: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Gottfried Andreaus 20.8.1947; Urteil Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 11.12.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 12.9.1945; Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahreneinstellung 11.2.1958.

¹⁹ According to Andreaus, Kurz was part of the group. However, Kurz denies his participation. Andreaus took him home by car to change his clothes and then led him to the regimental base of the SS in the Salurner Strasse, but he himself (Kurz) went to Café Central with his comrades: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Ferdinand Kurz 13.8.1947. According to police investigations, Michael Haidacher had also subsequently made himself suspicious of having been involved in any way by making statements: So AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 229–237, Polizeibericht 12.3.1946.

²⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Gottfried Andreaus 21.8.1945.

²¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

²² Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 22.8.1945.

²³ Attack on Karl Bauer.

²⁴ According to Aichinger.

²⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahreneinstellung 11.2.1958.

the vehicles are parked in front of the battalion's office building near the Hofgarten – apparently to avoid suspicion falling on the SS. From there the party proceeds on foot to the Saggen district.

While SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger pauses briefly with his men in front of the iron gate of the villa at 5 Gänsbacherstrasse, the other hit squad raids Karl Bauer's apartment at 4 Gänsbacherstrasse. Hans Aichinger divides his men into two groups. The first is to deal with Dr. Wilhelm Bauer on the ground floor and the second with Ing. Richard Graubart on the first floor.²⁶ He tells them to claim they are Gestapo officers.

Murder of Dr. Wilhelm Bauer²⁷

It must be after half past two a.m. when Hans Aichinger and his SS men ring the bell by the gate to the house. As the gate is locked, Aichinger orders them to climb over the fence.

The 45-year-old lawyer Dr. Wilhelm Josef Bauer, who owned the Julius Bauer & Co. drapery business at 2 Brixnerstrasse and 7 Herzog-Friedrich-Strasse²⁸ prior to aryanisation, wakes up. His 41-year-old wife Edith née Hohenberg is in the bedroom with him. Their 16-year-old daughter Eva may be there, too.²⁹ Her brother Thomas has recently left Innsbruck. Their housekeeper Maria Bliem is sleeping in her apartment in Hötting, in another part of Innsbruck. No longer permitted by the Gestapo to live in the villa, she only goes there during the day.³⁰

Dr. Bauer gets out of bed and looks out of the window but he cannot see anyone; he is shortsighted and it is dark. He calls out. There is an immediate answer from the garden, "Gestapo! Open the door! We're searching the house!"³¹

While Dr. Wilhelm Bauer opens the door to the apartment in his nightgown, the caretaker Karl Hosp, who has quickly dressed in his apartment on the lower ground floor, goes up to the front door. The Aichinger SS group loudly rings the bell. Hosp unlocks the door and finds himself facing Aichinger's burly SS men, who immediately start pushing him. One has got his pistol out. "Gestapo!

²⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahrenseinstellung 11.2.1958.

²⁷ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Edith Bauer geb. Hohenberg 10.11.1938; Karl Hosp 10.11.1938, 16.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946; Karl Bator, 7.8.1945; Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945, 22.8.1945, 12.9.1945, 1.4.1946, 5.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Aussagen Gottfried Andraeus, 21.8.1945, 23.8.1945, 13.9.1945, 8.4.1946, 15.10.1946, 3.2.1958, 13.3.1958; Maria Bliem 26.6.1946; Rudolf Schwarz 4.2.1958 (eidesstattliche Erklärung) u. 7.3.1958; Robert Huttig, 5.2.1958 (eidesstattliche Erklärung) u. 7.3.1958; Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andraeus 16.8.1946; Urteil Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andraeus 16.10.1946; Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahrenseinstellung 11.2.1958; TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussagen Rudolf Schwarz 21.7.1947 u. 11.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Robert Huttig 23.7.1947, 20.8.1947, 11.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 22.9.1950 (Gnadengesuch); Gottfried Andraeus 20.8.1947; Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947; Urteil Huttig u. Schwarz 11.12.1947. As well as www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁸ See Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (Innsbruck 2001), 29–31.

²⁹ She is not mentioned in the statements, but Robert Huttig speaks of "2 women" he encounters in a room of the Bauer apartment on the ground floor: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Robert Huttig 23.7.1947.

³⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Bliem 26.6.1946.

³¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Edith Bauer 10.11.1938.

House search"!³² The caretaker Hosp does not open the door immediately. According to Aichinger, he is trying "to be difficult". So he is shown an 'ID'. Then one of the men, a "tall, skinny guy",³³ grabs him by the shirt front. Hosp stands there bewildered and so intimidated that at first he does not say a word, but he answers when asked who lives there and who he is. One of the men tells him to come with them while they are searching the house. But Aichinger commands otherwise, "Get back to the basement. If you are needed, we'll fetch you!" Otherwise, he will "come off worse".³⁴ Then Aichinger takes the bunch of keys off him.

The SS men storm the staircase, except for Herbert Rendl, whose courage has allegedly failed him.³⁵ Aichinger instructs Robert Huttig to remain with Mrs. Bauer on the ground floor. Walter Saurwein is given the same assignment with regard to Mrs. Graubart on the first floor. The two wives are to be reassured with the information that the house has to be searched.

While some of the SS men go up to the first floor, Rudolf Schwarz, Robert Huttig and others force their way into the ground floor apartment. Schwarz tells Dr. Wilhelm Bauer to get dressed and follow him – apparently to lure him out of the apartment without any resistance. While Dr. Bauer is dressing in a state of great agitation, SS men are searching the dining room, living room, bathroom and kitchen. Schwarz is waiting on the threshold.

Edith Bauer, who has meanwhile got out of bed to see where her husband is, is stopped by three men. "Gestapo! House search! You must stay in the room!"³⁶ says Huttig. He pushes her back into the bedroom, locks the door on the inside and waits. It seems there is a second woman in the room; it is presumably the Bauers' daughter Eva.³⁷

Edith Bauer hears the other men leaving after a short time and asks her guard if they are taking her husband with them. Meanwhile Franz Dobringer³⁸ is holding Dr. Bauer by the arm and leading him down the staircase to the front door. But then he and other SS men start attacking him. Dobringer himself repeatedly hits him over the head with his pistol. Gottfried Andreaus also hits him with his loaded pistol, standing in front of him and striking him on the head from one side.³⁹ Walter Saurwein is apparently making similar use of his gun.⁴⁰ Dr. Bauer is in a state of shock; he is dazed and therefore makes no sound and offers hardly any resistance. In the meantime Hans Aichinger is making sure that the caretaker Hosp does not come up from downstairs.⁴¹ Cries can be heard from the apartment of Ing. Richard Graubart on the upper floor. There is also shouting from the brightly lit villa at 4 Gänsbacherstrasse.

³² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Karl Hosp 10.11.1938.

³³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Karl Hosp 16.4.1946.

³⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Karl Hosp 16.4.1946.

³⁵ According to Aichinger.

³⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Robert Huttig 23.7.1947.

³⁷ She is not mentioned in the statements, but Robert Huttig speaks of "2 women" he encounters in a room of the Bauer apartment on the ground floor: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Robert Huttig 23.7.1947.

³⁸ According to Andreaus.

³⁹ According to Rudolf Schwarz, Andreaus even executes several strokes.

⁴⁰ According to Aichinger.

⁴¹ According to Schwarz.

The SS men continue to beat and stab Dr. Bauer.⁴² He collapses on the small landing by the front door and lies motionless on the floor. As the perpetrators are leaving the house, Franz Dobringer runs back and stabs him hard with his SS dagger.⁴³ Dr. Bauer gives a terrible scream, gets up with great difficulty and staggers back to the apartment. Walter Saurwein says to Gottfried Andraeus in his excitement, "I think he's going to get a gun!"⁴⁴ He nervously pulls out his pistol and cocks it, and some cartridges fall out. Andraeus tells him to pull himself together because Bauer is mortally wounded. The murderers run away.

When Dr. Bauer reaches the locked bedroom door he calls out in despair, "Edith, I've been stabbed!"⁴⁵ Edith Bauer wants to go to his aid. Her guard, Robert Huttig, threatens her with his pistol. Edith Bauer unlocks the door nevertheless as her husband, covered in blood, utters the words "Get me a doctor!"⁴⁶ and collapses in the hall of the apartment.

When Edith Bauer rushes to the telephone to call for help, Huttig menaces her again and threatens to hit her with his pistol. But Edith refuses to be intimidated, "If my husband dies I don't need to live, either."⁴⁷ Dr. Bauer, losing more and more of his strength, also intervenes, "You wouldn't do anything to a woman, would you?"⁴⁸ Robert Huttig wrests the receiver from Edith Bauer and pulls out the cable. Then he tries to leave by the door to the apartment, but he cannot open it. He runs in panic across the corridor to the dining room, opens the side window, pushes the shutter out of the way, jumps into the garden and flees. In court he will later recall the moment and say, "I didn't think about the Jew lying there in front of me."⁴⁹

Murder of Ing. Richard Graubart⁵⁰

During the attack on Dr. Wilhelm Bauer, Richard Graubart, the former partner of the Shoeshop Graubart at 8 Museumstrasse, is murdered on the next floor up.⁵¹ His wife Margarete, née Hermann, the owner of the villa, is sleeping in the nursery with her four and a half year old daughter Vera Evelyne.

The 39-year-old Richard Graubart wakes up as soon as the SS men loudly ring the bell. His wife Grete, who is eight years younger, hears someone shout "Gestapo" and looks out of the window. When the Aichinger murder squad

⁴² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947.

⁴³ According to Aichinger.

⁴⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Gottfried Andraeus 21.8.1945.

⁴⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Bliem 26.6.1946. Or, "The dogs stabbed me to death!" (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Robert Huttig 23.7.1947.)

⁴⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Edith Bauer 10.11.1938.

⁴⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Bliem 26.6.1946.

⁴⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Edith Bauer 10.11.1938.

⁴⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Robert Huttig 23.7.1947.

⁵⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938; Maria Graubart 14.04.1946; Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andraeus 16.8.1946; Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahrenseinstellung, 11.2.1958. Bericht Margarete Graubart 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 49f. Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 159. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Margarete Graubart 20.11.1961. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947. As well as www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵¹ See Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (Innsbruck 2001), 55f.

storm the stairwell, Rudolf Exner, Benno Bisjak, Walter Saurwein and other SS men go up to the first floor and ring the doorbell. On the pretext of conducting a search of the house, the men order the door to be opened. Richard does so, and Grete also comes to the door. About six men rush into the unlit hall and close the apartment door behind them. They are aged between 20 and 30⁵² and speak in Innsbruck dialect. Two of them are unusually tall. Richard Graubart wants to get dressed but is immediately pushed back into the bedroom. At the same moment, an SS man, probably Walter Saurwein, grabs Grete Graubart by the arm. He has been told to “take care”⁵³ of her. He asks her if she is Jewish too, then pushes her back into the nursery with Vera.

“What do you want of me?”⁵⁴ she hears her husband say. In her great anxiety, she asks Walter Saurwein what they intend to do. “Nothing is going to happen to him,”⁵⁵ says her guard in order to calm her down. In an attempt to distract her, he asks whether they are planning to leave Innsbruck. And in fact the Graubarts have already done most of the packing ready for traveling to Vienna and emigrating from there.⁵⁶ Following their application to the Gestapo, they have been allowed to delay their departure until 12 November 1938. Grete and Richard are hoping for a further extension because they have not yet found a country willing to admit them and their daughter as refugees.

The SS men order Ing. Richard Graubart to come with them. He bends down to put his shoes on, recognises a familiar face and calls out in dismay, “Herr Bisjak, Herr Bisjak, I haven’t done anything to you!”⁵⁷ And so Richard Graubart has to be ‘silenced’.⁵⁸ One of the perpetrators, probably Rudolf Exner or Benno Bisjak himself, rams his SS dagger into his back in the vicinity of the heart. With a terrible scream Richard Graubart collapses mortally wounded.

Vera Graubart has only vague recollections of her childhood in Innsbruck, but this moment is indelibly engraved in her memory: “I can still hear my father’s sudden scream.”⁵⁹

Walter Saurwein locks Grete and Vera in the nursery and checks on Richard Graubart. When he sees him lying on the floor in a large pool of blood, he hurries down to the ground floor, where the assault on Dr. Wilhelm Bauer continues. In response to the horror, Saurwein vomits in the garden.⁶⁰

Less than ten minutes later all the SS men have left the apartment on the first floor, but Grete and Vera are still locked in the nursery. From the window Grete sees the men running through the garden and out onto Gänsbacherstrasse and then hears a car being driven away. The Aichinger murder squad is dispersing.

⁵² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938.

⁵³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Antrag Walter Saurwein auf Verfahreneinstellung 11.2.1958; compare Aussage Robert Huttig 7.3.1958.

⁵⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938.

⁵⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938.

⁵⁶ Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015).

⁵⁷ Gottfried Andreas heard it from the ground floor: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Gottfried Andreas 21.8.1945: compare Aussage Hans Aichinger 17. u. 18.8.1945: “Bisjak, what have I done to you?”

⁵⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 17. u. 18.8.1945. The Volksgericht regards it as “clear and unequivocal” that the intention to commit murder existed from the outset: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andreas 16.8.1946.

⁵⁹ Christoph W. Bauer, *Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 159.

⁶⁰ According to Saurwein.

The Gestapo official Ferdinand Obenfeldner sees Hans Aichinger and others walking towards the city centre.⁶¹

Out of curiosity, Gottfried Andreaus goes to the synagogue in Sillgasse, where the SS operation is still underway. Either before or after that, he collects the official car from the Hofgarten to return it to the garage of the SS regiment. Hans Aichinger heads for the railway station buffet, where numerous vehicles are parked. The buffet is very busy. Aichinger joins a large group of NSKK and SA men from the various operational squads, drinks a beer and takes the early morning train to St. Anton am Arlberg, where he has a senior position in a ski school. SS-Oberführer Johann Feil is pleased with Aichinger's efforts and praises him accordingly.⁶²

The main perpetrators⁶³

"I assume that those who physically attacked the Jews were in the office with Feil und Fleiss. They would hardly have let themselves become involved in such acts if they had not known their superiors would cover them," says Rudolf Schwarz in 1958 in a sworn affidavit.⁶⁴ According to SS-Obersturmführer Werner Hilliges, who heads the Gestapo investigations into the murders, Rudolf Exner and Benno Bisjak played a particularly "active" role.⁶⁵ That corresponds well with the statements made by Hans Aichinger, who in court names Exner, Bisjak, Rudolf Schwarz and Franz Dobringer as the actual killers of Ing. Richard Graubart and Dr. Wilhelm Bauer. He says he observed Dobringer himself but he can only "describe the other three as main perpetrators in the Bauers' home by hearsay based on their conversations".⁶⁶ Rudolf Schwarz says that Rudolf Exner stabbed Richard Graubart.⁶⁷

Desperate life-saving efforts⁶⁸

Following the attack, Edith Bauer goes up to the first floor. Not more than five minutes after the killers have fled, she frees Grete and Vera Graubart. Grete

⁶¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Ferdinand Obenfeldner 5.10.1945. It is not known who is sitting in the car that Margarete Graubart hears driving away.

⁶² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Hans Aichinger 12.9.1945 u. 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁶³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Edith Bauer 10.11.1938.; Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938; Karl Hosp 10.11.1938, 16.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946; Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945, 12.9.1945 u. 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Gottfried Andreaus, 21.8.1945, 23.8.1945; Alois Riedl 17.10.1945 u. 16.4.1946; Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andreaus, 16.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Margarete Graubart 20.11.1961. Bericht Margarete Graubart 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 49f.

⁶⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Rudolf Schwarz 4.2.1958 (eidesstattliche Erklärung).

⁶⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946.

⁶⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 16.7.1946.

⁶⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Aussage Rudolf Schwarz 21.7.1947.

⁶⁸ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Edith Bauer 10.11.1938; Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938; Karl Hosp 10.11.1938, 16.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946; Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945, 12.9.1945 u. 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Gottfried Andreaus 21.8.1945, 23.8.1945; Alois Riedl 17.10.1945 u. 16.4.1946; Anklage Hans Aichinger u. Gottfried Andreaus 16.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Margarete Graubart 20.11.1961. Bericht Margarete Graubart geb. Hermann, 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 49f.

first of all looks for her husband Richard in his room. His eyes are wide open. Dressed only in a nightgown and underpants, he lies lifeless in a pool of blood. Grete steps barefoot into the blood and places his head on a pillow. She realises that Richard is dead, places his hands together and closes his eyes.

Then she goes down to the ground floor with Edith Bauer. Dr. Wilhelm Bauer is still showing signs of life, but he is losing a lot of blood and moaning with pain. The two women sound the alarm bell and call the caretaker Karl Hosp, who until then has remained in his apartment out of fear. Hosp asks his employer whether he can bandage his wounds. Dr. Bauer, who is also bleeding from the head or nose, points to a wound about five centimetres long in the region of his spleen⁶⁹ but indicates that there is not much point in bandaging him.

When Karl Hosp sets off to fetch a doctor, he sees the forcibly opened and damaged garden gate. On the Gänsbacherstrasse he meets Alois Riedl, the caretaker at Villa Bauer across the road. They are challenged by three men. When Hosp says he has to get a doctor, the two of them are threatened and told to go home. Karl Hosp reports back to Grete Graubart and then makes a second attempt to fetch a doctor, this time jumping over the garden fence at the back. But he still does not succeed in getting help. Fortunately, the Graubart family phone is still working – it is hidden behind a mirror. Grete Graubart manages to reach Dr. Alois Brenn⁷⁰, her husband's doctor.⁷¹ Edith Bauer stays with her husband until the doctor arrives.

Time passes agonisingly slowly. Dr. Brenn instructs the emergency services to collect him with an ambulance from his apartment at 4 Kochstrasse for a rescue mission. Dr. Brenn says the crew will then see what it is all about. Dr. Brenn gets dressed and waits outside his house for the ambulance, which soon arrives.

The ambulance races down Falkstrasse but is stopped at the corner of the Gänsbacherstrasse by unknown men, probably Gestapo officers or men from the SS security service. They say the ambulance may on no account proceed to Villa Graubart. Dr. Alois Brenn says that as a doctor he will not be deterred from performing his duties and that there will be consequences if he is prevented by force from doing so. The men confer together and then tell Dr. Brenn he should act as he thinks fit. The ambulance moves forward again and parks in front of Villa Graubart. Almost an hour has passed since the attacks. Dr. Brenn enters the grounds accompanied by a man in uniform⁷². The frightened ambulance men follow with the stretcher.

Dr. Wilhelm Bauer is conscious and raises his cut⁷³ hands in supplication. He is too weak to speak. Since relatively little blood has been spilled, Dr. Brenn suspects internal bleeding and, in order not to waste any more time, refrains

⁶⁹ According to Hosp.

⁷⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Alois Brenn 5.7.1945

⁷¹ Grete Graubart also knows Dr. Brenn, as his Dutch mother-in-law Johanna Elisabeth van Roggen lived in her flat on the ground floor from 1936 to 1938.

⁷² According to Karl Hosp.

⁷³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Erinnerungsprotokoll Anton Pollheimer 11.9.1945.

from examining his injuries more closely.⁷⁴ The alarmed Dr. Brenn hurries to the first floor, where he finds Richard Graubart lying dead on the floor of his room. Grete Graubart tells him it is the work of the Gestapo. That is what the SS men claimed to be.

Dr. Brenn instructs the ambulance crew to take Dr. Wilhelm Bauer to hospital immediately. One of the ambulance men whispers to him that it is too late. The doctor replies that his relatives must at least be given the feeling that everything possible has been done and accompanies the ambulance into the garden with Dr. Bauer on the stretcher. Edith Bauer apparently rides in the ambulance, too.⁷⁵

By now several people are standing outside the front door. Dr. Brenn recognises Aryanisation Commissioner Hermann Duxneuner, who has presumably arrived with SS-Oberführer Johann Feil. Feil said he would come. Duxneuner hypocritically asks Dr. Brenn what has happened and pretends to be horrified. He says he knew Ing. Richard Graubart well. After the conversation, Dr. Brenn goes back into the house and telephones the surgical department to warn them of the need for a major intervention.⁷⁶ While still in the ambulance on the way to the hospital, Willy Bauer reveals to his wife Edith that a businessman whose debt he had waived a few weeks earlier was the first to stab him.⁷⁷

Grete Graubart tells Dr. Brenn that she recognised one of the attackers, that she has seen him with the Gestapo before but she does not know his name. The doctor informs the police of the crime and asks them to send the murder squad immediately, but an officer merely repeats that the police have no authority in the matter.⁷⁸

When Dr. Alois Brenn realises that it was an organised operation, he wants to report it to the Gestapo. Grete Graubart objects on the grounds that that will not bring her husband back to life and will only endanger her and her daughter Vera. Dr. Brenn nevertheless walks to the Gestapo station on Bienerstrasse, where Jews who have just been arrested are being led up the stairs. Dr. Brenn says he has to file a report as a doctor. He is taken to SS-Obersturmführer Werner Hilliges, to whom he recounts the facts of the case. Hilliges, who has spent the whole night at the station, thanks Dr. Brenn but indicates that he is aware of the matter and is already taking care of it.⁷⁹

Dr. Wilhelm Bauer is beyond help and dies before he reaches the hospital.⁸⁰ When Laura Popper, whose husband Julius is already in protective custody, enters Villa Graubart during the same night, the traces of violence guide her to

⁷⁴ Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Brief Edith Bauer 3.8.1946.

⁷⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Bliem 26.6.1946.

⁷⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Alois Brenn 5.7.1945 u. 18.4.1946.

⁷⁷ According to Maria Bliem, the housekeeper of the Graubart family: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Bliem 26.6.1946.

⁷⁸ The police received instructions from Dr. Franzelin not to pay attention to any nightly telephone calls for help: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Erinnerungsprotokoll Karl Wischatta 24.7.1945.

⁷⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Alois Brenn 5.7.1945; Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946.

⁸⁰ His cousin Abi Bauer will comment on this later: "Wilhelm Bauer has waited too long, he wanted to do his business properly. Then they stabbed him properly." (Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibermann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. Der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni. Mit einem historischen Essay über jüdisches Leben in Tirol (Innsbruck 2014), 52.

the scenes of the murders. Frau Popper spends some time with Edith Bauer, who has suffered a serious injury to her forehead.⁸¹ The caretaker Karl Hosp finds a magazine and two cartridges in the corridor – obviously dropped during the raid by the nervous Walter Saurwein.

Investigations by the Criminal Police⁸²

About two hours after the attack, a Gestapo officer by the name of Wieser arrives at the villa with two men in uniform,⁸³ presumably from the SS security service and asks Grete Graubart if she recognised any of the perpetrators. To avoid getting into trouble, she says, “No”.⁸⁴ Edith Bauer is interrogated as well. In the meantime, Ilse Adler and her sister Magda Schwarz arrive. Ilse Adler earlier hurried to her father Wilhelm and her sister Magda at 18 Falkstrasse because she could not reach them by telephone. During the interrogation, the officers pretend to know nothing.⁸⁵

Word spreads slowly of the bloody deed. Police Chief Dr. Adolf Franzelin informs Dr. Herbert Mannlicher, Head of the Capital Crime Department, between six and half past six in the morning but chooses to remain under the radar himself: “Come quickly! There’s been some ‘foul play’ in the night.”⁸⁶ When Dr. Mannlicher arrives at his office at about seven o’clock, he is sent to Dr. Franzelin. Franzelin tells him about the night’s “foul play”.⁸⁷ He says some Jews lost their heads and committed suicide. He instructs Mannlicher to remove the bodies without attracting attention.

When Maria Bliem arrives for her housekeeping duties with the Bauer family at about that time, she is immediately wary because the garden gate, which is normally kept locked, is wide open and bent. Then, at the front door, she notices the first drops of blood. At first she thinks the dog has been killed. Edith Bauer, in complete turmoil, throws her arms around her housekeeper’s neck and asks her to stay with her because she now has no-one else. Then she tells her housekeeper what has happened.

In the meantime Dr. Herbert Mannlicher and the detectives Josef Zenz and Karl Wischatta have driven to the scene of the crime in a police car. They first ring Edith Bauer’s bell on the ground floor and inspect the evidence: broken cut crystal glasses and bowls, a torn out telephone, damaged wooden shutters and

⁸¹ Laura Popper, Brief an ihre Söhne vom 18.11.1938 (englische Übersetzung), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909-1943. The transcript refers to "Steffi Bauer", but only Edith Bauer can be meant.

⁸² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Edith Bauer 10.11.1938; Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938; Karl Hosp 10.11.1938, 16.4.1946 u. 15.10.1946; Anton Pollheimer 11.9.1945 (Erinnerungsprotokoll); Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945; Maria Bliem 26.6.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 415/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 18.9.4.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Margarete Graubart 20.11.1961. Bericht Margarete Graubart 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 49f.

⁸³ According to Grete Graubart.

⁸⁴ „... I had a hunch that my answer was very important to the child and to me. So I replied that I didn't know anyone.“ (Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 902. Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck. Bericht der Frau Grete Graubart aus Innsbruck, Gänsbacherstr. 5, Tirol, über die Pogromnacht im Jahr 1938 und ihre Erlebnisse als Jüdin in der Nazizeit.)

⁸⁵ Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 82.

⁸⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945.

⁸⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945.

window bars. Trouser buttons from Dr. Wilhelm Bauer's suit lie scattered on the floor. Behind the front door and in the hall are large pools of blood. On the steps to the villa, on the front door, on the stairs, in front of the door to the apartment, on the corridor walls, on the carpet, on the handle of the door to the bedroom –everywhere there is blood. The two wives say the crimes were committed by unidentified persons.

Grete Graubart leads the detectives up to the first floor. Dr. Mannlicher calls Police Chief Dr. Franzelin and tells him these are undoubtedly murder cases and that the neighbours are talking about hit squads. Then Director Franzelin reluctantly instructs him to treat the matter as murder by persons unknown: "So do it the usual way; it makes no difference now."⁸⁸

Dr. Herbert Mannlicher complies precisely with his instructions. He has reports drawn up and calls for police officer Anton Pollheimer to join them, who photographs Richard Graubart's body and the crime scenes. He also calls in a doctor from the Institute of Forensic Medicine,⁸⁹ who in turn informs his superior Dr. Karl Meixner⁹⁰.

On the first floor, too, there is a lot of blood. Ing. Richard Graubart's naked corpse is lying supine on the floor behind the door to the bedroom. His white nightgown, soaked in blood, is also on the floor beside him. Grete Graubart has cut it from her husband's body. Richard Graubart has a gaping stab wound about four centimetres long on his back, to the left of and above his heart. The investigators find no traces of the killers.⁹¹

While Wischatta is making a record of the facts of the case, his colleague Josef Zenz talks to Grete Graubart. She seems reluctant to say everything she knows about the attackers, "Oh, don't bother. None of this will do any good anyway."⁹² Then Zenz questions Edith Bauer and the caretaker Hosp and takes written notes of the conversations.⁹³ In the meantime it is past eight o'clock.⁹⁴ The detectives conclude from the widows' behaviour and statements that there is a political background to the crime.

Meanwhile, a message has arrived instructing Dr Mannlicher to discontinue the investigation as the Gestapo is taking over. Before returning to his office, however, Mannlicher and his officers take a brief look at the Villa Bauer at 4 Gänsbacherstrasse and Villa Innerebner & Mayer at 12 Falkstrasse.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945.

⁸⁹ Dr. Krauland.

⁹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Karl Meixner 8.9.1945.

⁹¹ With Schönbichler, Zenz causes the search for traces. But no usable clues can be found: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Karl Wischatta 24.7.1945 (Erinnerungsprotokoll); Josef Zenz 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁹² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Josef Zenz 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁹³ AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 170–185, Sicherheitsdirektion für Tirol. Bericht Regierungspolizei 7.9.1945.

⁹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Margarete Graubart 10.11.1938.

⁹⁵ According to Mannlicher.

Gestapo cover-ups⁹⁶

Later in the morning, as instructed by Dr. Herbert Mannlicher, Hans Strasser, the chauffeur at Winkler Funeral Directors, transports Ing. Richard Graubart's corpse, which has been wrapped in a sheet or blanket, to the dissection room,⁹⁷ where that of Dr. Wilhelm Bauer has already been taken. Detective Anton Pollheimer photographs the body of Dr. Bauer. Dr. Karl Meixner from the Institute of Forensic Medicine examines the injuries on the two bodies and immediately suspects a capital crime. The autopsy assistants Gottfried Kirchbichler and Benedikt Pilser concur. For the autopsy itself, however, Dr. Meixner is awaiting official instructions.⁹⁸

In the early morning Dr. Alois Brenn, Richard Graubart's house doctor, turns for advice to Gau Senior Physician Dr. Josef Malfatti, who is troubled by the news. Dr. Malfatti recommends that he goes to the Gestapo again, but this time speak to Dr. Wilhelm Harster personally. Dr. Brenn is not permitted to enter, however, until he presents a letter from Dr. Malfatti. Gestapo Chief Dr. Harster thanks Brenn but makes it clear that he has already been informed. He says Brenn can submit a written report to Attorney General Dr. Moser if he thinks it necessary. But Dr. Brenn considers that pointless and so refrains from doing so.

While the reports are being processed, Police Chief Dr. Adolf Franzelin orders Dr. Herbert Mannlicher to report to Dr. Harster. The Gestapo Chief severely criticises him for causing such a stir instead of letting the bodies disappear without further ado. Dr. Mannlicher states that he has only done his duty and has acted in accordance with Dr. Franzelin's instructions. Dr. Harster orders Dr. Mannlicher to ensure that no autopsies are performed and says the bodies are to be stored in the cellar of the Institute of Forensic Medicine and guarded by the police until further orders are received. Under no circumstances may any documents be allowed to leave the country. He orders all documents relating to the investigation to be handed over to him in a sealed package as soon as possible, together with a sworn declaration that no other documents pertaining to the case exist. Harster calls for absolute secrecy to be maintained with regard to the matter.

Anton Pollheimer has to hand over the negatives and prints of his photographs to Dr. Herbert Mannlicher.⁹⁹ The criminal investigation records, protocols and photographs are packaged and handed over to Gestapo Chief Dr. Wilhelm Harster together with a sworn declaration as instructed. However, Dr. Mannlicher withholds his own shorthand notes of the statements made by the

⁹⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Alois Brenn 5.7.1945; Karl Wischatta 24.7.1945 (Erinnerungsprotokoll); Karl Meixner 8.9.1945; Anton Pollheimer 11.9.1945 (Erinnerungsprotokoll); Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945; Bericht 7.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Karl Meixner 8.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 415/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 9.4.1949. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Polizeibericht 3.5.1946.

⁹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Johann Strasser 26.02.1946. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Polizeibericht 3.5.1946.

⁹⁸ Also Dr. Theodor Tapavicza, leader of the group of the SA-Sanittssturm that actively participates in the pogrom, lets the autopsy assistant Benedikt Pilser show him the two corpses: AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Polizeibericht 3.5.1946.

⁹⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Anton Pollheimer 11.9.1945 (Erinnerungsprotokoll).

two widows and the caretaker. He suspects “that this incident will have repercussions one day.”¹⁰⁰ Shortly after that, he receives a letter from the Gestapo – bypassing the usual channels – in which the incidents are described as suicides. His name has been typed on the letter. Three green release certificates for cremation of the bodies are enclosed. The death certificates for Dr. Wilhelm Bauer, Ing. Richard Graubart and Ing. Richard Berger have already been filled in and signed by a doctor. On one certificate, the entry for the cause of death is “stab wound to the aorta”¹⁰¹. The documents also indicate that the police have no objections to the cremation and that the judiciary has no interest in the bodies.¹⁰² In the accompanying letter, Dr. Mannlicher is instructed to sign the documents.

In the presence of the assembled members of his department, however, Dr. Herbert Mannlicher, as Head of the Capital Crime Department, refuses to sign. He justifies his refusal to Dr. Wilhelm Harster on the grounds that the cases had been taken out of his hands by the Gestapo. He adds that he does not sign anything that is incorrect on principle. Dr. Harster argues that the cases are criminal rather than political, and a senior officer of the Criminal Investigation Department must therefore sign. Dr. Mannlicher turns to Police Commissioner Dr. Franz Gasser, who also refuses to sign and refers him to Police Chief Dr. Adolf Franzelin, but he simply shifts the responsibility back to Dr. Mannlicher. Mannlicher, however, remains adamant, noting that the current government will not last long if such methods are tolerated. Finally Police Chief Franzelin signs the documents. “I’m an old and sick man anyway, and the whole shebang will last as long as I will.”¹⁰³

A few days after the pogrom, Winkler Funeral Directors are instructed to transfer three bodies, Ing. Graubart, Dr. Bauer and Ing. Berger,¹⁰⁴ to the crematorium in Munich. Hans Strasser makes two trips, first with one coffin and then with two. Plain-clothes officers, presumably from the Gestapo, follow him in a car.

Grete Graubart is permitted to attend the cremation, but she never receives the urn and has to wait several months for a death certificate¹⁰⁵. In the Jewish Community’s register of deaths, the cause of death entered for both Ing. Richard Graubart and Dr. Wilhelm Bauer is “chest injury”.¹⁰⁶

The Gestapo keeps the widows Edith Bauer and Grete Graubart under surveillance, and the villa is searched repeatedly.

¹⁰⁰ Mannlicher hands over the stenogram of the interrogations with the widows Graubart and Bauer as well as housekeeper Hosp to his colleague Revierinspektor Krazer – in whom he has full confidence – when he leaves the police service. Krazer keeps it in private custody until the investigations are resumed in 1945. In 1945 Pollheimer again took photographs at the scene of the crime: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 415/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 9.4.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Berichte 7.9.1945 u. 12.10.1945.

¹⁰¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945.

¹⁰² Compare also Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, Sanität 1938/Akt 356: Antrag auf Ausstellung eines Leichenpasses zwecks Einäscherung in München.

¹⁰³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 415/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 9.4.1949. Mannlicher shows the documents signed by Franzelin to his officials, including Sokser, Wischatta and Krazer.

¹⁰⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Johann Strasser, 26.02.1946.

¹⁰⁵ The Gestapo makes sure that the death certificates of the murdered persons state "either nothing or at most skull injury, head injury, breast injury, etc." as the cause of death: Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, Sanität 1938/Akt 18344.

¹⁰⁶ Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 50.

SS-Obersturmführer Werner Hilliges conducts interrogations into the case in the presence of Gestapo Chief Dr. Wilhelm Harster.¹⁰⁷ SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger refuses to reveal the names of the murderers, because the men acted on the orders of Oberführer Johann Feil and Standartenführer Erwin Fleiss. “After the operation we all had a pretty queasy feeling, because we SS men don’t like such operations very much.”¹⁰⁸ Hilliges tries to reassure him, “Don’t take it so hard. The investigation is merely a formality.” Aichinger replies, “In that case you can write that I killed all three of them.”¹⁰⁹ Hilliges writes a pro forma report, in which he speaks of an act of self-defence. Aichinger signs the document.

Hilliges sends a report with the results of the investigation to Berlin, from where he is instructed not to take any further action against the persons involved and to burn the files.¹¹⁰ Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger is informed in a letter from the Nazi Court that the hearing into his case has been adjourned in the name of the Führer. In fact, the proceedings are discontinued.¹¹¹

The fate of the survivors¹¹²

In the days and weeks following the murders, many relatives and acquaintances offer comfort and help to the bereaved, including Antonie Brüll and her daughter Inge. Grete Graubart is very withdrawn and unwilling to talk about the terrible events. Her daughter Vera and Inge are good friends. They often played together in the villa’s fine garden. Inge Brüll also calls on ‘Aunt Edith’ on the ground floor. She is dressed all in black and often bursts into tears.

There is nothing to keep Edith Bauer in Innsbruck any more. On 26 November 1938 she travels with her daughter Eva to Vienna and is joined there by her son Thomas. From there they emigrate to Canada.

Grete Graubart moves to Vienna on 28 November. She asks Dr. Alois Brenn to submit his invoice for the assistance rendered to her husband Richard to the Aryanisation Office, as she is unable to pay his fee herself, but instead the doctor simply waives payment.

¹⁰⁷ At the instigation of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt in Berlin, the Gestapo conducts its own investigations into the murders on the basis of the documents confiscated from the criminal investigation department: Bericht Margarete Graubart geb. Hermann, 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979) 49f. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946, 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung). Compare LG Innsbruck, 13 Vr 1000/46, Aussage Hans (irrig Franz) Aichinger 3.5.1946.

¹⁰⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Beschluss des Sonderensatzes des Obersten Parteigerichts betreffend Einstellung des Verfahrens gegen Hans Aichinger und Walter Hopfgartner 9.2.1939.

¹⁰⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 15.10.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹¹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947.

¹¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Beschluss des Sonderensatzes des Obersten Parteigerichts betreffend Einstellung des Verfahrens gegen Hans Aichinger und Walter Hopfgartner 9.2.1939. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945.

¹¹² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Bericht Margarete Graubart 20.3.1961, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 49f. Videointerview mit Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015). Christoph W. Bauer, *Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 184, 168. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Alois Brenn 5.7.1945. As well as www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

As per bill of sale dated 29 March 1939, Grete Graubart sells her villa – well below market value – to Otto and Berta Wurmhöringer and flees with her daughter Vera to England, where she initially works as a ‘Girl Friday’. After the war her house is restored to her and in 1953 she returns to Innsbruck and 5 Gänsbacherstrasse. It is not until 1996 that, with a heavy heart, she finally gives up her villa – for reasons of health. She spends the last years of her life in England, and her daughter Vera takes care of her until her death in 2002.

Just “a good beating”?

Karl Bauer survives the attack by the Schintlholzer SS murder squad¹¹³

Kill the businessman Karl Bauer as quietly as possible!¹¹⁴ – Those are the instructions given to SS-Sturmführer Alois Schintlholzer in the night of 9 to 10 November 1938. He accordingly assembles a group of SS men, consisting (mainly) of members of his company. In order to cover for his accomplices, Schintlholzer will later state in court that he has forgotten all their names. As a result, only one of the men can be identified: Luis Schintlholzer’s friend SS-Oberscharführer Hans Müller.¹¹⁵

Schintlholzer’s group leaves the SS headquarters in the Salurner Strasse together with the Aichinger squad and head for the Saggen district of Innsbruck. At least some of the men travel in a car as far as the battalion office near the Hofgarten. From there they all continue on foot and arrive in the Gänsbacherstrasse at about half past two in the morning. While the SS group led by Hans Aichinger force their way into house no. 5 to kill Wilhelm Bauer and Richard Graubart, Schintlholzer and his men turn their attention to the Villa at 4 Gänsbacherstrasse across the road.

Karl and Alice Bauer are sleeping on the first floor. Alois Riedl with his wife and seven-year-old son Alfred are in the caretaker’s apartment on the lower ground floor. Some members of the Wehrmacht were housed on the mezzanine floor after the Anschluss, but they gave up their quarters “in consideration of the owner’s race”.¹¹⁶ The Bauers’ two children Gerda und Louis are not in the house. 19-year-old Gerda fled to Italy when German troops entered the country in March. Her brother, who is one year her junior, left Innsbruck in mid-September and is on his way to America.

The SS men ring the bell. Alice Bauer aka Lizzi¹¹⁷ gets out of bed and opens a window. In front of the garden gate she sees a group of about six people in civilian clothes and asks them what they want. Schintlholzer claims he is a police officer and has orders to search the house. The Gestapo had already summoned Frau Bauer and her husband for questioning in September in an attempt to persuade them to leave the country. Karl was made to stand to attention with his face to the wall for several hours.¹¹⁸ And yet, what else can she do but open the door to men claiming to be Gestapo officers?

¹¹³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Karl Hosp 10.11.1938 u. 16.4.1946, Hans Aichinger 17. u. 18.8.1945 sowie 1. u. 5.4.1946, Gottfried Andraus 13.9.1945, Alois Riedl 17.10.1945 u. 16.4.1946, Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer geb. Slatkes 13.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussagen Alois Schintlholzer 21.4.1961, 7.11.1961 u. 19.12.1961, Hans Aichinger 19.5.1961. Bericht Gerda Schönfeld geb. Bauer, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 85f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹¹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 12.9.1945.

¹¹⁵ He was killed in 1944 in World War II..

¹¹⁶ Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, Gew. 1938/26/7044/3561.

¹¹⁷ Also called Lizzy or Liszy.

¹¹⁸ Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (Hg.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation. Band 1 (Wien 1984), 471f, compare 444f.

Alice Bauer goes down to the front door and lets the men in. She thinks she recognises Heinz Pfanner.¹¹⁹ Alois Schintlholzer and five SS men immediately rush up the stairs to the apartment. Two of the men take Alice Bauer into the kitchen. She is told to sit down and not move. One of them cuts the telephone cable.

Schintlholzer enters the bedroom and sees Karl Bauer. The 58-year-old former front-line officer in the Austro-Hungarian army,¹²⁰ until recently a respected citizen and co-owner of the Bauer & Schwarz department store,¹²¹ is still in bed but at the sight of his attacker he quickly gets up. More SS men enter the room. Without saying a word, Alois Schintlholzer lashes out with his fists, landing several blows in his victim's face. Karl Bauer collapses stunned but gets up again. Now the others attack him. Hans Müller will later tell a friend they gave him "a good beating".¹²² But the SS men are not content with assaulting him with their fists and boots. Karl Bauer is stabbed in the forehead and lower jaw at least five times with a dagger or knife. A large, heavy iron object, probably a coal shovel or a chisel, hits him on the head. Karl Bauer loses consciousness. Although Schintlholzer later denies any intention to kill, the unequivocal instructions and the extraordinary brutality of the attack leave no room for doubt. Who inflicted the life-threatening injuries on Karl Bauer remains unknown. In any event, Schintlholzer bears responsibility as the leader of the group.¹²³

Alice Bauer seizes the first opportunity that presents itself to alert the caretaker Alois Riedl. In her dressing gown she hurries down to the lower ground floor, rings the bell by the door to his apartment, knocks on his bedroom window from the outside and implores him to open the door. Riedl is woken up by his wife and opens the door. Frau Bauer enters and in her great agitation says, "Help, Herr Riedl! Gangsters have broken in and are killing my husband."¹²⁴

The caretaker and his wife slip into their coats and hurry into the garden. Not a sound is to be heard from the house, but in the villa across the street they hear calls for help from Grete Graubart and the cries of her little daughter Vera. Richard Graubart has just been murdered there.

After the SS men have left the house – about a quarter of an hour has passed since the attack began – Alice Bauer can finally tend to her husband Karl. Covered in blood, he lies motionless across the bed. His wife fears the worst. Given the severity of his injuries, it is a miracle he is still alive. Alice Bauer wants to call a doctor but she cannot contact anyone. The telephone is not working and there are still men in the Gänsbacherstrasse, as she can see from the

¹¹⁹ According to Alois Schintlholzer, he wasn't there. And this was not even possible because Pfanner had been in the student storm.

¹²⁰ Numerous Tyrolean Jews took part in the First World War as officers: see Sabine Falch, „Palästina? Was finden wir dort? Doch nur Sand, Kamele und Araber!“, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 71f.

¹²¹ See Horst Schreiber, „Mit Innsbruck gewachsen – mit Innsbruck verwachsen.“ *Das Kaufhaus Bauer & Schwarz und seine Gründerfamilien*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“*. *Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck-Wien 2009), 305–357.

¹²² Indirectly handed down by Müller's friend Gottfried Andraeus: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Gottfried Andraeus 16.1.1946.

¹²³ In a transcript of the SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol (November 12, 1938) Karl Bauer is mistakenly indicated as dead: *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands* (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*. Band 1 (Wien 1984), 452.

¹²⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Alois Riedl 17.10.1945.

window. She is too afraid to leave the house. To wash her husband's severe wounds, Alice Bauer fetches bowl after bowl of fresh water and clean cloths and bandages them as best she can.

From the garden, Alois Riedl sees Herr Hosp, the caretaker at Villa Graubart across the road, and goes to talk to him. "This is a right business," says Hosp, who is on his way to fetch a doctor. He tells Riedl that Richard Graubart has been murdered, that he has been stabbed. While they are talking, they hear windows breaking. Suddenly three men¹²⁵ appear and demand to know what they are doing there. Hosp replies that he must fetch a doctor for the seriously injured Wilhelm Bauer, but the men say that is not necessary and stop him from going. Riedl says he only wanted to see what was happening. The two caretakers are told that nothing more is going to happen and warned to disappear at once if they are not tired of life. They accordingly return to their respective apartments. Alois Riedl does not offer Alice Bauer any more help. Is it just his concern for his own family that prevents him from doing so?

An hour after the attack another group, who have already mistreated several Jews, arrive under the command of SA-Obersturmführer Karl Stanzel with the intention of paying Karl Bauer a visit. When the SA men, who presumably include Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich, Alfred Gnesetti and Oswald Mark, notice bowls of water with blood-soaked cloths in the vestibule and see Bauer lying battered in bed, they leave the villa again. Stanzel will later try to justify his presence by stating he was there out of curiosity and also to help.¹²⁶

The subsequent fate of Karl and Alice Bauer¹²⁷

Shortly afterwards, around four o'clock in the morning, Laura Popper, who has managed with her last ounce of strength to save herself and her husband Julius from drowning in the River Sill, seeks refuge with Frau Bauer.¹²⁸ She has no key to her apartment, and her husband is in 'protective custody'. Alice Bauer makes tea for her exhausted friend and gives her some dry clothes. While Karl Bauer is still unconscious, the two women discuss their terrible experiences. In the course of the day several acquaintances and relatives call on Alice Bauer, including Karl's niece Inge Adler.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ They could be from the SS or the Gestapo.

¹²⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Polizeibericht 15.1.1946, Anklage Richard Dietrich, Alfred Gnesetti u. Anton Haupt 6.5.1946, Urteil Richard Dietrich, Alfred Gnesetti u. Anton Haupt 20.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussagen Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947 u. 15.12.1947, Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947, Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47.

¹²⁷ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Bericht Gerda Schönfeld geb. Bauer, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 85f. Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 87. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne (gekürzte Abschrift Robert Poppers), 5.12.1938 [sic] (richtig wohl 18.11.1938). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Abschrift Krankengeschichte Karl Bauer (14.2.1946). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Abschrift Krankengeschichte Karl Bauer mit Erläuterungen (6.6.1961), Aussagen Josepha Hinterlechner 21.6.1961, Karl Bauer 3.10.1961, Liszy Bauer 3.10.1961. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹²⁸ Compare Michael Guggenberger, „Die Stimmung der SA-Leute war etwas freudig aufgeregt“. Das grausame Vorgehen gegen Julius und Laura Popper, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck 2018), 361–370.

¹²⁹ Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 82.

Soon after Laura Popper, three or four Gestapo officers also arrive at 4 Gänsbacherstrasse to see what has happened there. They realise that, in his condition, Karl Bauer cannot be taken into 'protective custody'. Alice Bauer asks them to contact Dr. Faschingbauer, her husband's doctor. The officers refuse but call an ambulance, which soon arrives and takes Karl Bauer to the City Hospital on the Innrain. He is admitted at six o'clock in the morning and receives medical attention.

Karl Bauer is in a state of shock. Most of the time he is unconscious, and only briefly comes round. Over his forehead and temple on the right a huge haematoma forms and he also has two black eyes. The gaping wounds have to be stitched up under local anaesthetic: On the left lower jaw the victim has two stab wounds with a combined length of about eight centimetres, with three more just above the right eyebrow. The largest of his wounds extends from the brow to the middle of the skull and has penetrated almost to the bone.¹³⁰ Karl Bauer's condition is critical. The doctors are initially "doubtful whether he will survive."¹³¹

Karl Bauer remains in hospital for two months, from 10 November to 14 January 1939.¹³² He is treated there by Dr. W. Baumgartner and Dr. Burghard Breitner. Alice Bauer spends a lot of time at her husband's bedside. Understandably she does not reveal the real cause of his condition. Josepha Hinterlechner, one of Karl Bauer's nurses, describes the visits paid by his wife and her mother Helene Klein: "They were always at pains to have the matter described as a road accident."¹³³ Nor does Alice Bauer say anything more to her caretaker Alois Riedl, to whom she is obviously not close, about the events of that fateful November night.

On 26 February 1939, when his health finally permits, Karl Bauer has a medical examination and is then driven from the hospital straight to the railway station to take the train to Vienna. He is leaving his hometown Innsbruck. His wife will follow. She sells the villa below market value on 20 May 1939.¹³⁴ Like their two children Gerda and Louis, the couple manage to emigrate to the United States,¹³⁵ where they are reunited in New York. Karl Bauer suffers from the consequences of the attack until his death in 1966 and is never able to work again. To provide for their livelihood, Alice Bauer is obliged to take various unskilled jobs before she finally finds employment in an office.

¹³⁰ Compare also TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3043/47, Anklage Robert Huttig u. Rudolf Schwarz 31.10.1947.

¹³¹ Niederschrift Gustav Fast, SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol, 12.11.1938, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hrsg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 452.

¹³² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Gutachten Dr. Franz Josef Holzer (5.12.1961).

¹³³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussage Josepha Hinterlechner 21.6.1961.

¹³⁴ Sabine Pitscheider: *Gänsbacherstraße 4: „Arisierung“ und Restitution*. Studie erstellt im Auftrag des Diakonischen Vereins Tirol 2015: www.studentenwohnheim-saggen.at/fileadmin/userdaten/dokumente/StudieUnikorr2015.pdf; Horst Schreiber (Hg.): *Von Bauer & Schwarz zum Kaufhaus Tyrol*, Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2010, 114–117, 129.

¹³⁵ www.libertyellisfoundation.org/show-manifest-big-image/czoxOToiMDA0ODc5NjcZxZAwMzkyLmpwZyI7/2

“Last night we washed in Jewish blood.”

Bernhard Dimand, Julius Meisel, Richard Schwarz, Ludwig Löwensohn and other victims of the NSKK

*Preparations*¹³⁶

Oberführer Eugen Willam instructs Staffelführer Rudolf Mayerbrucker of the National Socialist Motor Corps (NSKK) to hold a roll call of his platoon on the Bozner Platz at midnight. Mayerbrucker informs Sturmführer Alois Hochrainer, along with others, who is in Café Hammerle in the Museumstrasse with his comrades from the Pradl Squad. Hochrainer has the message passed on to other NSKK men. Shortly before midnight in Café-Konditorei Hiebl – the aryanised Café Schindler in the Maria-Theresien-Strasse – Mayerbrucker receives a typewritten list of addresses of Innsbruck Jews from Oberführer Willam and the order, “to kick up a rumpus and let them know that they are not welcome in the Tyrol”.¹³⁷

Shortly after midnight, Staffelführer Mayerbrucker addresses the assembled NSKK men on the Bozner Platz and gives instructions for the operation. The drivers are ordered to cover their number plates and drive without lights or just with their parking lights on. Together with his friend Sturmführer Alois Hochrainer, he then allocates the men to a number of operational groups. The addresses to be targeted are also distributed. Mayerbrucker and Hochrainer, whose Pradl squad is well represented, lead a particularly large group of men comprising Hans Berger, Rudolf Hoffmann, Hans und Hermann Moser, Karl Oberforcher, Josef Ramersdorfer, Konrad Saumweber and Vinzenz Stauder and probably also Josef Seipt.¹³⁸ Martin Liedoll, Erich Fritz, Friedrich Bader and Josef Kogler are involved in at least some of the raids mounted by the Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer group.

The NSKK men go to their waiting vehicles and cover the number plates. Rudolf Mayerbrucker drives one of the cars himself. Hochrainer, Hoffmann and another man are with him.¹³⁹ Josef Ramersdorfer, who has been ordered to bring his taxi from the stand at the railway station, takes Hans Berger and others. Konrad Saumweber is driving his own car. Martin Liedoll goes with two comrades in the car of Oberscharführer Ing. Dr. Dagostin, who is leading his

¹³⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Martin Liedoll 19.11.1945 u. 14.1.1947 (Hauptversammlung); Josef Kogler 5.3.1946; Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946 u. Alois Hochrainer 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Ramersdorfer 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Berichte 17.12.1945 u. 10.8.1946; Anklage Alois Hochrainer, Karl Hanl, Martin Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Josef Ramersdorfer u. Josef Alois Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 15.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 18.7.1947 u. 22.10.1947; Friedrich Bader 20.11.1947; Hans Berger 20.11.1947; Martin Liedoll 20.11.1947; Karl Oberforcher 20.11.1947; Konrad Saumweber 20.11.1947; Alois Hochrainer 24.11.1947; Anklage Rudolf Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947; Urteil Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Martin Liedoll 29.1.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Bericht 25.5.1946; Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946 u. 28.6.1946; Friedrich Bader 12.6.1946. AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol 24–33, Bericht 20.5.1946.

¹³⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Urteil Rudolf Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949.

¹³⁸ Hochrainer counts him among them.

¹³⁹ So Hochrainer.

own group.¹⁴⁰ Erich Fritz and Josef Seipt, who has brought his company car, are also among the drivers.

Friedrich Bader and Josef Kogler join the convoy. Kogler, who has come to the Bozner Platz in his brand new Fiat Topolino, lets Bader take the wheel because he does not yet have a driving licence himself. After driving at high speed down the Meinhardstrasse and along the Kaiserjägerstrasse (or Saggengasse), the convoy reaches the Falkstrasse.

Mistaken attack on Villa Innerebner & Mayer¹⁴¹

With their squad of NSKK men, Rudolf Mayerbrucker and Alois Hochrainer intend to attack the Schwarz family at 18 Falkstrasse on the corner of the Elisabethstrasse. But they miss their target by one street corner and accidentally pay a 'visit' to Villa Innerebner & Mayer at 12 Falkstrasse. The only people in the house at the time are Ilse Mayer née Doderer and her cook and a maid by the name of Dunzendorfer.¹⁴²

The front door – the entrance is actually at no. 7 Gänsbacherstrasse – is locked. So the NSKK men cross the garden and enter the house via the glazed veranda by smashing the glass veranda door. Disturbed by the noise, Ilse Mayer's dog starts to bark. Shortly after the cook rushes into the bedroom in great excitement shouting "Burglars are coming! Burglars are coming!"¹⁴³. On their way down to the ground floor, they are met on the stairs by Rudolf Mayerbrucker and Alois Hochrainer with their NSKK men. Ilse Mayer, who does not think they are burglars, confronts them, but Mayerbrucker merely says, "Lock the dog up, or I'll shoot it!"¹⁴⁴

The NSKK men enter the apartment and start searching for male occupants. They break a few window panes in the process, and various pictures fall off the walls. Konrad Saumweber sees Mayerbrucker rampaging with a "tool"¹⁴⁵ in his hands and smashing a picture or a mirror.

Still in the belief that they are in the house of the Jewish family Schwarz, one of the men asks Ilse Mayer, "And you are Jewish, too?"¹⁴⁶ Hans Berger locks her and her cook in the toilet and puts the key in his pocket. Friedrich Bader can hear the women crying. Only when the men have also searched the attic to no

¹⁴⁰ Dagostin allegedly leads - at least formally - his own group, but he is observed by men of the Mayerbrucker group in the course of the night during acts of violence (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Urteil Hochrainer etc. 15.1.1947).

¹⁴¹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945 u. 10.8.1946; Aussagen Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946; Ilse Mayer 15.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 15.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Bericht 25.5.1946; Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946, 28.6.1946 u. 9.10.1946; Friedrich Bader 12.6.1946; Alois Hochrainer 4.10.1946. AdR, BMI, GZI. 121.266-2/46, Fol 24–33, Bericht 20.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 22.10.1947; Martin Liedoll 20.11.1947; Konrad Saumweber 20.11.1947; Alois Hochrainer 24.11.1947; Anklage Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947; Urteil Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945.

¹⁴² Her husband, Oberbaurat Ing. August Mayer, is not at home.

¹⁴³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Ilse Mayer 15.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹⁴⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Friedrich Bader 20.11.1947. (Friedrich Bader obviously confuses the villas by locating the event in the Villa Magda. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Ilse Mayer 15.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹⁴⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Konrad Saumweber 20.11.1947.

¹⁴⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Konrad Saumweber 20.11.1947.

avail do they realise that they have erred in the address. The maid is given the key and told not to unlock the toilet for another quarter of an hour.

Then the intruders leave the villa by the front door. “Follow me!”,¹⁴⁷ orders Staffelführer Mayerbrucker. Ilse Mayer hears them drive off to Villa Magda next door. At this point at the latest the brothers Hans and Hermann Moser arrive to join the group on their motorbike¹⁴⁸.

Raid on Villa Magda¹⁴⁹

When the Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer group of NSKK men enter the grounds of the Villa Magda at no. 18 Falkstrasse, they are observed by the Gestapo officers Ferdinand Obenfeldner and Alfred Berger, who have instructions to call at Villa Magda when the raid is over. Obenfeldner knows Konrad Saumweber and Martin Liedoll. Saumweber seems hesitant and unsure of himself, but Liedoll heads straight for the house. Obenfeldner and Berger continue to observe the villa from the street. Shouts and calls for help can be heard in the vicinity.

The NSKK men continuously ring the bell of the villa, where the Schwarz family lives on the first floor: Richard Schwarz, a 50-year-old businessman and former co-owner of the now aryanised Bauer & Schwarz department store on the Maria-Theresien-Strasse,¹⁵⁰ his 18-year-old son Viktor¹⁵¹ and his 42-year-old wife Magda. Her father Wilhelm Adler is also there.¹⁵² Magda’s worried sister Ilse Adler has already warned her by telephone, “Don’t open the door!”¹⁵³ Out of fear, she divulged her father’s whereabouts to several men, who had forced their way in.

When Richard Schwarz is about to go down to the front door, he hears the men cursing and calling for the door to be opened immediately. Thinking it is a robbery, he runs back up into the apartment and flees onto a balcony with his wife, son and father-in-law. Shouting for help and for the police, they try for several minutes to draw attention to their plight. Men in the garden indicate to them to be silent at once or else they will shoot.

¹⁴⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader 12.6.1946.

¹⁴⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Dora Moser geb. Müller 15.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹⁴⁹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck. Videointerview mit Erika (Judith) Shomrony geb. Schwarz, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, Filmedition gegen das Vergessen (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015). Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 91f. – TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Ferdinand Obenfeldner 5.10.1945; Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946 u. 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Hermann Moser 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Ramersdorfer 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Berichte 17.12.1945 u. 10.8.1946; Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt, 15.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946, 4.5.1946, 28.6.1946 u. 9.10.1946; Alois Hochrainer 4.10.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 18.7.1947 u. 22.10.1947; Martin Liedoll 20.11.1947; Anklage Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947; Urteil Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Martin Liedoll 29.1.1946. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹⁵⁰ The department store was sold far below its value and continued as Kaufhaus F. Kraus & Co.: see Horst Schreiber, „Mit Innsbruck gewachsen – mit Innsbruck verwachsen.“ Das Kaufhaus Bauer & Schwarz und seine Gründerfamilien, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck – Wien 2009), 305–357.

¹⁵¹ Erika Schwarz, his 20-year-old sister, left Innsbruck shortly after the Anschluss.

¹⁵² Wilhelm Adler actually lives at Maria-Theresien-Strasse 33.

¹⁵³ Interview with Erika (Judith) Shomrony geb. Schwarz, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, Filmedition gegen das Vergessen (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015).

Alois Hochrainer borrows a torch from Karl Oberforcher to inspect the house. Josef Ramersdorfer wants to open the front door by force. Erich Fritz hears him say, "We need some tyre levers to prise open the door."¹⁵⁴ The Gestapo officer Obenfeldner sees Ramersdorfer disappear round a corner of the house with an oil can in his hand and thinks at first that Ramersdorfer intends to set the house on fire. Suddenly there is the sound of breaking window panes: Some of the men enter the ground-floor apartment of the Italian consul Guido Romano through a lavatory window. They mistake him for Richard Schwarz and drag him out of bed by the hair.

In the meantime, the front door is being broken down. Richard Schwarz manages to contact the police on the telephone. When he reports the attack and requests protection, he is asked if it is a Jewish house. When Schwarz says it is, he is simply told, "Then we already know about it,"¹⁵⁵ and is left to his fate. The police have orders not to interfere.

Eventually, the front door is forced open. Martin Liedoll and Hermann Moser enter the villa with other NSKK men but supposedly only out of curiosity in order to "see the hoo-ha". Tumultuous scenes ensue. While the pyjama-clad Guido Romano asserts that he is the Italian consul, someone – allegedly Rudolf Mayerbrucker – pulls him by the hair and verbally abuses him. Roughly translated, Romano is called an "Itie dog"¹⁵⁶ and told, "You're the same scumbag!"¹⁵⁷ When the NSKK men finally realise that there has been another mix-up, they "negotiate" with the consul in Italian.¹⁵⁸

Mayerbrucker, Hochrainer and their NSKK men finally go up to the apartment of the family they are looking for and break down the door. The elderly Wilhelm Adler manages to save himself by climbing down from the kitchen balcony on the first floor to the balcony of the Italian consul's upper ground floor apartment and then jumping.¹⁵⁹ Richard, Viktor and Magda Schwarz retreat from one room to the next and lock the connecting doors, which they additionally barricade with heavy items. They finally withdraw to one of the consul's room.¹⁶⁰ But when the door to this room is also forced open, Richard Schwarz falls into the hands of the criminals. They separate the former lieutenant of the Austro-Hungarian army, who was severely disabled in the First World War, from his family and drag him to the bathroom, where he is severely beaten.

Magda Schwarz puts up a fight, courageously confronting the aggressors in order to protect her husband. In the scuffle she pulls one of the men to the ground, and he shouts, "Get the woman off me."¹⁶¹ Magda and her son Viktor remain unharmed. NSKK men kick and hit Richard Schwarz and leave him

¹⁵⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945. Friedrich Bader sees him in the course of the night with a crowbar: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader 12.06.1946. AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol 24–33, Bericht, 20.5.1946.

¹⁵⁵ Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck.

¹⁵⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Friedrich Bader 20.11.1947.

¹⁵⁷ 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader 12.6.1946. Friedrich Bader can no longer remember the exact wording.

¹⁵⁸ So Alois Hochrainer.

¹⁵⁹ See also Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81f.

¹⁶⁰ Apparently the Italian consul also had premises on the first floor: Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck.

¹⁶¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Martin Liedoll 20.11.1947.

covered in blood and with a broken nose.¹⁶² Only Hermann Moser admits to having used violence. But he says he only gave Richard Schwarz a “thick ear” because he “pushed” him whereas his brother Hans hit him full in the face. The intruders cut the telephone cable on the first floor, and Ilse Adler cannot reach her sister Magda anymore.¹⁶³

While the operation is still in progress, the Gestapo officer Faude instructs his colleague Ferdinand Obenfeldner to intervene immediately, as it would be embarrassing if the outraged Italian consul were to forward a report on the incident abroad. When Obenfeldner enters the house and calls “Police”, the NSKK men release Richard Schwarz and run away from the villa.¹⁶⁴ Richard Schwarz is convinced that he “owes his life” to this turn of events.¹⁶⁵

Josef Kogler and Friedrich Bader drive off in the direction of the Hungerburg funicular station where, traveling too fast with the headlights switched off, they come off the road in a bend¹⁶⁶ and land in a field. Kogler’s new Fiat is damaged, but after some “twisting and bending” they are able to continue.¹⁶⁷

33 Maria-Theresien-Strasse¹⁶⁸

The Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer group of NSKK men drive back to the city centre together with the Dagostin group. Some of the men proceed to the building at 33 Maria-Theresien-Strasse, the former Bauer & Schwarz department store, and ring the bell on the security gate. It is opened by the caretaker Karl Schäffer. At least eight men, including Ing. Dr. Richard Dagostin, Konrad Saumweber and probably also Alois Hochrainer, enter the building, while others, including Karl Oberforcher, wait outside. Maybe they are looking for Wilhelm Adler, who is hiding in the Falkstrasse. Saumweber sees Dagostin hit someone,¹⁶⁹ probably Ing. Artur Spindel, who is repeatedly assaulted in the course of the night. But the NSKK men soon leave and continue to the Wilten district of Innsbruck.

¹⁶² See also Magda Schwarz geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 83f.

¹⁶³ Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81f.

¹⁶⁴ Vinzenz Stauder, who doesn't want to enter any of the villas because he worked as a postman in this area for years and therefore fears to be recognized, is also very short-sighted and feels "too old" for such actions, is now supposedly leaving the group. His description, however, shows a gap of several hours, as he arrives in his apartment only in the morning, as he himself says: TLA, LG 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussagen Vinzenz Stauder 29.4.1946, 10.5.1946 u. 25.06.1946.

¹⁶⁵ Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck.

¹⁶⁶ Konradstraße-Sennstraße bend or when turning from Richard-Wagner-Straße into Claudiastraße.

¹⁶⁷ Whether and where they become active in the course of the night is unknown. According to Bader, they finally go to the station: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Josef Kogler 5.3.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader, 12.6.1946.

¹⁶⁸ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946, 28.6.1946 u. 9.10.1946; Bericht, 25.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 10.8.1946. TLA, LG 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Karl Schäffer 11.3.1946.

¹⁶⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

Raid on the Löwensohn family in the Fischerstrasse¹⁷⁰

The Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer group of NSKK men stop outside the house at 17 Fischerstrasse and ring the ground floor bell. Karl Oberforcher sees an elderly woman, Anna Waibl, looking out of the window. She does not recognise anyone and opens the front door. Several men enter the house. One of them is Konrad Saumweber, whom she knows.¹⁷¹ When the men ask where the “Löwensohn Jew” is she indicates the second floor. They immediately dash up to the apartment of Ludwig Löwensohn, the 62-year-old former owner of the “Zum Goldenen Dachl” shoe shop. He is in the apartment with his 55-year-old wife Paula, née Turnovsky, and their 31-year-old unmarried daughter Ilse, who is still working in the aryanised Schulhof clothes store.¹⁷² Also present are Alois Schulhof, the 32-year-old former partner of the Schulhof company,¹⁷³ and his wife Paula née Braun of the same age, who have been living there since July 1938. Whether Walter Schulhof, their nine-year-old son, is also there, is unknown.¹⁷⁴

Ludwig Löwensohn opens the door¹⁷⁵ and is dragged out and brutally attacked. The thugs beat him with sticks or rubber truncheons until he falls to the ground and then kick him with “sturdy shoes”.¹⁷⁶ Paula Löwensohn is also mistreated.¹⁷⁷ When Anna Waibl hears the ‘ruckus’, she is frightened and returns to her apartment.

It is claimed that Ludwig’s son Walter was also beaten,¹⁷⁸ but that can hardly be true since his sister Ilse does not mention it and in any case Walter, like his younger brother Paul, has emigrated to Palestine.¹⁷⁹ Paula Schulhof shields her husband Alois, who has a kidney disorder, and the NSKK men apparently spare him because of his condition.¹⁸⁰

The whole operation is soon over, and the house is quiet again.

¹⁷⁰ Now Franz-Fischer-Strasse. – Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Anna Waibl 31.10.1945; Maria Slamik 3.10.1945; Klara Ortner geb. Skopall 2.11.1945, Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946 u. 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Berichte 17.12.1945 u. 10.8.1946; Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 15.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Bericht 25.5.1946; Aussage Alois Hochrainer 4.10.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 18.7.1947 u. 22.10.1947; Martin Liedoll 20.11.1947; Alois Hochrainer 24.11.1947; Anklage Rudolf Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947; Urteil Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹⁷¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Waibl 31.10.1945. Saumweber’s acquaintance with her could also be the reason why the men rang her bell.

¹⁷² Ilse Kerman geb. Löwensohn in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 112.

¹⁷³ Son of Josef and Anna Schulhof.

¹⁷⁴ From July 30 to September 18, 1938, he is registered at Fischer-Strasse 17 (near Löwensohn), from where he is deregistered to Munich. In 1938, however, he was also registered two times with his grandparents in Fischer-Strasse 20.

¹⁷⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Alois Hochrainer 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

¹⁷⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Klara Ortner geb. Skopall 2.11.1945. Compare Schreiben Ilse Kerman geb. Löwensohn in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 112.

¹⁷⁷ That’s what she told Anna Waibl. No further details are known: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Waibl 31.10.1945.

¹⁷⁸ According to Klara Ortner, the half sister of Alois Schulhof. See also TLA, LG 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945; TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Anklage Rudolf Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947.

¹⁷⁹ Schreiben Ilse Kerman geb. Löwensohn in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 112.

¹⁸⁰ According to Klara Ortner, the half sister of Alois Schulhof. See TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Klara Ortner geb. Skopall 2.11.1945.

*Raid on Villa Kappelsberger*¹⁸¹

The Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer group of NSKK men now move on to Villa Kappelsberger at no. 8 Templstrasse, where it takes them some time to accomplish their mission. The villa is currently home to several Jews, including the owner of the house Johanna Kappelsberger¹⁸² and the Meisel and Dimand families.¹⁸³

The first of the attackers enter the house via a basement window in the boiler room and open the front door to the others. They first of all go to find Johanna Kappelsberger and accuse her of protecting Jews. Kappelsberger, who is a baptised Protestant, is unimpressed and replies, "There are no Jews here."¹⁸⁴ The men do not believe her and inquire about her husband Alwin, but he is long since dead and was an 'Aryan'. Then they search the villa room by room, which they wreck, damaging the furniture and fittings. If the door is not opened immediately, they force their way in. They break down the door of the room of three women, two German and one English. Only the offices of Grisseemann & Walch on the ground floor apparently remain undamaged. Josef Seipt later admits to having broken a vase, but Liedoll also sees him mistreating people. Johanna Kappelsberger points out to the perpetrators that they are destroying her property. In response they advise her to have the Jews compensate her for the damage.

During their house search, which lasts almost an hour, the NSKK men attack several people. The worst treatment is meted out to the 56-year-old businessman Julius Meisel, who until recently lived at 3 Anichstrasse, where his aryanised clothes shop is also located, and the 42-year-old grocer Bernhard Dimand, who was registered at 57 Innrain until 2 November. In front of his 45-year-old wife Rosa, Meisel is dragged out of bed by two men, who grab him under the arms, frogmarch him in his nightgown through the hall and into the garden, kick him and throw him into the round basin of a fountain and beat him "terribly"¹⁸⁵ with an iron bar. In the process they seem to have stripped him naked¹⁸⁶. Several NSKK men are involved in the attack, while Mayerbrucker seems to be mainly supervising. Meisel remains lying in the fountain basin, wailing and groaning loudly. Liedoll recalls a second Jew being "carried out" of the house in his nightgown. But nothing more is known of that.

¹⁸¹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Berichte 17.12.1945 u. 10.8.1946; Aussagen Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946; Zenzi Mairamhof, 15.1.1947 (Hauptversammlung); Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 15.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946, 28.6.1946 u. 9.10.1946; Alois Hochrainer, 4.10.1946; Bericht 25.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 18.7.1947 u. 22.10.1947; Karl Oberforcher 20.11.1947; Alois Hochrainer 24.11.1947; Anklage Rudolf Mayerbrucker 3.12.1947; Urteil Rudolf Mayerbrucker 10.2.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Grete Egger geb. Caminades 7.1.1946. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹⁸² Her daughters are not present.

¹⁸³ An English teacher who taught Laura Popper's sons has apparently just left.

¹⁸⁴ Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943.

¹⁸⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

¹⁸⁶ Rudolf Brüll remembers this detail that Meisel had told him during the Schutzhaft: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

In the case of the Dimand family, about eight men enter the bedroom. As soon as the 38-year-old Dominika Dimand née Caminades states her name, the attackers, some of whom appear to be inebriated, smash the furniture – beds, chairs, tables, etc. – “to pieces”. They even rip out the electric wire for the lighting. Bernhard Dimand, Dominika’s husband, is brutally assaulted with blows and kicks. One of the men hits him with water jugs until they break. Bernhard Dimand suffers lacerations to the head. The men drag him, dazed but still conscious, onto the landing and push him down the stairs to the first floor, where they lock him in the bathroom with his wife. The key to the room is presumably taken by Hans Berger, who later admits to having locked up several “women” in order to “protect” them.

When Julius Meisel, with his last ounce of strength, tries, to climb out of the fountain basin, one of the NSKK men – Rudolf Mayerbrucker in Oberforcher’s memory of the event – kicks him back and leaves him lying in the water¹⁸⁷. Weeks after the pogrom, Alois Hochrainer and Josef Ramersdorfer report with obvious amusement how they “did a good job” in the Tempelstrasse.¹⁸⁸

When Karl Oberforcher and his NSKK group withdraw from the Villa Kappelsberger, he sees people rushing into the garden who were previously standing on the other side of the street from the villa “huddling” in the porch of a house.¹⁸⁹ They are presumably members of other squads or Gestapo officers.

Last stop and a final drink

Now the group is dispersing. Some walk to the buffet at the railway station or back to their vehicles at the Boznerplatz. Saumweber drives with a few other men to the Oberrauchplatz (or Kaiserschützenplatz),¹⁹⁰ while Martin Liedoll meets Richard Dagostin again and the two call on another apartment on the north side of the Brixdurchgang (or Sparkassendurchgang / at Maria-Theresien-Strasse 25). There they mistreat a Jew,¹⁹¹ who is probably a subtenant.¹⁹²

With the morning approaching, Rudolf Mayerbrucker is sitting with Alois Hochrainer in Josef Seipt’s company car in the Maria-Theresien-Strasse. He says that he knows of a “Jewish villa” in Seefeld that is to be set on fire.¹⁹³ He is referring either to the pension belonging to the Scheer siblings or to the house of the Munich couple Karl and Ernestine Wiesel. Seipt sets off with Mayerbrucker and Hochrainer, but the undertaking is abandoned on the outskirts of Innsbruck. They are worried that they might not have enough petrol for the trip. The NSKK men also lack the necessary motivation at this late

¹⁸⁷ So Zenzi Mairamhof.

¹⁸⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

¹⁸⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946.

¹⁹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

¹⁹¹ During the night, Liedoll observes Dagostin in an apartment giving a man a “hook to the chin”, possibly here. (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht, 17.12.1945; Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946; Urteil Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 15.1.1947.

¹⁹² According to the police investigation.

¹⁹³ See also TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946. TLA, LG 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Josef Seipt 20.11.1947.

hour, especially as they think that the Jewish owners have doubtless already received a visit from a Seefeld unit. And so they turn back and drive to the station buffet.¹⁹⁴ There, members of various hit squads arrive one after the other for a final muster and end the night with beer and coffee. In the big gathering in the buffet, Friedrich Bader hears all sorts of stories about the events of the night, about beatings meted out to Jews and also about the murder of Ing. Graubart.¹⁹⁵ Next day Josef Ramersdorfer is boastful about the NSKK's nocturnal deeds: "Last night we washed in Jewish blood."¹⁹⁶

Follow-up at the Villa Magda¹⁹⁷

When the Gestapo officer Ferdinand Obenfeldner has seen off Mayerbrucker and his NSKK men from the Villa Magda at 18 Falkstrasse and is about to go up to the first floor, he is accosted by the Italian consul. Guido Romano is beside himself. He says he cannot even reach the police by telephone. Obenfeldner seeks to calm him, saying his organisation is eager to address the wrongs, and goes upstairs to the Schwarz family. The damaged door to the apartment is open. In the hall Richard Schwarz is sitting on a rolled up carpet. His wife Magda is giving him some drops. He is bleeding from the nose and ears, and his eyes are swollen. Obenfeldner wonders whether he has been strangled. Alfred Berger enters the apartment with Rudolf Scholz, another Gestapo officer, and is rude to Magda Schwarz.¹⁹⁸ Then the officers take Richard and Viktor Schwarz in their car and place them in 'protective custody'. On 17 November 1938, when their visas for Great Britain have arrived, they are released. "At the insistence of the Gestapo, I had to pay for all the damage caused by the criminals in our and the Consul's apartment," says Richard Schwarz.¹⁹⁹

Wilhelm Adler leaves Innsbruck in November 1938 for Vienna or Budapest, but after the outbreak of the war he can no longer escape even though he has a visa. He is deported to Riga in 1941 and finally murdered in a concentration camp. Richard, Magda and Viktor Schwarz, on the other hand, manage to flee. They leave Innsbruck on 23 November and travel to England via France. In Paris, where they are staying overnight, they speak of the attack to their daughter Erika, who has found a position with a Jewish family as an au pair girl. Richard Schwarz is still in a state of semi-shock. Erika notices the injuries to his nose and face. Richard, Magda and Viktor Schwarz finally manage to start a new life in Manchester.

¹⁹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Alois Hochrainer 4.10.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Alois Hochrainer 24.11.1947. – TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussagen Rudolf Mayerbrucker 18.7.1947 u. 22.10.1947.

¹⁹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader 12.6.1946.

¹⁹⁶ Aussage Maria Mader geb. Angerer according to TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

¹⁹⁷ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Ferdinand Obenfeldner 5.10.1945; Bericht 17.12.1945. Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck. Videointerview mit Erika (Judith) Shomrony geb. Schwarz, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, Filmedition gegen das Vergessen (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015). Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 91f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

¹⁹⁸ So Obenfeldner.

¹⁹⁹ Wiener Library, Master Index (P-Scheme), P.II.d. (Austria), No. 751. Richard Schwarz, Pogrom-Nacht in Innsbruck.

After the war Richard and Magda Schwarz take steps for restitution of the Bauer & Schwarz department store. In an out-of-court settlement, a comparatively small sum of money is finally agreed as payment to them and the other partners.²⁰⁰

Follow-up for the Löwensohn family²⁰¹

When Maria Slamik, the caretaker at no. 22 Fischerstrasse, sees Ludwig Löwensohn the next morning, she notices that his clothes are torn “on the right side of the chest” and “very bloody”. Ludwig Löwensohn has to spend a few days in bed. On 11 December 1938, he and his wife Paula and their daughter Ilse have to leave their apartment at no. 17 Fischerstrasse and move to Vienna. At the end of 1938 or in 1939 Ludwig and Paula Löwensohn flee to Palestine, where they survive the war years before returning to Vienna. Ilse Löwensohn is permitted to travel to Britain in February 1939 on the strength of a work permit as a housekeeper. She takes various jobs including office work with a number of employers and serves in the British Army from the end of 1944. That is how she also comes to Palestine, where she resigns from the army and settles down like her brothers Walter and Paul.

On 1 December 1938 Alois and Paula Schulhof have to move to Vienna with their little boy Walter. In April 1939 they, too, flee to Palestine. After Paula’s early death in Haifa, Alois remarries and returns to Innsbruck with his second wife Lilly. After the war Walter also spends some time as a cook in Innsbruck, from where he emigrates to England in 1952.

Follow-up at Villa Kappelsberger²⁰²

At Villa Kappelsberger at no. 8 Templstrasse, there is broken glass lying about and a lot of damaged furniture and broken fittings. Blood is splattered on the walls.²⁰³ Julius Meisel and Bernhard Dimand are picked up during the night and taken into ‘protective custody’. At about seven o’clock in the morning a group of men, probably four plainclothes officers, inspect the house. In custody, Meisel’s battered forearm swells to such a size that the sleeve of his jacket has

²⁰⁰ Horst Schreiber, „Mit Innsbruck gewachsen – mit Innsbruck verwachsen.“ Das Kaufhaus Bauer & Schwarz und seine Gründerfamilien, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck-Wien 2009), 353.

²⁰¹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Maria Slamik 3.10.1945; Klara Ortner geb. Skopall 2.11.1945; Anna Waibl 31.10.1945. Schreiben Ilse Kerman geb. Löwensohn in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 112f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁰² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945; Aussage Zenzi Mairamhof 15.1.1947 (Hauptversammlung). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Grete Egger geb. Caminades 7.1.1946. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁰³ So Carmella Flöck. „Als wir hinkamen, war nur noch die Wirtschafterin dort. Sie führte uns im ganzen Haus herum und ich war entsetzt, was wir zu sehen bekamen. In keinem Zimmer war ein Möbelstück ganz und die Wände waren von oben bis unten mit Blutspritzern bedeckt.“ (Friedrich Stepanek (Hg.), Carmella Flöck. ... und träumte, ich wäre frei. Eine Tirolerin im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück. Erinnerungen an Widerstand und Haft 1938–1945, hg. von (Innsbruck 2012), 26.

to be slit. Julius Meisel remains in custody until 23 November 1938. Bernhard Dimand, who has lacerations and skin abrasions on his head and face, is released two days earlier. He subsequently loses the sight of one eye.²⁰⁴

Dominika Dimand and Rosa Meisel are extremely frightened and move out of the villa on 10 November.²⁰⁵ Frau Kappelsberger goes to live with her brother-in-law in Feldkirch. The Dimands flee to France in the middle of December. Bernhard Dimand spends time in various camps before being finally being deported to Sobibor-Maidanek in 1943 and murdered there. His wife Dominika, who grew up as a Catholic, lives in hiding and survives. Julius and Rosa Meisel move to Vienna on 3 December 1938 and are deported in 1942 to Riga, where they perish.

²⁰⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Anklage Hochrainer, Hanl, Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Ramersdorfer u. Seipt 1.12.1946.

²⁰⁵ So Zenzi Mairamhof.

“The mood of the SA men was one of cheerful excitement.”

The cruelty inflicted on Julius and Laura Popper²⁰⁶

At about 2 a.m.²⁰⁷ Scharführer Theodor Haller, a former police officer, leaves the SA headquarters at 10 Bürgerstrasse. Outside the building, Rottenführer Josef Schäffer has parked the company car belonging to the fruit importing company Vedovelli-Amadori & Co, an old Opel two-seater. The SA's preparations for the National Socialists' revenge on the Jews of Innsbruck are proceeding apace. A number of squads have been organised and assigned to various addresses. Standartenführer Johann Mathoi has just given a speech to a large group of SA men. He says that, in response to the death of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath in Paris following Herschel Grynszpan's attack on him two days earlier, they must strike against the Jews of Innsbruck; they are to be given “a good beating”.²⁰⁸ When asked whether they may also be killed, he gives an evasive answer, “Do what you want on that point. I know nothing about it.”²⁰⁹ He also explains that the operation will be covered by the Gestapo and the police will not interfere.²¹⁰ It is the night of 9 November 1938, a night that will go down in history as the Innsbruck November Pogrom.

Theodor Haller is sitting in the car next to Josef Schäffer. Six or more SA men are standing on the running boards or sitting on the car body. Schäffer is worried about his car. “Don't talk so much and get going!” is the answer he receives. He wants to know their destination, and Haller says, “Just start driving. I'll tell you soon enough. We're heading for Saggen.”²¹¹ One of the men, apparently SA clerk Gfrerer,²¹² is holding a small piece of paper with an address in the Beethovenstrasse. The target of the operation is the 70-year-old Julius Popper, senior underwriter at the Victoria zu Berlin insurance company, his 63-year-old wife Laura Popper née Weiss and their sons Siegfried (Friedl) and Robert. Josef Schäffer is told to drive to the Saggen district of Innsbruck. Haller gives him the exact route: Bürgerstrasse – Colingasse – Adolf-Pichler-Platz – Marktgraben and Burggraben – Universitätsstrasse – Kaiserjägerstrasse – Kochstrasse – Falkstrasse – Siebererstrasse – Claudiastrasse – Bienerstrasse –

²⁰⁶ First published by Michael Guggenberger in Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 361–370. Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne (gekürzte Abschrift Robert Poppers), 5.12.1938 [sic] (richtig wohl 18.11.1938). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Polizeibericht 17.12.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussagen Josef Schäffer 29.7.1946, 20.8.1946, 27.8.1946, 4.10.1946 u. 15.9.1947, Theodor Haller 18.8.1946, 21.8.1946, 28.8.1946, 8.10.1946, 15.9.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung), Arthur Faroga 25.9.1946 u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung), Viktoria Kuen 4.7.1947; Bericht 17.9.1946; Schreiben Robert Popper 16.10.1946; Anklage Haller u. Schäffer 14.7.1947, Urteil Haller u. Schäffer 14.10.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2975/47, Aussage Martin Liedoll 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁰⁷ So Theodor Haller.

²⁰⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948.

²⁰⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945.

²¹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussagen Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947 u. 9.7.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Aussage Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Schöffthaler 29.8.1951.

²¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Schäffer 27.8.1946.

²¹² So Theodor Haller.

Goethestrasse – Schillerstrasse – (Mozartstrasse) – Beethovenstrasse. The mood is “one of cheerful excitement”.²¹³

Josef Schäffer stops at the kiosk at the corner of Erzherzog-Eugen-Strasse and Beethovenstrasse and lets his comrades out. If anyone comes he is to warn them with a loud whistle. He turns the car round and waits. One SA man remains behind on the pavement. Gfrerer, Haller and the others proceed to the building at no. 5 Beethovenstrasse, open the front door and enter. On the ground floor they ring the door bell of the Popper family.

Laura Popper wakes up and looks at the clock. It’s about half past two. The SA men ring the bell harder. Laura Popper wakes her husband Robert and quickly gets dressed. She hears a furious knocking on the door to the apartment. A few minutes later the door flies open and the men rush into the bedroom. The light is switched on. Completely bewildered, Laura Popper finds herself facing strangers. “Yes, what do the gentlemen want?” is all she manages to ask.

But the “gentlemen” respond with the order “Out! Get going!” Julius Popper is not well and with a nervous mutter goes to the toilet. He is met on his return with an angry “What, still not finished?!” The impatient intruders want to take him away in his underpants and slippers. Thinking that her husband is being taken to the Gestapo, Laura Popper now addresses the group with more composure, “My husband is such a man of honour, he need fear no judge, not even the highest.”²¹⁴ Her statement meets with cynical laughter.

Laura Popper hastily helps Julius to get dressed: socks, shoes, jacket, coat. Then he is taken away. Laura Popper cannot leave her elderly husband alone in this situation. She slips into her winter coat and follows him. She now seems quite calm.

It is “deathly quiet” on the Beethovenstrasse.²¹⁵ A quarter of an hour has passed since the group’s arrival in Saggen. Julius Popper is dragged to the car by Theodor Haller and one of his comrades. His wife walks behind them, accompanied by two other men. Julius Popper is pushed into the passenger seat. His wife has to make do with a place on the bonnet. SA men are standing on the running boards of the completely overloaded car. Two or three men have to be left behind. Haller gives the order to drive to the confluence of the rivers Inn and Sill. When the operation is over they are to meet in the vicinity of the head office of the railway company. Josef Schäffer wants to know what they are planning. Haller tells him, “Nothing. We’re just going to give them a fright.”²¹⁶

When Laura Popper realises they are not going to the Gestapo, she loses her composure and shouts in horror, “For God’s sake, what are you planning? We’re leaving the city!” By way of answer she is told, “Shut your mouth! You’ll soon see. It’s none of your business.” Julius Popper gestures in great agitation and asks Schäffer what he thinks he is doing. But he responds with a question

²¹³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Haller 15.9.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

²¹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (Abschrift Robert Popper).

²¹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Schäffer 27.8.1946.

²¹⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Schäffer 20.8.1946.

of his own, “And where are your sons? Did they manage to disappear in time ?”²¹⁷ In fact, Friedl und Robert Popper left Innsbruck a few weeks earlier.

Josef Schäffer turns off into Mathias-Schmid-Strasse. The many people in and on the car are blocking his view. He drives along the left bank of the River Sill, past the abattoir and stops near the municipal nursery. The SA men get down from the car, grab Julius Popper and drag him and his wife in the direction of the municipal knacker’s yard and the confluence of the two rivers. Their cries for help fill the night air. The couple struggle for all they are worth. But in vain. At the confluence, where the Sill is deepest, the men break into a run and throw Julius Popper, an old man, down the embankment and into the river. They do the same to his wife, who has a heart condition. Is it their intention to murder the couple? We do not know. They certainly accept the risk of their deaths. A perverse detail: In 1924, as a municipal security guard, the group’s leader Theodor Haller “put his own life at risk to rescue a girl from the Inn” and was awarded the Silver Medal for Service to the Republic of Austria.²¹⁸

There is a slight mist on the water. Julius Popper finds himself in the middle of the Sill without his glasses, blind in one eye and also hard of hearing. Without help he will soon go under. “Papa with his weight, poor man, struggled a bit and was about to drown. With a superhuman effort I got closer to the bank. There were some branches that I gripped and then I grabbed Papa by the hand.” That is how Laura Popper describes her memories.²¹⁹ And so, with their combined strength, they manage to escape the current.

Laura Popper looks up. Their assailants are still standing at the edge of the embankment watching them. One of them orders them to duck down, or he will push them back into the Sill. In a low crouch they wait in the ice-cold November water. In mortal fear Laura Popper calls:

“Young men, we are not rich, but go to our home and take everything you can find. But spare us!”

“That’s not the point; you’re killing us Germans.”

“We’re killing you Germans? I’m killing Germans ? We find all murders despicable!”²²⁰

Finally, after three or four minutes, which seem like an eternity, the assailants return to the car in good spirits. To Josef Schäffer they say, “We gave them a couple of smacks and then threw them down the embankment.”²²¹ They drive back to the city centre. In the same night, Schäffer and Theodor Haller take charge of an injured Jewish woman and leave her, wearing only her nightgown, lying helpless in a field in the Reichenau district.²²²

²¹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (Abschrift Robert Popper).

²¹⁸ Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger, 13.4.1926, 6.

²¹⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (Abschrift Robert Popper).

²²⁰ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (übersetzt).

²²¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Schäffer 27.8.1946.

²²² Helene Rosenstein and her son Fritz had previously been brutally abused by an unknown SA or NSKK group. Helene was not found until the morning of November 10, 1938, and the following day, on the orders of the physician Wilhelm Ludwig, she was taken to the surgical department of the hospital to be rescued. Fritz was in protective custody at that time.

*The subsequent fate of Julius und Laura Popper*²²³

When Laura Popper hears the car drive away, she tells her hard-of-hearing husband, “Julius, now we can get out.” But Julius Popper is incapable of climbing the embankment. “I won’t make it. I can’t get a grip with my hands. I haven’t got my glasses; I’m blind.” Laura grips his numb left hand, and with his right hand Julius manages to get hold of a bush. Finally they make it back to the road. They are both wet through and completely exhausted. The cold is creeping through their limbs. They leave the scene of the crime. Laura Popper looks around fearfully and tells Julius to hurry, “You must get a move on, or it will be our death.”²²⁴

“Don’t walk so fast!” Julius Popper is not capable of walking all the way home.

Laura Popper decides to get help. She sees a light on the far bank of the Sill, in the Reichenauer Textilfabrik, a factory owned by Franz Baur’s Söhne (Foradori). They ring the bell at the main gate in the General-Eccher-Strasse. Franz Scheucher, the night porter, opens the gate.

“We fell in the water.”²²⁵ The surprised porter wants Laura Popper to explain how it happened.

“I can’t tell you now; I’ll explain later,”²²⁶ She is shaking violently.

Julius Popper collapses and has not the strength to get up again.

Scheucher lets the two into the porter’s lodge. He helps them out of their soaked coats and places them on the radiator to dry. Laura Popper asks him to call an ambulance. Scheucher dials the number, but the ambulance service can no longer cope with all the calls.

“I know Herr Wunsch, the Managing Director,”²²⁷ says Julius Popper and asks his wife to tell the porter about the attack. With great misgivings, she complies with his request. Franz Scheucher contacts Director Matthias Wunsch.²²⁸ Then, against the wishes of the Poppers, he informs the police – out of a “sense of duty”, as he puts it. Julius and Laura Popper are terrified.

Before the ambulance arrives, a police car arrives with three officers in it, obviously from the Gestapo. Only one is wearing a uniform. Frau Popper sees two people standing at the window on the first floor. Hoping for help, her husband calls out, “You are Director Wunsch, aren’t you?”²²⁹ “Yes” is the curt

²²³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Brief Laura Popper 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Franz Scheucher 8.1.1946; Anklage Theodor Haller u. Josef Schäffer 14.7.1947; Urteil Haller u. Schäffer 14.10.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussage Liszy Bauer 3.10.1961. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 122 f. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch 9.1.1939, in: Ernst Oppenheim, To remember me by. First crusade through Holocaust. Facts, fragments, lore and legends (Cambridge 2000), 217. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²²⁴ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

²²⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift).

²²⁶ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

²²⁷ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

²²⁸ So Scheucher, Laura Popper erwähnt diesen Anruf nicht.

²²⁹ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

reply, and Herr Wunsch observes the scene without speaking another word. Nobody is going to help. On the contrary, Frau Wunsch shouts to them, “Quite right; it serves you right. That’s what should happen to all Jews!”²³⁰

The officers push Julius Popper with brute force into the car. Despite all her entreaties and pleading Laura Popper is not allowed to go with him. She is told to go home. The police car disappears.

“And now be off with you!”,²³¹ says the porter Franz Scheucher to Laura Popper in a new rude tone.

Because she does not have the keys to her apartment with her, Laura Popper sets off on foot to Saggen to seek refuge with Lizzi Bauer at no. 4 Gänsbacherstrasse. She leaves her wet fur coat behind. On her way to Saggen, she meets SA men. With her strength all but exhausted, she arrives at her friend’s apartment just before 4 a.m. In the hall she sees bowls of water and blood-soaked cloths. Karl Bauer, Lizzi’s husband is lying unconscious in bed, with makeshift bandages on his head. The two women bemoan their plight. Lizzi Bauer tells Laura about the life-threatening stab wounds and blows to the face inflicted on Karl by SS men²³² and about the horrific events in the villa opposite where Wilhelm Bauer and Richard Graubart have been murdered. Then she makes a hot cup of tea for her freezing friend and finds some dry clothes.

Laura Popper then goes across to the villa at no. 5 Gänsbacherstrasse. Traces of blood show her the way to the scenes of the SS thugs’ murders of Wilhelm Bauer and Richard Graubart.²³³ Just behind the front door in the hallway, she comes across a large pool of blood, which she has to cross to reach Wilhelm Bauer’s apartment. For a while she sits with Wilhelm’s widow Steffi, who has a nasty wound on the forehead. Then she sets off again to get her husband Julius some dry clothes and goes to the home of the Krieser family at no. 27 Bienerstrasse opposite the Gestapo building. It is now 5 o’clock in the morning. From far away Fanny Krieser can be heard screaming from the open window. A number of onlookers have gathered in the street. Like Julius Popper, Fanny’s husband has been taken into ‘protective custody’.²³⁴ Fanny Krieser and her daughter Käthe are also temporarily detained.²³⁵

Laura Popper goes to the Gestapo building to bring her husband dry clothes. Her request is repeatedly refused, “Impossible”. A senior official whose accent suggests he is from Germany simply says, “He can stay in his wet clothes, too.”²³⁶ A blond young woman finally intervenes saying, “I know your son.”²³⁷ So Julius Popper gets the clothes. But Laura’s request that her apartment be

²³⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift).

²³¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift).

²³² Act of the SS-Mordkommando Alois Schintlholzer. Karl Bauer is lucky and survives, but remains disabled.

²³³ Acts of the SS-Mordkommando Hans Aichinger.

²³⁴ So Laura Popper and Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch, 9.1.1939, in: Ernst Oppenheim, To remember me by. First crusade through Holocaust. Facts, fragments, lore and legends (Cambridge 2000), 217. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 und 25.1.1947.

²³⁵ So Laura Popper.

²³⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift).

²³⁷ Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

placed under police protection because of the stolen keys is rejected. Only later, in the afternoon, is the Gestapo willing to do so.

Meanwhile Laura Popper goes to her trusted friend Johanna Kappelsberger at no. 8 Templstrasse, where she intends to stay for the time being. But there she finds the house and garden devastated, furniture smashed and broken glass everywhere. Here, too, Jews have been brutally attacked.²³⁸ Under these circumstances Laura has no wish to stay in the Templstrasse and decides to return to Saggen. She fetches a locksmith, but her apartment door cannot be opened without completely ruining it. The locksmith advises her to break a window and climb in. Then she discovers the keys – in a bread bag. There is also a note, in spidery handwriting: “These are the keys of Julius Popper Betthovenstrasse [sic].”²³⁹ Laura Popper unlocks her door. The safety chain on the door is broken. Various items have apparently been stolen. A large sum of money seems to be missing. Those are the memories as narrated after the war by Berta Falschlunger, who was engaged to marry a son of the Poppers at the time, and Viktoria Kuen, a former domestic help in the home of Helene Link at no. 24 Erzherzog-Eugen-Strasse.

Later in the evening, a seal is affixed to the door. Laura Popper endures the first night after the pogrom in her husband’s insurance office at no. 34 Maria-Theresien-Strasse and spends the second night in her apartment. But her sorrows and fears prevent her from sleeping, and for the next few nights she finds a bed in the homes of various friends, starting with Ida Schwarz, who lives near the office at no. 33 Maria-Theresien-Strasse. For the night of 13 November she goes to Alice Smetana at no. 15 Goethestrasse. Both have had their homes raided.²⁴⁰ Her next hostess for a night is Fanny Krieser, who is still totally upset. Fanny has just written to her daughter Erna: “We are all in great sorrow ... God grant that there have now been enough victims.”²⁴¹

Laura Popper’s days are hectic. On one occasion, when she is feeling exhausted and looking for a taxi without a swastika, the drivers grin at her. Can they guess her fate? One driver opens the door of his taxi and asks, “Gestapo?” Laura Popper ignores the question, gets in and tells the driver to take her to the head office of the railway company, which is where the Gestapo is housed. For a few anxious moments she thinks the driver is going to take her to the river again but he pulls up at the side entrance to the Gestapo building. When will Julius finally be released? A Gestapo officer answers drily, “I don’t know and if I did I wouldn’t tell you.”²⁴²

Time and again Laura Popper goes to the Gestapo to ask – always in vain. On the brink of a nervous breakdown, she has to organise everything for the Poppers’ flight. Packing all the furniture completely overtaxes her; she feels her

²³⁸ The NSKK group of Rudolf Mayerbrucker took part in the crimes at Villa Kappelsberger.

²³⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Brief Laura Popper (gekürzte Abschrift).

²⁴⁰ Schwarz’s home was raided by members of the SA-Eisenbahner Sturm, Smetana’s by unknown SA or NSKK men.

²⁴¹ Fanny Krieser an ihre Tochter Erna in Florenz, 13.11.1938. (Postkarte in Familienbesitz Levin, Kopie im Jüdischen Museum Hohenems.) Vgl. Niko Hofinger, „Es ist, Ernerl, sehr traurig. Ich werde fast krank dies alles mit ansehen zu müssen.“ Die Entrechtung und Vertreibung Innsbrucker Juden ab 1938, erzählt in den Briefen der Frauen der Familie Krieser, in Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 370–399.

²⁴² Brief Laura Popper, 18.11.1938, in: Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943 (rückübersetzt).

weak heart. She has no time to cook, eats very little, neglects her personal hygiene and sleeps in her clothes.

Finally, after a week of anxious waiting and hoping, Julius Popper is released from 'protective custody'. He looks weak and unkempt and, like his wife, suffers from rheumatism brought on by hypothermia. On 18 November 1938, Laura Popper writes a letter to her sons Siegfried and Robert and sparingly relates of their terrible experiences of the past few days. Because of the censorship, the letter has to be smuggled across the border and posted by a friend in Italy.

A little later Laura and Julius Popper move to Vienna and flee to London six months after that. The Poppers are now safe, but they die in 1943 and 1944. They do not live to see the end of the war.

“Every minute I thought they were going to kill me.”

The brutal assault on Helene and Fritz Rosenstein

Raid on the apartment²⁴³

A hit squad, presumably consisting of SA men, has instructions to attack the Rosenstein family at no. 4 Schillerstrasse. The front door is locked, but the group is able to enter the building, apparently without damaging the door.

The 28-year-old Fritz Rosenstein, who is employed by the Grätzer & Seidl distillery until the pogrom, and his 53-year-old widowed mother, Helene Rosenstein née Schreiber, are in the apartment on the upper ground floor. His younger brother and sisters, Erich, Erna and Jenny, are not there.

Just before half past two in the morning, Helene und Fritz Rosenstein are woken by a loud clamour. Helene Rosenstein asks her son to see what the matter is. Through the broken glass of the upper panel, Fritz can see several men trying to break open the door to the apartment with iron bars and wooden poles. A few seconds later, while he is trying to calm his mother in the dining room, the door flies open and about ten men rush into the apartment. Fritz knows Marschik²⁴⁴, who lives in the vicinity. He is “holding a rubber truncheon and giving orders”.²⁴⁵ Fritz Rosenstein is interrogated and questioned about the whereabouts of his 20-year-old brother, who travelled to Palestine some time ago.

When Fritz Rosenstein tries to shield his mother from the intruders, he is throttled, “knocked down with rubber truncheons, wooden clubs, knuckledusters and iron objects”²⁴⁶ and then assaulted “with kicks”²⁴⁷. The memory fills him with dread, “Every minute I thought they were going to kill me.”²⁴⁸ He lies dazed. When Helene Rosenstein manages to open the window and shout for help, she too is throttled and knocked over. Two others residents of 4 Schillerstrasse, Frau Ghedina and her daughter, try to protect them and speak to the men – to no avail.

When Fritz Rosenstein regains consciousness, he and his mother are forced out of the house with further blows and dragged along Schillerstrasse. Lying in the middle of the road, Fritz and Helene Rosenstein are throttled again and beaten “like dogs”²⁴⁹. In the meantime other men have joined in. Fritz Rosenstein counts thirty people including “several boys I knew”.²⁵⁰ A veritable crowd

²⁴³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 u. 25.1.1947. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 122f. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Bericht 29.9.1947; Aussagen Anna Neumann, 20.9.1947 u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁴⁴ Rosenstein doesn't mention the first name: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschriften Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 u. 25.1.1947.

²⁴⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁴⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁴⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁴⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁴⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946.

²⁵⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

gathers. Neighbours standing at their windows witness the crime.²⁵¹ After being kicked in the head and stomach, Fritz Rosenstein can no longer stand up and loses consciousness. His mother lies whimpering a few metres away from him.

Abduction of Helene Rosenstein²⁵²

Three or four men²⁵³ drag Helene Rosenstein, who is still putting up some resistance, further down the street. Near the head office of the railway company, or perhaps in Goethestrasse already,²⁵⁴ they meet some SA men from the Haller squad, who are just returning from the River Sill in their car, where they have pushed the Popper couple into the water. Helene Rosenstein's captors wave to the driver Josef Schäffer and indicate that he should stop. Schäffer turns the car round and parks at the kerb.

A few SA men get out of the car. Helene Rosenstein is handed over and forced into the car. Theodor Haller stands on the running board and tells Schäffer to return to the confluence of the rivers Sill and Inn. In her condition, she is bound to drown. But after they have set off, Schäffer changes the route and heads for the Reichenau district. In the Reichenau fields, about 50 meters behind the old chapel at the 'Amraser Heimstätten',²⁵⁵ Schäffer stops the car. Helene Rosenstein cries and begs for her life. But Theodor Haller forces her to get out, pulls her away from the car and gives her a violent push from behind. The SA men now consider their job done and drive back to the city centre. Helene Rosenstein falls in a field and remains lying on the ground dressed only in her nightgown. She has lost a shoe.

Hospital, 'protective custody', flight²⁵⁶

In the morning Helene Rosenstein is found in the field in Reichenau. On the orders of Dr. Wilhelm Ludwig she is taken to the hospital one day later, on 11

²⁵¹ So for example Johanna Oxanitsch: AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 145-148', Bericht 8.1.1946.

²⁵² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschriften Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 u. 25.1.1947. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979) 122f. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Berichte 17.9.1946 u. 29.9.1947; Aussagen Theodor Haller 21.8.1946, 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 15.9.1947 (Hauptverhandlung), Josef Schäffer 20.8.1946, 27.8.1946, 4.10.1946, 15.9.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung), Anna Neumann 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Theodor Haller u. Josef Schäffer 14.7.1947; Urteil Haller u. Schäffer 14.10.1947. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁵³ Their identities aren't clear. It could be members of the group, who attacked the Rosensteins, but it could also be members of the SA group Haller.

²⁵⁴ So Josef Schäffer.

²⁵⁵ Probably the area at the end of Gumpfstraße.

²⁵⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch, 9.1.1939, in: Ernst Oppenheim, To remember me by. First crusade through Holocaust. Facts, fragments, lore and legends (Cambridge 2000), 217. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 122 f. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschriften Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 und 25.1.1947; Aussagen Albert Lutz 9.1.1947 u. 19.5.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussagen Josef Schäffer 20.8.1946, 27.8.1946, 4.10.1946, 15.9.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Berichte 17.9.1946 u. 29.9.1947; Anklage Theodor Haller u. Josef Schäffer 14.7.1947; Aussagen Anna Neumann 20.9.1947 u. 14.10.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Urteil Haller u. Schäffer 14.10.1947. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

November 1938,²⁵⁷. The diagnosis: “Diffuse haematomas of the face and neck, particularly pronounced above the left eye and near the left corner of the mouth.”²⁵⁸

Immediately after the raid, Fritz Rosenstein is carried to another car amid threats and more physical abuse and taken to Gestapo headquarters in the nearby railway company office building at no. 8 Bienerstrasse. There he has to stand against the wall with other arrested Jews. When Gestapo officer Albert Lutz, who has known him since childhood from playing football, sees Fritz Rosenstein, he accuses him of anti-National Socialist propaganda.²⁵⁹ Although Rosenstein can no longer stand straight and falls several times, he is forced to stand up with his face to the wall and has his head banged against the wall until he collapses again and remains lying on the floor covered in blood.

Then Fritz Rosenstein is transferred to the police jail. He is placed in a cell which already contains several Jews in ‘protective custody’. Some of them are more seriously injured. Shortly after Rosenstein, Julius Popper arrives in soaking wet clothes.

Next morning Fritz Rosenstein is interrogated in the presence of the Gestapo and, like all the prisoners, examined by a doctor. Although “neck, head, upper body and legs are (...) bruised and lacerated”,²⁶⁰ and in the course of the assaults he has suffered “injuries from strangulation, blows, punches and kicks and has broken teeth and bleeding wounds all over the body, arms, legs, feet and hands”²⁶¹, he receives no medical attention. The result of the medical screening: “No-one injured”.²⁶² Fritz Rosenstein has to spend eight days without a straw mattress, sleeping on hard wood. “It was only thanks to my physical fitness from doing sport that I was fortunate enough not to suffer more serious harm.”²⁶³ He is not interrogated, but they threaten to send him to Dachau. Secretly the prisoners in ‘protective custody’ receive letters that have been smuggled into the jail. That is how they learn of the death of Ing. Richard Berger and Ing. Richard Graubart. There is no news of Helene Rosenstein, and Fritz Rosenstein thinks she must be dead.

Only after two weeks, when his injuries are no longer so obvious, is Fritz Rosenstein released from jail. On his release, on 24 November 1938, he has to pay a daily charge for “protective custody against Communist attack” and sign a declaration that he will not engage in counterpropaganda. He must leave Innsbruck within three days and never tell anyone what has happened to him.

On his return to the ground floor apartment at no. 4 Schillerstrasse, Fritz Rosenstein discovers that the “dining room furnishings, sideboard, tables and

²⁵⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Bericht 29.9.1947.

²⁵⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Bericht 29.9.1947.

²⁵⁹ So Rosenstein. Lutz confirms the meeting, but only wants to have greeted him.

²⁶⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946.

²⁶¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁶² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁶³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946.

chairs have been smashed and the packed crates broken open” and various “objects stolen”.²⁶⁴

Helene Rosenstein is apparently discharged from hospital on 14 November, although she continues to receive treatment for some time after that.²⁶⁵ Soon after her son’s release,²⁶⁶ they travel to Vienna to stay with her daughter Jenny. On 20 December 1938 Fritz, Jenny and her husband succeed in fleeing to Belgium via Aachen with the help of illegal German border guides – today they would be called ‘human traffickers’ – to whom they have to pay “large sums of money”.²⁶⁷

Fritz Rosenstein works as a painter and in 1940 flees to northern France, where he is arrested and interned. He escapes with the help of an Austrian Wehrmacht soldier but is repeatedly forced to go into hiding. Following the liberation of Belgium, he works for some time as an interpreter and interrogates National Socialists and war criminals. He settles in Belgium and finally finds employment in a large textile company. He gives a detailed description of the events in the night of the pogrom in two letters he writes.²⁶⁸

Helene Rosenstein manages to reach England, where she works as a cook. In 1940 she travels on a visa to Bolivia to be with her daughter Jenny. Helene Rosenstein later moves to Arizona in the United States, where she dies in 1968.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 25.1.1947.

²⁶⁵ According to Fritz Rosenstein, his mother has been in hospital longer: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946. According to Anna Schulhof, Helene Rosenstein - as Anna learned from hearsay - had a broken foot. The medical findings speak against this: TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Schulhof 2.11.1945.

²⁶⁶ According to the ‘Meldezettel’ Fritz Rosenblatt from December 5–10, 1938, is still registered with Adolf Neumann at Andreas-Hofer-Straße 29.

²⁶⁷ Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 123.

²⁶⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Abschrift Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 u. 25.1.1947.

²⁶⁹ See also Schreiben Jenny Rosenstein, verh. Handel, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 124 f.

“God grant that there have now been enough victims.”

The fate of the Krieser family²⁷⁰

In September 1938, the Gestapo summons Julius Krieser-Eiberschütz, together with other heads of Jewish families, and instructs him to prepare to emigrate “as soon as possible”. He is told that his “presence in the Tyrol and also in the German Reich” is “undesirable”.²⁷¹ The 59-year-old used to run a clothes store at no. 4 Erlenstrasse.

In the night of 9 November 1938 Julius Krieser, his wife Fanny née Kleinmann and their 24-year-old daughter Käthe, a dressmaker’s assistant, are still in Innsbruck. At five o’clock in the morning a desperate Fanny Krieser stands in the open window of their apartment at no. 27 Bienerstrasse. Fanny’s husband Julius has been picked up by the Gestapo and is in ‘protective custody’.²⁷² Before that one of the many hit squads of the SA and NSKK had raided the family home.²⁷³ Fanny is screaming from the window. She can be heard from afar. It does not take long for a crowd of onlookers to gather in front of the house, which stands opposite the Gestapo headquarters. After some time, two officers rush to the Krieser family apartment and temporarily arrest Fanny and Käthe.

On 13 November 1938, Fanny Krieser writes to her daughter Erna, Käthe's twin sister, in Florence: We “all feel great sorrow. I must spare you and myself the details. God grant that there have now been enough victims.”²⁷⁴ On the night of 14 November, her friend Laura Popper, whose husband is still in ‘protective custody’, sleeps in the Krieser apartment.

The Krieser family spend the next few weeks clearing their apartment. Fanny writes to her daughter Erna, “You can’t imagine all the things that need to be done; it’s nerve-racking. I’m selling a lot of stuff (...) I can’t sleep at night, I’m so nervous. I get up at half past four in the morning. On 10 December we have to be out of the apartment. Then we’re going to Vienna, and from there we hope to be able to emigrate as quickly as possible. Käthe has got her name down for Palestine.”²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: „Es ist, Ernerl, sehr traurig. Ich werde fast krank dies alles mit ansehen zu müssen.“ Die Entrechtung und Vertreibung Innsbrucker Juden ab 1938, erzählt in den privaten Briefen der Frauen der Familie Krieser, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 370–399. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch, 9.1.1939, in: Oppenheim, To remember me by, 217. TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 852/47, Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein 13.5.1946 und 25.1.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1745/47, Bericht des SD-Unterabschnittes Tirol 19.9.1938. Compare Michael Guggenberger, Unbekannte Täter im Novemberpogrom in Innsbruck, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck (Innsbruck-Wien 2016), 365. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁷¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1745/47, Bericht des SD-Unterabschnittes Tirol 19.9.1938. Compare Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 444.

²⁷² This is what Laura Popper and Fritz Rosenstein report.

²⁷³ All Jews who are still registered in Innsbruck are on the address lists of the action groups and are therefore potential victims. If one of them is not attacked during the pogrom, this does not correspond to the instruction and intention.

²⁷⁴ Schreiben Fanny Krieser an ihre Tochter Erna in Florenz (Innsbruck, 13.11.1938; family property Levin, copy in the im Jüdische Museum Hohenems). Compare Niko Hofinger, „Es ist, Ernerl, sehr traurig. Ich werde fast krank dies alles mit ansehen zu müssen.“ Die Entrechtung und Vertreibung Innsbrucker Juden ab 1938, erzählt in den privaten Briefen der Frauen der Familie Krieser, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 388.

²⁷⁵ Family property Levin (Copy in the Jüdische Museum Hohenems), Schreiben Fanny Krieser an ihre Tochter Erna in Florenz (Innsbruck, 13.11.1938). Compare Niko Hofinger, „Es ist, Ernerl, sehr traurig. Ich werde fast krank dies alles mit ansehen zu müssen.“ Die Entrechtung

In mid-December 1938 Julius, Fanny and Käthe have to leave Innsbruck. Käthe Krieser marries Otto Grünhut in Vienna in 1941. In the same year the two are sent to the Litzmannstadt/Lodz ghetto. Her parents Fanny and Julius Krieser are deported to Auschwitz in 1942 and perish there. Käthe also dies; only Erna Krieser survives.

und Vertreibung Innsbrucker Juden ab 1938, erzählt in den privaten Briefen der Frauen der Familie Krieser, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 389.

We “have the murderer of Herr vom Rath to thank”.

Unwelcome visit for the Link family²⁷⁶

In the night of 9 November 1938, Helene Link and her housekeeper Viktoria Kuen are sleeping in the apartment on the second floor of no. 24 Erzherzog-Eugen-Strasse. Helene Link née Stössel is the 59-year-old widow of the regional Rabbi for Tyrol and Vorarlberg Dr. Josef Link, who died in 1932. After midnight, they are woken by a loud noise. A group of SA or NSKK men have just forced their way into the building.

Viktoria Kuen peers through the peephole of the door to the apartment but she cannot see anyone. Someone is blocking the peephole from the outside, and the men tell her to immediately open the door. They are hammering on the door and kicking it and threaten to break it down. But the housekeeper decides to call the police. Just as she is about to make the call on the hallway telephone, the door flies open. About five young men in civilian clothes with black boots and coats enter the apartment and demand to talk to Helene Link’s 33-year-old son, the lawyer Dr. Ernst Link. The housekeeper explains that he and his sister have long since left Innsbruck. Ernst Link, who used to live with his wife in the Müllerstrasse, left Innsbruck following the forced closure and aryanisation of his lawyer’s office in July and is now in Palestine. The 30-year-old daughter Irene, a doctor, lives in Vienna, where her husband is arrested on the day of the November pogrom.²⁷⁷

One of the intruders grabs the telephone from Viktoria Kuen and tries to rip out the wire, but one of the others prevents him from doing so in the belief that the housekeeper has already contacted the police.

The men search the whole apartment and criticise the alleged disorder. – Helene Link and Viktoria Kuen are living with their suitcases packed. – One of them throws Helene Link’s prayer books around and damages them. The two women are not subjected to physical abuse, probably because Viktoria Kuen is from an old local family and known to the men.²⁷⁸ On leaving, the vandals tell Helene Link and Viktoria Kuen that they “have the murderer of Herr vom Rath to thank” for the visit, i.e. 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan, who shot the German diplomat in the embassy in Paris two days earlier.²⁷⁹ Then the unknown men run off. So they are probably from the SA and not the NSKK, the National Socialist Motor Corps.

²⁷⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3470/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 4.7.1947. Schreiben Ernst Link, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 110. Ingrid Böhler, *Der ‚Landesrabbiner‘. Dr. Josef Link und seine Familie*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 42–45. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁷⁷ Schreiben Irene Hitchman geb. Link, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 111.

²⁷⁸ Ingrid Böhler, *Der ‚Landesrabbiner‘. Dr. Josef Link und seine Familie*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 42.

²⁷⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946.

Helene Link becomes a proud Israeli²⁸⁰

On 24 November 1938 Helene Link is forced to move to Vienna. She is obliged to dismiss her housekeeper Fräulein Kuen after eleven years of loyal service. She would have liked Viktoria Kuen to join her in Vienna, but that is wishful thinking. Despite all the difficulties, Helene Link receives an exit permit in December and emigrates via Trieste to Palestine, arriving at the home of her son before Christmas. In 1942 she travels to the United States, to her daughter Irene, and remains there for reasons of health. Helene Link dies in the USA in 1962 “a proud Israeli”²⁸¹. Viktoria Kuen, the former housekeeper, keeps in touch with the family all her life.

²⁸⁰ Schreiben Ernst Link u. Irene Hitchman geb. Link, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 110f. BioDat. (Most of this database is also available at: www.hohenemsgenealogie.at).

²⁸¹ Irene Hitchman geb. Link, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 111.

Raid on Alice Smetana²⁸²

Viktoria Kuen, the long-standing housekeeper of Dr. Link in Erzherzog-Eugen-Strasse, reports another attack during the night in Saggen (a district of Innsbruck): Thugs also force their way into the apartment of “the Jewish family Smetana at no. 15 Goethestrasse”²⁸³. The only person in the apartment is the 63-year-old widow Alice Smetana née Hohenberg, whose younger son Paul moved to Bozen immediately after the Anschluss in March 1938. Her elder son Hans lived in the immediate vicinity at no. 20 Erzherzog-Eugen-Strasse until 1938 with his wife Alice née Lustig and their two-year-old daughter Judith, but the young family apparently had to give up their apartment before the November pogrom. For a few weeks, until 1 November 1938, Hans was officially living with his mother. We do not know where he, his wife and his daughter spend the night of 9 November.

In Alice Smetana’s apartment at no. 15 Goethestrasse, the intruders damage the telephone. No further details of the raid are known. But Vinzenz Stauder, a member of the Mayerbrucker group of NSKK men, and two of his comrades are outside her house in the night – allegedly to check on the “Jewish family” from the street because he was “friends with those people”. He says he “didn’t notice anything.”²⁸⁴

After the raid Alice Smetana does not remain in Innsbruck for long. On 13 November, she takes in Laura Popper for the night, as her husband Julius is still in ‘protective custody’.²⁸⁵ Soon afterwards Alice – like her son Hans and his family – flees to Palestine via Switzerland. Paul Smetana emigrates from Italy to Australia. Alice Smetana dies in 1947. A few years later, in 1951, Hans Smetana returns to Innsbruck with his wife Alice and their daughter Judith. After the death of her parents Judith returns to Israel, where she works as a nurse.

²⁸² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946. Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 149f. Vgl. Michael Guggenberger, *Unbekannte Täter im Novemberpogrom in Innsbruck*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck* (Innsbruck-Wien 2016), 363–365. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁸³ TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Viktoria Kuen 3.1.1946.

²⁸⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Vinzenz Stauder 29.4.1946 (compare Aussage 25.6.1946).

²⁸⁵ Laura Popper, *Brief an ihre Söhne*, 18.11.1938 (englische Übersetzung), in: Leo Baeck Institute. *Austrian Memories* by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. Compare Michael Guggenberger, „Die Stimmung der SA-Leute war etwas freudig aufgeregt“. Das grausame Vorgehen gegen Julius und Laura Popper, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. *Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols* (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 361–370.

“Get a stone!”

Murder of Ing. Richard Berger²⁸⁶

Preparations

On 9 November 1938, Walter Hopfgartner, adjutant of the Wipp and Stubai Valleys SS Group, is promoted to the rank of Untersturmführer in the framework of a ceremony held in front of the Stadttheater on the Adolf-Hitler-Platz. The ceremony is in memory of the dead of the failed Nazi coup in November 1923. Then he and other selected SS men appear in civilian dress at the SS regimental headquarters located in the high-rise building in the Salurner Strasse. His comrade SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Gerhard Lausegger, a newly graduated lawyer and member of the Suevia student fraternity, is summoned to the office of SS-Oberführer Johann Feil. While Dr. Lausegger is discussing the upcoming operations against the Jews with various leaders, Hopfgartner and others wait for orders in the corridor for about half an hour.

Dr. Gerhard Lausegger is entrusted by Oberführer Feil with the task of quietly and inconspicuously “eliminating” Ing. Richard Berger, head of the region’s Jewish Community as atonement for Herschel Grynszpan’s fatal shooting of Ernst vom Rath, a German diplomat working at the embassy in Paris.²⁸⁷ He is expressly forbidden to use a gun. Immediately after the meeting, Dr. Lausegger forms a hit squad made up of reliable SS men, including Walter Hopfgartner and SS-Oberscharführer Dr. Robert Duy, a medical doctor.²⁸⁸ The group probably consists of a total of six²⁸⁹ persons.

Lausegger and his men leave the headquarters at the same time as the other SS squads and get into a large car that has been put at their disposal. The driver and presumably owner of the car is probably the SS man Ernst Mayr, chairman of the Tyrolean Insurance Agencies and treasurer of the Rotary Club.²⁹⁰

As soon as Lausegger gives the address of Ing. Berger, the driver takes the fastest route via the Maria-Theresien-Strasse to no. 13 Anichstrasse and parks his car right in front of the building. The 53-year-old Richard Berger, a senior official of the Federal Railways, lives on the third floor. For decades he has

²⁸⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussagen Maria Reindl 18.2.1946 u. 14.8.1946, Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946), Gerhard Lausegger 1.6.1946, Dr. Robert Duy 17.6.1946; Bericht 20.3.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussagen Walter Hopfgartner 4.4.1950, 11.5.1950, 19.6.1950, 20.9.1950 (Hauptverhandlung) u. 13.4.1951 (Hv.); Anklage Walter Hopfgartner 29.6.1950; Urteil Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950; Urteil Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951. See also Wolfgang Plat, Die Ermordung Richard Bergers, in: Wolfgang Plat (Hg.), Voll Leben und voll Tod ist diese Erde. Bilder aus der Geschichte des Jüdischen Österreicher (Wien 1988), 266f. And: www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

²⁸⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Haftbefehl Dr. Robert Duy 12.8.1958.

²⁸⁸ Rumours have it that the 'Obersturmführer Weichert' and the postal employee and SS member Johann Oppitz, killed in 1942, are also there (Weichert according to TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Abschrift Antwortschreiben Margarete Berger an OStA LG Duisburg, 24.11.1961; Oppitz according to TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Bericht 13.10.1945.)

²⁸⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951 (Hauptverhandlung). The decision of the party court mentions five people, presumably the chauffeur is not taken into account: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Beschluss des Sonderensatzes des Obersten Parteigerichts 9.2.1939.

²⁹⁰ So TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Karl Bator 7.8.1945, Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945, Gottfried Andreus 23.8.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Bericht 13.10.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Abschrift Antwortschreiben Margarete Berger an OStA LG Duisburg 24.11.1961. – Ernst Mayr, also called 'Versicherungs-Mayr', was killed in war in 1942.

worked with great personal commitment for Innsbruck's Jewish Community, including as president of the local Zionist chapter. In June 1938 he succeeded Julius Pasch as head of the Jewish Community. With him in the apartment is his 49-year-old wife Margarete Berger aka Grete née Weiss, owner of a children's wear shop in the Anichstrasse until it was aryanised. Their two sons have already left Innsbruck. 18-year-old Fritz emigrated to London in August and 21-year-old Walter, leader of the Zionist youth organisation Maccabi Hazair, fled to Palestine in September. But there is a third person in the apartment, namely Maria Reindl, who until recently was employed as their cook.

In the evening Richard and his wife were debating with relatives about possible consequences of the murder of Rath. Ing. Berger thinks that he himself is safe,²⁹¹ because the Gestapo has asked him to postpone his intended departure to Palestine, as he is still urgently needed in his role as representative of the Jewish Community in Innsbruck.²⁹²

Abduction

At about half past two in the morning,²⁹³ Dr. Gerhard Lausegger and his SS men loudly ring the front door bell. Richard Berger wakes up with a start, puts his slippers on and opens one of the windows overlooking the street. He sees several people standing by a parked car and asks them what they want. The SS men say they are from the Gestapo, and Berger, who has had frequent dealings with the Secret State Police in recent months, throws them the key to the door. All the men, with the possible exception of the driver, dash up to the third floor. Berger opens the door to his apartment in his pyjamas and lets them in. At the sight of one of the alleged Gestapo officials, an "unusually tall, strong man (...) who looks like a butcher", probably Dr. Gerhard Lausegger himself, Grete Berger immediately feels "very afraid".²⁹⁴ Maria Reindl remembers "five or six men, all wearing overcoats".²⁹⁵ The cook is immediately sent back to her room and told to stay there.²⁹⁶ An officer of the SS Security Service apparently arrives unannounced with one or two men to search the apartment.²⁹⁷

Meanwhile Walter Hopfgartner positions himself in the corridor near the apartment door, while Dr. Lausegger tells Ing. Richard Berger he is arrested and must accompany him to the Gestapo headquarters for questioning. A man "of small stature"²⁹⁸ verbally abuses Berger and his wife Grete. She has to give

²⁹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer geb. Slatkes 13.9.1945.

²⁹² Remembrance of Elisabeth Wolf (Anichstraße 13, 2nd floor), who talked to Mrs. Berger: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Bericht 20.3.1946.

²⁹³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussagen Maria Reindl 18.2.1946, 14.8.1946, Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946).

²⁹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946).

²⁹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Maria Reindl 18.2.1946.

²⁹⁶ The room door is slammed shut. But the men don't make noise like other groups. Anna Lechtaler, who lives next door to her flat, doesn't even wake up to the whole action, as she says herself. (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Bericht 20.3.1946.)

²⁹⁷ So Lausegger. That would explain why Grete Berger remembers more men, eight to ten. Reindl apparently doesn't see the other men anymore.

²⁹⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946).

information about their two sons Walter and Fritz, who have already left country.

With his suspicions now aroused, Ing. Berger goes to the telephone in the corridor to check with the Gestapo. Lausegger takes the telephone out of his hand. He says there is no need for a telephone call and that he should hurry; he only needs to slip into a coat. Berger gets his winter coat and puts his shoes on. After about a quarter of an hour, Lausegger and his SS men leave the apartment with their victim Ing. Richard Berger. He seems calm and gets into the car without putting up any resistance. Walter Hopfgartner and another SS man sit next to the driver, while Ing. Berger sits in the back between three men, including Dr. Gerhard Lausegger, Dr. Robert Duy and possibly an officer of the Security Service.²⁹⁹ Lausegger orders the driver to head for University Bridge. Grete Berger sees the car drive down Anichstrasse towards the hospital.

On the University Bridge, Dr. Lausegger tells the driver to continue in the direction of Höttinger Au and Kranebitten. Richard Berger is alarmed; the Gestapo summons was obviously just an excuse to lure him out of the apartment. For a short time his captors are trying to reassure him, but in the Kranebitter Allee Berger finally starts to put up a struggle. Robert Duy and Gerhard Lausegger³⁰⁰ need all their strength to hold him down in the back seat. Lausegger gives the order, "No guns!".³⁰¹ The car continues at high speed, between 70 and 80 kph, in the direction of Kranebitten, an outer suburb of Innsbruck. Lausegger finally tells the driver to pull over and stop in an uninhabited area just three kilometres west of Kranebitten, where the road runs parallel to the Inn just above the river bank. Walter Hopfgartner remembers, "Although it was now to be expected that Berger would be murdered, no one protested."³⁰²

Murder

Dr. Lausegger tells Ing. Richard Berger to get out of the car, but Berger refuses and has to be dragged out. A struggle ensues. Lausegger, Duy and Hopfgartner hold him tight, while an SS man hits Berger on the head with his pistol. Then Dr. Lausegger orders the men to hold Ing. Berger by his arms and drag him a few metres up a slight slope to some bushes away from the road. Walter Hopfgartner grabs Berger by the back of his coat and hits and pushes him. In mortal fear Berger resists with all his strength, desperately trying to tear himself away. But Lausegger grabs him from the front and together the SS men pull and push him over backwards. They kneel on him, especially Lausegger, grab him by the shoulders, hold his mouth shut and hit him repeatedly with a longish object, probably the butt of a pistol.³⁰³ When Ing. Berger starts groaning

²⁹⁹ Duy remembers an SD men who had stayed with them since then.

³⁰⁰ So Hopfgartner.

³⁰¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁰² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Urteil Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950.

³⁰³ According to Lausegger it is Hopfgartner. But Hopfgartner denies it.

in pain, Dr. Lausegger says, "Get a stone!"³⁰⁴ Berger calls for help but is hit several times on the head with the stone³⁰⁵ until he makes only inarticulate sounds. It would be easier to shoot him, Walter Hopfgartner thinks. With his last ounce of strength, Ing. Richard Berger begs for his life. Then he lies quite still. His skull has been smashed. "He's finished,"³⁰⁶ says one of the perpetrators.

As Hans Aichinger claims to have learned afterwards, Lausegger and Hopfgartner are the actual murderers.³⁰⁷ After the war, Hopfgartner will justify his involvement in the crime as follows: "I could hardly refuse to participate; I was a full-time employee of the party and on the same evening had sworn the oath 'My Honour is Loyalty'."³⁰⁸

Dr. Gerhard Lausegger orders Ing. Berger's body to be dragged back to the road and thrown into the river. He instructs Walter Hopfgartner to climb down the four to five meter embankment to the Inn and make sure that the body lands in the water. When the men throw the lifeless body, it brushes Hopfgartner's shoulder, lands face down in the river and is taken by the current.

From the road, the perpetrators watch the body drift away and begin an excited discussion. "He's floating,"³⁰⁹ says Dr. Robert Duy. Another claims that that is impossible. To be on the safe side, Duy takes his pistol and fires two shots at Berger from a distance of 20 to 30 meters. Lausegger rebukes him. On their way back to Innsbruck, the SS men discuss Duy's unnecessary shots.

Dr. Gerhard Lausegger reports the mission accomplished to Oberführer Johann Feil: Ing. Berger has been "bumped off"³¹⁰. In the meantime Dr. Robert Duy is washing the blood off his coat in the toilet at the SS headquarters. After some time, Lausegger rejoins his group and orders them never to speak of the matter. Then they disperse. Lausegger goes to no. 11 Maria-Theresien-Strasse, where he lives with his brother Otto. He does not tell him anything. Later the ludicrous rumour circulates that 'the Jew' was allowed to swim across the River Inn accompanied by peals of laughter.³¹¹

³⁰⁴ Or, "Give me a stone!" TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951 (Hauptverhandlung). Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950 (Hv.).

³⁰⁵ Who strikes with the stone is not known.

³⁰⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Urteil Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950. – Or "Berger's broken (,kaputt') now!" (TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 744/50, Anklage Walter Hopfgartner 29.6.1950.)

³⁰⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945. Both, of course, deny this. Lausegger blames Hopfgartner, who in turn tends to blame his leader. According to Hilliges, Hopfgartner played a particularly active, leading role alongside Lausegger: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Werner Hilliges 13.6.1946.

³⁰⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁰⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950 (Hauptverhandlung).

³¹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Walter Hopfgartner 13.4.1951 (Hauptverhandlung).

³¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Karl Bator 7.8.1945.

Follow-up.³¹² ***House searches and investigations***

Soon after Lausegger's SS group leave no. 4 Anichstrasse with their victim, Else Wohlgemuth – a Jewish woman employed as a domestic help by Trude and Ing. Josef Adler across the road at no. 5 Anichstrasse – calls at the Bergers' apartment. She tells Grete Berger and Maria Reindl about the robbery at the house of Ing. Adler and his paralysis. Maria Reindl goes over with Else Wohlgemuth to see what has happened for herself.

On her return, she is stopped outside the Bergers' front door by four unknown men. They are going up to the third floor to pick up Ing. Richard Berger – for his own protection, as they put it.³¹³ They must be some of the Gestapo officers who have been instructed to inspect the victims' homes after the raids in Innsbruck and take the male Jews into 'protective custody'.³¹⁴ The officers are surprised to hear that Richard Berger has already been taken and search the apartment.

When Maria Reindl is about to go to work at half past seven in the morning, men from the Security Service (SD) conduct a search of the apartment. They open Ing. Berger's desk, look through his papers and confiscate "files and documents" relating to the Jewish Community, including "a post office savings book in the name of Singer"³¹⁵ with about 30 to 40 Reichsmarks in it.³¹⁶

Grete Berger still assumes that her husband is being questioned by the Gestapo or – like many other Innsbruck Jews – is in 'protective custody'. So she goes to the police station on the Bozner Platz, where she asks 'Dr. Mayer' for information. He tells her to ask the Chief of Police, SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Adolf Franzelin. The latter leafs through a list, says that he knows nothing about the arrest of her husband and sends her to the Regional Court, where she again receives no information. Grete Berger then calls Josef Möisinger, a Gestapo officer who has often had dealings with her husband in his capacity as head of the Jewish Community.³¹⁷ She says he must have some information about her husband's whereabouts: It surely can't be a murder case? The officer is indignant that she should even ask such a question.

³¹² Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussagen Adolf Bauer 7.8.1945, Maria Reindl, 18.2.1946, 14.8.1946, Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946); Erinnerungsprotokoll Krim. Rev. Insp. Prader 26.10.1945; Niederschrift Maria Reindl 20.3.1946; Berichte 13.10.1945 u. 20.3.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Erinnerungsprotokoll Karl Wischatta 24.7.1945, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 24.10.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 415/46, Aussage Herbert Mannlicher 9.4.1949. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussagen Walter Hopfgartner 11.5.1950, 19.6.1950, 20.9.1950 (Hauptverhandlung), 13.4.1951 (Hv.); Urteile Walter Hopfgartner 20.9.1950 u. 13.4.1951. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Schreiben Frederick Benson 15.2.1961 (Abschrift). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³¹³ So Maria Reindl.

³¹⁴ Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Josef Stecher 24.5.1950.

³¹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946).

Probably one of this group admires the apartment, behaves remarkably friendly and emphasizes that he would like to take over the flat. But if Mrs. Berger wants to stay here for some time, he naturally leaves a room for her. This is probably a certain Max Treichl. Rosa Ließ, washerwoman with director Viktor Czermak on the second floor, observes by chance from the stairwell how a small, fat, stocky man opens the apartment door of the Bergers from the inside to let someone in. She is quite sure that it is Treichl who, weeks later, actually takes over the apartment at his written request, even though Aryanization Commissar Duxneuner had also made an effort to do so. Of course, Treichl denies having been in the house on November 10th. On taking over the apartment, he buys a kitchen gas stove and a hanging lamp from Mrs. Berger. (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussagen Rosa Ließ 18.2.1946, Viktor Czermak 14.8.1946.)

³¹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Josef Möisinger 24.5.1950.

The Gestapo is now also making inquiries. The owner of the building at no. 13 Anichstrasse, Director Viktor Czermak, is questioned on the subject of Ing. Berger. But he has heard nothing about Berger's disappearance.³¹⁸ Neighbours³¹⁹ and relatives ask Grete Berger about her husband. Franziska Bauer offers to help find Richard. She herself has been spared in the night, presumably because her husband Hans Bauer is 'Aryan'.

The body is found

In the afternoon of 10 November, Adolf Bauer happens to be walking with his dog and collecting firewood on the left bank of the Inn near Kranebitten. The dog leads him to Berger's body. Bauer calls the police from the Gasthaus Kranebitten. He tells them the body of a man has been washed up on a sandbank about a kilometre or a fifteen-minute walk from the inn. At about half past four, a policeman from the Hötting police station arrives on the scene. When the news reaches the Criminal Police Department in Innsbruck, Dr. Herbert Mannlicher – head of the Capital Crime Department – sets off for the location of the find accompanied by his photographer and another officer.

Just before half past six Adolf Bauer and the detectives meet about 500 metres beyond Gasthaus Kranebitten. From there, Bauer leads them to where he found the body: From the road, they take a woodland path leading to the left bank of the Inn and then continue a short distance upstream. In a bay in the river bank, the body of Ing. Richard Berger is lying on a sandbank. It is almost completely submerged; only the feet are out of the water. The body is lying face down, with the head pointing in the direction of Innsbruck. The men wade through the shallow water and pull the body to the bank. Dr. Walter Krauland of the Institute of Forensic Medicine, who has apparently now joined them, notes a deep depression at the back of the head. There is only slight damage to the skin but the skull itself has multiple fractures caused by blows delivered with a blunt object. There is also grazing on the bridge of the nose.

Adolf Bauer, who used to work as a detective himself, realises at once that they are looking at the victim of a violent crime. When he says so, the policemen react with great reserve. One of them tells him he should be careful about what he says and that it is clearly not a case of murder but of suicide. Dr. Herbert Mannlicher is actually of the same opinion as Bauer but he does not say so because he suspects there is a connection with last night's disturbances. He has learned his lessons from his criminal investigations into the murders of Ing. Richard Graubart and Dr. Wilhelm Bauer, which he had to discontinue on the orders of the Gestapo.

In the coat on the body, the officers find a wallet with a photo ID of Ing. Berger. Some negative remarks are made about him. When Adolf Bauer again

³¹⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Viktor Czermak 14.8.1946.

³¹⁹ Among them Anna Lechtaler from the same floor and Elisabeth Wolf from the second floor, who had already noticed men and a car in front of the house during the night.

questions the suicide theory, one of the officers says Berger may have jumped off a bridge and landed on his head. Adolf Bauer's personal details are noted. He is subsequently called in for questioning several times by the Gestapo and asked about his political views and about Richard Berger. The officers threaten him with deportation to Dachau if he says a word about the find, and Bauer has to sign a declaration to that effect.

While Dr. Mannlicher and his officers are still recording the facts of the case, a shot is fired on the left bank of the Inn. The bullet passes over their heads.³²⁰ Who could have fired the mysterious shot and whether it is related to the murder remains a mystery. Since it is getting dark, the police finish their work on the river bank. On the instructions of Dr. Mannlicher, Richard Berger's body is taken to the Institute of Forensic Medicine in a hearse belonging to Winkler Funeral Directors. The driver is Johann Strasser – as in the case of Ing. Graubart and Dr. Bauer.³²¹

When Berger's corpse is brought into the dissection room, Gestapo officers are already there. Between Berger's coat and his pyjamas a bullet is found. Before the clothes can be removed from the body, the Gestapo officers intervene and prevent the autopsy from taking place.³²² No file on the case is created at the Institute of Forensic Medicine.

Bad news, flight and the search for the perpetrators

On 11 November 1938 Margarete Berger is summoned to the Gestapo offices and informed of her husband's murder by Werner Hilliges in the presence of Josef Möisinger³²³ and a third officer by the name of Hantel. She is stunned. Hilliges offers a cynical comment: The anger of the people has passed judgement. Grete Berger points out that the addresses of the Jewish victims were in the hands of the Gestapo. Hilliges warns her not to engage in propaganda and threatens to have her pension withdrawn.³²⁴

On the advice of Dr. Helmut Scharfetter, Director of the Psychiatric Clinic, Grete Berger reports the murder to Dr. Siegfried Hohenleitner at the beginning of December, although she knows him to be an anti-Semite. Hohenleitner does not even take notes; he simply says that the case has nothing to do with him.³²⁵

Johann Strasser of Winkler Funeral Directors transports the corpse of Ing. Richard Berger to Munich for cremation.³²⁶ Grete Berger receives her husband's

³²⁰ So Dr. Mannlicher.

³²¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Johann Strasser 26.2.1946.

³²² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Amtsvermerk über Mitteilung Dr. Krauland 12.5.1950. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Amtsvermerk Volksgericht Innsbruck 12.5.1950. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Bericht Dr. Karl Meixner 8.9.1945.

³²³ Möisinger states that he, if at all, only happened to be there by chance, since his and Hantel's room was near that of Hilliges: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Josef Möisinger 24.5.1950.

³²⁴ A few days later, in her apartment in Anichstraße, Frau Berger repeats her suspicion that the Gestapo was behind this to the official Möisinger, who asks her whether she wants to put him in connection with the crime. Mrs. Bauer does not answer this question.

³²⁵ Siegfried Hohenleitner, then a single judge in criminal cases, is not formally responsible for capital crimes, he may have journal service or Mrs. Berger knows him personally. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Margarete Berger Mai/Juni 1946 (Bericht 6.7.1946).

³²⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Johann Strasser 26.2.1946. Sadtarchiv (StA) Innsbruck, Gewerbe 1938/17, Akt 19369, Totenschau-Befund. – StA Innsbruck, Sanität 1938/Akt 358, Antrag auf Ausstellung eines Leichenpasses zwecks Einäscherung in München.

wet clothes from the Gestapo. She remains in Innsbruck in her apartment until around New Year, although she often stays with her sister Trude Adler at no. 5 Anichstrasse.³²⁷ She probably leaves Innsbruck when her brother-in-law Ing. Josef Adler is transferred to Vienna for surgery. After the death of her brother-in-law in early February 1939, Grete Berger flees via London to Palestine to live with her son Walter Jaacov Berger. In October 1939 she has her husband's ashes interred in Benjamina.³²⁸

In 1946, Fritz Berger, now serving as a lieutenant in the British Army under the name of Frederic Richard Benson, starts searching for his father's murderers in Austria. He manages to discover "the names of the culprits within two weeks"³²⁹. From 1 to 2 June 1946, Dr. Gerhard Lausegger, who is interned in Wolfsberg in Carinthia, is interrogated by Frederic Benson. After hours of persistent denial, Lausegger finally confesses his leading role in the murder of Frederic's father Richard Berger.

Like his brother Walter Jaacov Berger, Frederic Benson never speaks to his family about his life in Innsbruck. When asked about it, he remains silent and "a strange expression always comes across his face, as if he were diving".³³⁰ Nor does Grete Berger ever tell her grandchildren anything about those days.³³¹ In Innsbruck a street has been named in memory of her husband Ing. Richard Berger.

³²⁷ So Maria Reindl.

³²⁸ The Palestine Post, 20.10.1939, 2. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Abschrift Schreiben Frederick Benson 15.2.1961.

³²⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Abschrift Schreiben Frederick Benson 19.11.1961.

³³⁰ So his nephew Joram Berger according to Gerda Hofreiter, „In Zeiten der Demütigung aufrecht gehen und zusammenhalten.“ Oberbaurat Ing. Richard Berger, 1885 bis 1938, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol. Vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart (Innsbruck-Wien 2012), 294.

³³¹ See Gerda Hofreiter, „In Zeiten der Demütigung aufrecht gehen und zusammenhalten.“ Oberbaurat Ing. Richard Berger, 1885 bis 1938, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol. Vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart (Innsbruck-Wien 2012), 279–301.

“My husband, a sick man, collapsed and was paralysed.”³³²

Sheer brutality against Ing. Josef Adler and Stefan Bauer and their families

***First stop Anichstrasse*³³³**

After the late-night speech given by Standartenführer Johann Mathoi in the SA building at 10 Bürgerstrasse, Sturmführer Heinrich Huber is finally handed a slip of paper, which has apparently been torn from a list. There are at least five addresses on it. To get his men in the SA Railway group organised, Huber gives the order, “N. A. 2 line up!”³³⁴. Huber takes a look at his list and says, “Right, now we’re off, starting with the Anichstrasse.”³³⁵ Without much talking, the group marches off, with Huber hurrying ahead with the list of addresses in his hand. The group includes Huber’s deputy Otto Mohr and the SA men Josef Girardi, Jakob Krimbacher, Josef Mair, Josef Perner, Richard Petermichl, Johann Schöpf, Alois Steinwendter, Alfons Ullmann and Georg Weintraut.³³⁶ On the way to the Anichstrasse, Heinrich Huber “says something about ‘boxing Jews’ ears’ or something like that”.³³⁷

The first Jew on the SA group’s hit list is apparently Ing. Richard Berger, who lives at no. 13 Anichstrasse. But there, by the Elsler bakery, they are intercepted by a group of SS men in civilian clothes. It is the murder squad assigned to Ing. Berger and led by Lausegger, who says, “Keep going. This is our business!”³³⁸

The annoyed Sturmführer Huber marches his SA men off to another address in the Anichstrasse, where they are allegedly denied access again. That is not very likely, however, as the address is probably no. 7 Anichstrasse, where Rudolf Brüll and his family are attacked twice in the course of the night (*see Raids on the Brüll families*).

³³² Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige).

³³³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Otto Mohr 13.9.1945, 9.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945, 6.11.1945, 5.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfons Steinwendter 10.10.1945; Georg Weintraut 10.10.1945, 12.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Girardi 19.10.1945, 12.3.1946, 27.6.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Johann Schöpf 13.11.1945 u. 11.2.1946; Josef Perner 15.2.1946 u. ohne Datum (Nr. 37); Richard Petermichl 16.2.1946 u. 30.4.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Richard Petermichl 28.7.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945.

³³⁴ Nachrichtensturm II = Eisenbahnersturm.

³³⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Josef Girardi 12.2.1946.

³³⁶ Besides, according to Schöpf, Mohr and Ullmann, there is a SA comrade named Aicher or Aichner with them and according to Schöpf Josef Zobl. In October 1945 Steinwendter drowned himself in the Inn the day after his confession.

³³⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Otto Mohr 9.2.1946.

³³⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945.

Murderous robbery of Ing. Josef Adler and his family³³⁹

The next address on Huber's list is no. 5 Anichstrasse, where the Adler family live. The rusty folding gate at the entrance to the building is no obstacle; it is defective. But the front door is fitted with a good detector lock. Nevertheless the SA men manage to break into the building at about half past two³⁴⁰ in the morning, probably with the help of a skeleton key.³⁴¹ Except for one or two men who stay downstairs to watch the front door, all the men go up the stairs to an apartment on the first floor where three people are currently living: 53-year-old Ing. Josef Adler, a member of the Jewish Community Council and one of the leaders of the local Zionist chapter, his 47-year-old wife Gertrude née Weiss, who is also known as Trude, and his father Isidor Adler. Felix Adler, his 18-year-old son has already fled to Palestine.

The SA men ring the bell continuously. Trude Adler wakes up and goes to the door in her nightgown but hesitates to open it. She finds the whole thing suspicious: The men are knocking so impatiently and are slightly too vehement with the order to "Open up!" Already several men, including Otto Mohr and Johann Schöpf, are trying to break down the door with their combined weight. And after a few moments the door, which has two locks and a chain in place, bursts open. A loud banging and the noise of splintering wood – as if a heavy crate were being broken open – can be heard in the whole building and wake the neighbours.

Eight to ten SA men rush into the apartment. Mohr asks Trude Adler whether she is Jewish. She is so terrified that she only answers when the question is repeated and is then immediately assaulted. In a state of great fear, Trude Adler retreats into the dark bedroom to her husband Josef.

A "horde of robbers and murderers"³⁴², four men in front and about the same number at the rear, rush after her and immediately begin hitting the couple³⁴³ "with brutal violence".³⁴⁴ Otto Mohr grabs Ing. Josef Adler, who is still wearing his pyjamas, by the shoulders. In the face of the vicious insults and

³³⁹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Otto Mohr 13.9.1945, 9.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945, 6.11.1945, 5.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfons Steinwendter 10.10.1945; Georg Weintraut 10.10.1945, 12.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Girardi 19.10.1945, 12.3.1946, 27.6.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Johann Schöpf 13.11.1945 u. 11.2.1946; Helmut Scharfetter 4.12.1945 (Brief) u. 17.7.1946; Florian u. Ida Nennung 12.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Perner 15.2.1946 u. ohne Datum (Nr. 37); Richard Petermichl 16.2.1946 u. 30.4.1946; Else Wohlgemut 26.3.1946; Johann Höllwarth 28.5.1946 u. 27.6.1946; Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige); Walter Köllensperger 17.7.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Richard Petermichl 28.7.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Maria Reindl 14.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Josef Stecher 24.5.1950. DÖW E 18451, Schreiben Gertrude Adler an IKG 17.2.1961, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 461. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Gertrude Adler 21.11.1961. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁴⁰ So Gertrude Adler.

³⁴¹ Ullmann has a lock pick with him.

³⁴² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige).

³⁴³ Trude Adler suspects that truncheons were also used: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige).

³⁴⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige).

indiscriminate blows, the two victims recoil further and further until they finally fall backwards onto the bed where they continue to be beaten with undiminished brutality. Josef and Trude Adler put up no resistance. Trude merely shouts and keeps protesting that her husband is a sick man. Mohr puts his hand over her mouth and hits her repeatedly in the face with his fist. Later he will claim, “I was very excited and my heart was pounding because I really didn’t know what we were supposed to do with the Jews.”³⁴⁵

Josef Adler has been suffering from a brain tumour for a year but up to now he has felt relatively well. Johann Schöpf and other SA men continue to hit him on the head. He tries to get up from the bed but his attackers keep pushing him back down until he finally falls out of bed and remains lying on the floor paralysed. Trude Adler also receives blows to various parts of the body. Some of the furniture is also demolished. Heinrich Huber, the leader of the group, allegedly only gives instructions during the attack.³⁴⁶

When 79-year-old Isidor Adler comes out of the adjoining room and into the corridor in his nightgown, Johann Schöpf strikes him in the face. The old man falls. Otto Mohr³⁴⁷ then delivers a series of kicks. Isidor Adler remains lying on the floor in a daze. Then two men³⁴⁸ again hit Ing. Josef Adler in the face. That at the latest is when one of his teeth is knocked out. Someone steals his gold watch from the bedside table.

All the noise has finally woken up the hearing-impaired caretaker Florian Nanning. Together with his wife Ida he waits in the stairwell until the operation is over.

When the men leave the house after about ten minutes, making a great racket, Florian and Ida Nanning venture down to the Adler family on the first floor. The door and door frame have been ruined. The handle is broken off, some of the woodwork damaged and the lock torn off. Undaunted, Ida Nanning confronts the intruders in the manner of a traditional janitor, “And just how did you get in?”

“We opened the door for ourselves!”, says one of the men and then snarls at the two of them, “And you can go to the devil!”³⁴⁹ So the caretaker and his wife withdraw for the time being. In high spirits, the SA men move on to the next address, making fun of their victims with malicious glee as they go. There are still two or three more addresses on Huber’s slip of paper.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Otto Mohr 9.2.1946.

³⁴⁶ Apart from Mohr and Schöpf, none of the participants admits to personal abuse, but Weintraut takes it from a conversation between the men immediately after the attack that Huber was involved, too.

³⁴⁷ So Petermichl.

³⁴⁸ It is likely to be the rearguard of the SA group Huber.

³⁴⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Ida Nanning 12.2.1946.

³⁵⁰ So Huber.

Maria-Theresien-Strasse and Adamgasse

While Heinrich Huber and some of his SA men apparently continue straight to the Adamgasse, Alfons Ullmann, Josef Girardi and others make a detour to Bauer & Schwarz, the department store at no. 33 Maria-Theresien-Strasse, where they assault other individuals and do more damage.³⁵¹

In the meantime Heinrich Huber and the SA men accompanying him have reached no. 18 Adamgasse. Since the front door is open, they immediately go up to an apartment door and ring the bell. Nobody opens. An elderly gentleman appears at the corridor window, and Huber asks for the person whose name is on his slip of paper. He is presumably enquiring after Berta Brüh widow of Steiner née Leibl. But she died in March 1938.³⁵² So Heinrich Huber and his SA men head for Fischer-Strasse and the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse, where they again meet up with Ullmann, Girardi and others.³⁵³

Brute violence against Flora and Stefan Bauer³⁵⁴

On the first floor of no. 40 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse live the 67-year-old widow Flora Bauer née Gold, her 44-year-old son Stefan, co-heir of his father's – now aryanised – drapery business by the name of Julius Bauer & Co., and their cook Marianne Jedinger. As the front door is locked, Josef Girardi and Josef Mair go to the back of the building to see if they can get in there. Alfons Ullmann, on the other hand, has no difficulty with the lock; he has a skeleton key. It is between three and four o'clock in the morning.³⁵⁵

The SA men go up to the first floor, where they ring the bell and knock on the door of the Bauers' apartment. Stefan Bauer opens the door wearing pyjamas

³⁵¹ See Text Maria-Theresien-Straße. – According to Girardi, Krimbacher and Mair are also there. At the latest in front of the house other men join them. According to Ullmann there are many people on the street, mainly SA men. The group division got mixed up as a result. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Girardi 19.10.1945, 12.3.1946, 27.6.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Karl Schäffer 11.3.1946; Johann Höllwarth 28.5.1946 u. 27.6.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945. Bericht Ilse Mikkelson geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81f, 133.

³⁵² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Otto Mohr 13.9.1945, 9.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945, 6.11.1945, 5.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Johann Schöpf 13.11.1945 u. 11.2.1946; Josef Perner 15.2.1946 u. ohne Datum (Nr. 37); Richard Petermichl 16.2.1946 u. 30.4.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁵³ Following Huber's somewhat contradictory statements, it cannot be ruled out that, on their way there, they stop by the wine shop Hermann in Leopoldstrasse, where the SA group Waidacher/Mathoi is making a devastation.

³⁵⁴ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Otto Mohr 13.9.1945, 9.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945, 6.11.1945, 5.2.1946, 16.5.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Georg Weintraut 10.10.1945, 12.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Girardi 19.10.1945, 12.3.1946, 27.6.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Johann Schöpf 13.11.1945 u. 11.2.1946; Maria Bliem 8.1.1946; Hermine Tomasi 12.2.1946; Emma Schröppel 26.3.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁵⁵ So Hermine Tomasi.

and a dressing gown. “Are you a Jew?”³⁵⁶ he is asked. Stefan Bauer says he is and adds that he is also a war veteran. He is immediately hit, and Otto Mohr, Alfons Ullmann and others shout and shove and slap him as they force him back into his room. Stefan Bauer stumbles and lands on the bed. “Help! Police!”³⁵⁷ he calls in despair. But the men continue to beat him until he falls off the bed and slides onto the floor. One of his attackers has hit him on the head with a metal object. The radio is also lying on the floor and the cupboard door has been kicked in. The men now turn the bed over and demolish it. Stefan Bauer finishes up lying under the bed and either plays dead or is unconscious. Only then do the men desist.

Heinrich Huber and Josef Girardi have meanwhile rushed into another room and find Flora Bauer in her bed. They shine a torch in her face and ask her whether she is Jewish. They insult her. When Flora Bauer screams with terror, Huber throws a glass of water at her face. The glass breaks and injures her. Flora Bauer nevertheless tries to remain quiet in the hope that they will then leave her alone. The cook Marianne Jedinger is hiding in her room.

After five to ten minutes, the attackers go downstairs and leave the building together.³⁵⁸ Perhaps they first disable the telephone.

The SA men are convinced that they have now done their duty³⁵⁹. Heinrich Huber dismisses his group with the remark, “It’s over,”³⁶⁰ and destroys the slip of paper with the addresses on it.

Speaking of his ‘heroic deeds’ a few days later, Girardi regrets that, in the heat of the moment, he forgot ‘Leibl the Jew’ at no 14 Leopoldstrasse,³⁶¹ with whom he has a personal score to settle.³⁶²

The death of Ing. Josef Adler and the fate of his family³⁶³

When the caretakers Florian and Ida Nenning enter the Adlers’ apartment after the attack, they find a despairing Trude Adler. Her face is disfigured and the backs of her hands lacerated. Josef Adler is lying on the floor by the bed: left cheek and neck covered with blood, his upper lip and left hip are also swollen, one incisor missing in his upper jaw and two other teeth loose. Ing. Adler is not

³⁵⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Georg Weintraut 12.10.1945.

³⁵⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Alfons Ullmann 4.2.1946.

³⁵⁸ The neighbour Mrs. Marhold from the second floor, who secretly looks out of the window onto the street, observes a larger group leaving the house.

³⁵⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Heinrich Huber 8.10.1945.

³⁶⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Johann Schöpf 11.2.1946.

³⁶¹ Either Abraham Leibl or his son Arthur. However, Arthur was already admitted to the police prison on 28 November 1938 and transferred to Vienna.

³⁶² It's about rent disputes. Girardi reports this to railway employee Johann Höllwart.

³⁶³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Helmut Scharfetter 4.12.1945 (Brief) u. 17.7.1946; Florian u. Ida Nenning 12.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Else Wohlgemut 26.3.1946; Gertrude Adler 30.5.1946 (schriftliche Anzeige); Walter Köllensperger 17.7.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2366/46, Aussage Maria Reindl 14.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 744/50, Aussage Josef Stecher 24.5.1950. DÖW E 18451, Schreiben Gertrude Adler an IKG 17.2.1961, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934-1945. Eine Dokumentation, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 461. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Aussage Gertrude Adler 21.11.1961. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

able to stand up; he cannot move his left arm and leg. The beating has caused paralysis on his left side. Florian Nennung lifts him into bed. Trembling all over, Josef Adler begs them not to leave him alone.

Isidor Adler shows them the many bruises on his face and body and tells them about the attack. Florian Nennung goes to the nearest police station³⁶⁴ to report the crime. But the officer on duty sends him away, “as if he already knew all about it”.³⁶⁵ The police will not be coming. Nennung spends the rest of the night with Josef Adler.

While it is still dark, three Gestapo officers check the apartment. They want to take Ing. Josef Adler and his elderly father Isidor into ‘protective custody’, but finally decide not to do so because of their poor physical condition.

Early in the morning Elsa Wohlgemut née Löwy, who helps the Adler family with the housework, receives a message in her apartment in the Kiebachgasse. When she arrives at no. 5 Anichstrasse at 6 a.m. Isidor and Josef Adler are lying in their beds. Trude Adler tells her about the attack. A doctor is called. When Dr. Helmut Scharfetter arrives, Trude and her father-in-law pace the apartment anxious and restless. Dr. Scharfetter immediately has his patient Ing. Josef Adler admitted to the neurological department of the hospital. He also refers Trude Adler to his colleague Dr. Walter Köllensperger for further treatment.

Strictly speaking, Trude, who is suffering from concussion, should go to hospital, too, but she prefers to stay in the apartment with her father-in-law. Dr. Köllensperger calls on her every day to check her progress. Trude and Isidor Adler spend a whole week in bed. And for about ten days after that, Trude hardly ever leaves the apartment, she only goes out to shop for essentials and to visit her husband in hospital. As his condition does not improve even after two months in the neurological clinic, the only solution is surgery, and Ing. Josef Adler is transferred to Vienna for that purpose. His wife accompanies him. In the course of the operation in the Rothschild Hospital, Dr. Schönbauer finds a tuberculous brain tumour, which he cannot remove. Ing. Adler dies on 23 January 1939. The physical abuse he was subjected to in the night of the pogrom can be said to have indirectly caused his death and thus shortened his life.

Trude Adler manages to leave Vienna for London at the end of August 1939. Her father-in-law Isidor Adler dies in 1942 at the age of 82 shortly after being deported from Vienna to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp. Even after the war, Trude continues to suffer from anxiety, headaches and attacks of dizziness. She returns to Innsbruck in 1950, where she remains until her death in 1966.

³⁶⁴ 1. Revier.

³⁶⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Florian Nennung 12.2.1946.

Follow-up Flora and Stefan Bauer³⁶⁶

Hermine Tomasi, who lives below the Bauers on the ground floor, is woken by the loud noise from the apartment above. She thinks Stefan Bauer may have gone crazy and asks her husband to check. Viktor Tomasi takes his time. When he goes upstairs, the door to the Bauers' apartment is closed and everything seems to be quiet again. At all events, he tells his wife there is nothing going on there (anymore).

Meanwhile the injured Stefan Bauer frees himself from his predicament under the remains of the bed and looks to his mother. Then he tries to reach his brother Wilhelm Bauer in his apartment at no. 5 Gänsbacherstrasse but is not successful "because the telephone wasn't working".³⁶⁷ He does not yet know that his brother is dying. Someone, presumably the cook Marianne Jedinger, bandages Stefan Bauer's head. Towards seven o'clock in the morning, Hermine Tomasi goes to check on the situation in her neighbours' devastated apartment herself. Stefan Bauer is wearing a very bloody turban-like bandage. Flora Bauer is lying in bed, her left eye puffy, her face scratched. Flora is very agitated and explains how she was attacked and assaulted by two men. She shows her neighbour the injuries to her arm, too. It is swollen, with cuts or scratches. There are still pieces of broken glass on the floor of the room.

In the afternoon Emma Schröppel, who occasionally helps out with the housework, arrives for work as a matter of routine. Flora Bauer tells her, "They tried to kill us last night."³⁶⁸

Stefan Bauer has meanwhile removed the huge bandage. Emma Schröppel sees the open wounds on his head. In the course of the day he learns of the murder of his brother. Their mother Flora has to spend eight days³⁶⁹ in bed. She leaves Innsbruck one month after the pogrom and moves to Vienna together with her son. Stefan Bauer manages to escape to New Zealand on 6 March 1939. In August 1942 his mother is deported, first to Theresienstadt and a few weeks later to Minsk/Maly Trostinec Concentration Camp, where she soon dies. Stefan Bauer, who changes his surname to Bower, remains in New Zealand until his death in 1976.

³⁶⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Maria Bliem 8.1.1946; Hermine Tomasi 12.2.1946; Emma Schröppel 26.3.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁶⁷ It is not clear whether this refers to Stefan Bauer's own telephone set. In any case, Wilhelm Bauer's telephone was already destroyed.

³⁶⁸ Flora Bauer according to TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Aussage Emma Schröppel 26.3.1946.

³⁶⁹ So Schröppel.

“You just wait if we don’t find him there!”

The search for Wilhelm Adler and the assault on Ing. Artur Spindel³⁷⁰

Several Jewish families are registered as living in the building of the Bauer & Schwarz department store at Maria-Theresien-Strasse 33. On the second floor live 50-year-old Ing. Artur Spindel, a former engineer employed at the head office of the Austro-Hungarian Railways and until June 1938 proprietor of the Tiroler Bauarbeiten Ges.m.b.H., and his wife, 38-year-old Martha, née Schwarz, a children’s nurse. In the apartment are also their two children Susi and Alexander, who are six and three years old respectively, and Martha’s mother Ida Schwarz née Hartmann, a former partner at Bauer & Schwarz. The only people in Wilhelm Adler’s family apartment on the third floor are Alice Adler née Bauer and her 21-year-old daughter Ilse. The apartment on the fourth floor is empty, because Ernst Schwarz has been in prison since 16 October for his involvement in a resistance movement.³⁷¹

At about three o'clock in the morning, some men ring the bell on the gate in front of the store and wake up the caretaker Karl Schäffer. As soon as he unlocks the gate, at least eight of the men, including SA-Scharführer Alfons Ullmann and the SA man Josef Girardi, push past him.³⁷² They run up the stairs to the second floor and demand admission to the Spindels’ apartment. The caretaker hears them shouting “Open up!” As the door is not opened immediately, the men break it down. Schäffer hears cries and desperate calls for help and goes up to see what is happening, but one of the men is guarding the door to the apartment and refuses to let him pass. In the meantime, Artur Spindel is being beaten in his bedroom, the apartment devastated and furniture damaged.

Then the SA men ring the bell of the Adler family. Ilse Adler opens the door. Eight to ten men, with their hands in their trouser pockets, enter the hall. Some of them immediately proceed to the bedroom to Ilse’s 59-year-old mother Alice, who sits up in bed trembling and as pale as death. They want to know whether there are any male Jews in the apartment and demand revenge for the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath, who has died from his wounds after being shot by Herschel Grynszpan in Paris. The intruders say that all Jews must now leave Innsbruck as soon as possible. Ilse Adler assures them that they are already packing and will be leaving soon and indicates the large crates standing in the apartment.

³⁷⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussagen Alfons Ullmann 8.10.1945, 4.2.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Josef Girardi 19.10.1945, 12.3.1946, 27.6.1946 u. 14.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Karl Schäffer 11.3.1946; Johann Höllwarth 28.5.1946 u. 27.6.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussagen Karl Oberforcher 3.5.1946, 28.6.1946 u. 9.10.1946; Bericht, 25.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 10.8.1946. Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81f, 133. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁷¹ Indication of the floors according to caretaker Karl Schäffer.

³⁷² According to Girardi, Jakob Krimbacher and Josef Mair are also there. Krimbacher was particularly raging. At the latest in front of the Bauer & Schwarz house, other men join them. Maybe they are people from a second group of Nachrichtensturm II described by Huber. According to Ullmann there are many people on the street, mainly SA-men. The group division got mixed up.

The SA men force Ilse and Alice Adler into the bathroom, and Alfons Ullmann locks the door, leaving the key in the lock. The men briefly check the apartment, searching for “gold, which all Jews have”.³⁷³ They do not find anything and decide to cut the Jewish women's hair off, but they cannot find a pair of scissors.

Then the men run down the stairs, shouting and laughing, and leave the building. The caretaker Karl Schäffer locks the gate behind them. A little later the bell is again rung loud and long. A second group of men tell the caretaker to immediately open the gate and threaten to shoot. In vain Schäffer points out that a squad has already been there. At least eight NSKK men,³⁷⁴ including Ing. Dr. Richard Dagostin, Konrad Saumweber and presumably Alois Hochrainer, enter the building while others wait outside. Again Karl Schäffer hears shouts from the apartment of the Spindel family. Saumweber observes Dagostin striking someone.³⁷⁵ In all probability his victim is again Ing. Artur Spindel.

The second group also goes up to the third floor. They have been informed by the others that Ilse and Alice Adler are locked in the bathroom.³⁷⁶ They let the two women out and ask after Wilhelm Adler. Ilse tells them that her father is currently living with her married sister Magda Schwarz at Falkstrasse 18. “You just wait if we don’t find him there!”³⁷⁷ With that threat the men leave, rushing past the protesting caretaker.

Follow up³⁷⁸

Ilse Adler immediately calls her sister Magda Schwarz in the Falkstrasse, where her father Wilhelm Adler is living, but is unable to reach anyone. The telephone there has been smashed.

The caretaker Karl Schäffer finds Ing. Artur Spindel in his bedroom. He is in his nightgown, lying in a pool of blood moaning. His face is also smeared with blood. His wife Martha is calling for help. A lot of the furniture has been broken and the mattresses slit open, and various items are lying on the floor. Ida Schwarz and the children Susanna and Alexander are terrified but unharmed.

On the third floor Alice Adler tells the caretaker that they got off lightly. Ernst Schwarz’s empty apartment on the fourth floor is apparently untouched.³⁷⁹

³⁷³ Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81.

³⁷⁴ NSKK-Männer der Gruppe bzw der Gruppen Mayerbrucker-Hochrainer und Dagostin.

³⁷⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945.

³⁷⁶ So Ullmann, who left the key on the door.

³⁷⁷ Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81.

³⁷⁸ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Bericht 7.11.1945; Aussage Karl Schäffer 11.3.1946; Anklage Heinrich Huber, Otto Mohr, Josef Girardi, Johann Schöpf, Alfons Ullmann u. Georg Weintraut 16.8.1946; Urteil Huber, Mohr, Girardi, Schöpf, Ullmann u. Weintraut 15.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 529/46, Bericht 10.11.1945. Bericht Ilse Mikkelsen geb. Adler, in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 81–83. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁷⁹ So Schäffer.

Later that night, Gestapo officials enter the building and order Ing. Artur Spindel to come with them. Frau Spindel is in despair: Artur belongs in a hospital, not a jail. But the officers ignore her and take him with them.

In the morning of 10 November, Ilse Adler rushes off to visit her sister Magda Schwarz in Saggen, where she meets her father Wilhelm Adler, who is unharmed. He managed to escape over the balcony.³⁸⁰ Ilse then goes round the corner to Karl Bauer's apartment at no. 4 Gänsbacherstrasse and sees the bed in which her uncle was almost killed.

Ing. Artur Spindel remains in 'protective custody' until 19 November 1938. On the day after his release he has to move to Vienna with his wife and their two children Susanna and Alexander. Ilse Adler also goes to Vienna with her father soon after the pogrom. Her mother is permitted to remain in Innsbruck a little longer so that she can dispose of the apartment. Ilse reaches England by a roundabout route in 1939. Her parents Wilhelm and Alice Adler do not survive; they are deported to Riga in 1941.

The Spindel family manage to flee to Palestine at the beginning of 1939. Ida Schwarz, Martha Spindel's mother, spends one and half weeks in Munich at the end of November and then stays two nights in Innsbruck in the apartment of Martin Steiner at the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse 3 before traveling to Vienna on 10 December 1938. In 1939 she flees to Brazil to be with her daughter Anni, who is married to Hans Holzmeister, a brother of the architect Clemens Holzmeister. She returns to Innsbruck in 1951.

³⁸⁰ See attack at Falkstraße 18 by the Mayerbrucker group.

“Today we’re going to clobber the Jews. You must do your bit.”

Ephraim Dimand and other victims of an SA hit squad³⁸¹

At the late-night roll call in the SA headquarters at no. 10 Bürgerstrasse, Brigadeführer Vinzenz Waidacher orders Obersturmführer Karl Stanzel to assemble a squad, “Today we’re going to clobber the Jews. You must do your bit.”³⁸² They must be given “a proper drubbing”.³⁸³ Stanzel receives a slip of paper with about eight addresses on it. Among them are those of Bernhard Dimand (Innrain), Ephraim Dimand³⁸⁴ (Adamgasse), Brüll (Anichstrasse) and Baum (Herzog-Friedrich-Strasse).

The SA group consists of about nine men³⁸⁵, including Karl Stanzel, Hans Rosenbaum, Richard Dietrich, Alfred Gnesetti, Anton Haupt and Oswald Mark, and possibly also Gottfried Hess³⁸⁶, Josef Kern³⁸⁷ and an SA man by the name of Schwarzer³⁸⁸. Some of them express their intention to use violence.³⁸⁹

Karl Stanzel allegedly assigns some of the SA men to Truppführer Hans Rosenbaum and sends them ahead. In any event, Haupt³⁹⁰ and Dietrich say their leader was Hans Rosenbaum. From the accounts of several group members, however, it appears that Rosenbaum and Stanzel take action together at several addresses,³⁹¹ although Karl Stanzel certainly has overall command.³⁹²

***The search for Bernhard Dimand*³⁹³**

Stanzel, Rosenbaum and their men first walk the short distance from Bürgerstrasse to no. 57 Innrain, where they hope to find the businessman Bernhard Dimand. The door to the building is locked. Since Anton Haupt and

³⁸¹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947; Urteil Stanzel 15.12.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946; Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung). – TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Anton Haupt 28.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁸² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Karl Stanzel 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁸³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947.

³⁸⁴ Also Diamand or Diamant.

³⁸⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947.

³⁸⁶ AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46. Bericht 27.2.1946.

³⁸⁷ So Haupt. Kern bestreitet seine Teilnahme: AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46. Bericht 27.2.1946.

³⁸⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁸⁹ So Gnesetti.

³⁹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Anton Haupt 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁹¹ It is noticeable that Stanzel clearly corrected the group size in his last statement (about 14 men upwards), an obvious way with the intention to be able to give another argument for the alleged division of his group: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Karl Stanzel 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung).

³⁹² Alfred Gnesetti describes Karl Stanzel not only as his own, but also as Hans Rosenbaum's leader. This should also be the truth, because as a troop leader Rosenbaum is clearly subordinated to him hierarchically. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947.

³⁹³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46 mit Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anton Haupt 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947; Urteil Stanzel 15.12.1947. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

Richard Dietrich have gone to the trouble of obtaining tools for unlocking and forcing open doors from the locksmith Alois Stefan in Hötting, they have no difficulty in getting into the building: Haupt takes a crowbar and, with the help of others, quickly forces the locked door.

They do not find Dimand, who was registered here until 2 November 1938. They learn from neighbours that he and his wife have recently moved.³⁹⁴ Stanzel's SA squad proceeds to no. 7 Anichstrasse.

Attack on Rudolf and Julie Brüll and planned raids in Heiliggeiststrasse and Müllerstrasse³⁹⁵

Rudolf Brüll admits the SA men to his apartment at no. 7 Anichstrasse. They inflict serious physical harm on him and his wife (see Raids on the Brüll Family). Karl Stanzel then sets off to raid a Jew in the Müllerstrasse, but when they get there someone standing at a window allegedly tells them that their quarry no longer lies there.³⁹⁶ Stanzel and his SA squad therefore move on to the Dubsy company at no. 2 Heiliggeiststrasse, but here again it seems that they leave without achieving anything because another hit squad got there before them. They now move on to the next address on their list, which is in the Adamgasse.

Assault on Ephraim and Mina Dimand³⁹⁷

Both Stanzel and Rosenbaum arrive at no. 9 Adamgasse with their groups of SA men. As the door is allegedly unlocked, they are able to go up to the third floor.

The bell is repeatedly rung and the elderly Ephraim Dimand, a frail man who was born in 1865, opens the door in his nightgown and is "immediately knocked down".³⁹⁸ That is the work of Richard Dietrich and Oswald Mark. Dietrich later claims he merely gave Dimand "a box on the ear".

Karl Stanzel asks Dimand where his son Bernhard is. On the night of the pogrom, however, Bernhard Dimand is in the Kappelsberger villa.³⁹⁹ Bernhard and his father ran the Kühne clothes store until 1938.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴ He now lives in Tempelstrasse and is mistreated by an NSKK group.

³⁹⁵ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46 mit Aussagen Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945, 8.4.1946 u. 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anton Haupt 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946; Urteil Haupt, Dietrich u. Gnesetti 20.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Anton Haupt 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947; Urteil Stanzel 15.12.1947.

³⁹⁶ So Gnesetti.

³⁹⁷ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46 mit Bericht 15.1.1946; Aussagen Anton Haupt 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946; Urteil Haupt, Dietrich u. Gnesetti 20.08.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anton Haupt 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947; Urteil Stanzel 15.12.1947. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

³⁹⁸ So Richard Dietrich: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Bericht 15.1.1946.

³⁹⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Bericht 15.1.1946.

⁴⁰⁰ Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 44–46.

Some SA men go into the bedroom where Ephraim's 65-year-old wife Mina Dimand née Arnold is lying in bed. One of them rips off the covers and punches her in the chest. She also receives blows to the face.⁴⁰¹ A bedside table and possibly also other items of furniture are smashed.

Apparently there are two more women in the apartment,⁴⁰² possibly the Dimands' two daughters Klara and Auguste. The 34-year-old Auguste, who used to live with her husband at 32 Defreggerstrasse,⁴⁰³ was arrested on 28 October but has probably been released in the meantime. There is no evidence to suggest that her elder sister Klara, who has a 10-year-old son by the name of Felix, was also harmed.

When Ephraim Dimand tries to help his wife Mina, he is seized, pulled away from her and thrown into the stairwell. Anton Haupt hits him on the back with a length of wood and then several times on the head with such violence that the wood breaks and blood runs down Dimand's face. In this state, he is punched and pushed all the way down the stairs. One of his attackers calls to Ephraim Dimand, "Just get out of here, you Jewish swine!"⁴⁰⁴ As if that were not enough brutality and inhumanity, Haupt then delivers one or more kicks outside the building.

Alfred Gnesetti sees a man in pyjamas, apparently Friedrich Pasch, being led up the Adamgasse.⁴⁰⁵ The SA men briefly consider throwing Dimand into the Sill, which was still an open channel in the Adamgasse in those days, but then decide against it.

'Paying a visit' to Karl Bauer⁴⁰⁶

Karl Stanzel and his SA men set off for Saggen, where Oswald Mark has an "old score" to settle. It is allegedly curiosity that drives Stanzel to 4 Gänsbacherstrasse and the home of Karl Bauer, as he claims to have heard of the brutal attack on him. When Stanzel and his men see Karl Bauer lying in bed fatally injured, they leave the villa and terminate their quest.

There is no proof that Stanzel's SA group also call at the home of the Baum family at 22 Herzog-Friedrich-Strasse during the night of the pogrom, but it is a reasonable assumption as the address is on their list. What is certain is that they do not find them: the old married couple Salomon and Mina Baum, née Preuss, and their daughter Bertha and her husband Heinrich Neumann with their daughters Regina and Ilse had to leave Innsbruck several weeks earlier.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Grete Egger geb. Caminades 7.1.1946.

⁴⁰² So Stanzel.

⁴⁰³ Her husband Jakob Komet had already fled to France in August 1938.

⁴⁰⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947.

⁴⁰⁵ Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussagen Otto Stigger 10.10.1945 u. 30.9.1947.

⁴⁰⁶ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46 mit Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946; Urteil Haupt, Dietrich u. Gnesetti 20.08.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Karl Stanzel 12.6.1947, 6.11.1947 u. 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 876/61, Aussage Liszy Bauer 3.10.1961.

⁴⁰⁷ www.hohenemsgenealogie.at. Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 32f.

Follow-up for the Dimand family⁴⁰⁸

Ephraim Dimand and his son Bernhard, who is living in the Kappelsberger villa, are taken into 'protective custody' during the night of the pogrom.⁴⁰⁹ On the morning of 10 November 1938, when the caretaker Lucia Wachberger, who lives at no. 3 Salurner Strasse, i.e. in the same building as Friedrich Pasch and his family, goes round the corner to no. 9 Adamgasse⁴¹⁰ to clean the stairs, she notices "several bloody footprints" on the floor and traces of blood on the walls.⁴¹¹

When Grete Egger, Bernhard Dimand's sister-in-law, meets his mother Mina a few days after the pogrom, the latter still has "several bruises" on her body and is "black and blue in the face".⁴¹²

Ephraim Dimand is released from 'protective custody' on 23 November 1938, two days after his son Bernhard. He and Mina are forced to move to Vienna on 21 December 1938. Their daughter Klara manages to reach France with her son Felix, where she entrusts him to the care of a French family. She herself returns to Vienna to look after her ailing parents.

Mina dies in February 1939 already in the Malzgasse transit camp. Ephraim Dimand, whose "mental responsibility" has been "impaired",⁴¹³ since the pogrom, dies three years later at Vienna's Steinhof mental hospital. Klara is deported from Vienna to Izbica in 1942 and perishes in the death camp there. Gusti Komet née Dimand, Ephraim's other daughter, is sent to Poland and falls victim to the Holocaust in the same year. Felix survives in France and founds a family of his own there.

⁴⁰⁸ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Grete Egger geb. Caminades 7.1.1946. Email Florence Diamand to Niko Hofinger 16.11.2018. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴⁰⁹ Compare also Brief Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch 9.1.1939, in: E. Oppenheim, *To remember me by: first crusade through Holocaust: facts, fragments, lore and legends* (Cambridge 2000), 217. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. *Austrian Memories* by Robert Popper, 1909–1943.

⁴¹⁰ In the report, the address 'Salurner Strasse Nr. 9' is erroneously given instead of Adamgasse 9: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Bericht 4.2.1946.

⁴¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Bericht 4.2.1946. Compare the memories of Bischof Reinhold Stecher: „I still remember my mother's impotent anger when she (...) learned what had been done to the old, almost 80-year-old Jew Diamant, who lived a few houses away (...) The roommates found traces of blood on the staircase wall.“ (according to Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibermann, *Von Innsbruck nach Israel. Der Lebensweg von Erich Weinregb / Abraham Gafni* (Innsbruck 2014), 72.

⁴¹² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Grete Egger geb. Caminades 7.1.1946.

⁴¹³ Maria-Luise Stainer, *Die Judengemeinde in Innsbruck* (Hausarbeit aus Geschichte, eingereicht bei Prof. Dr. Johann Rainer an der Universität Innsbruck, 1973), 88.

“Cowards! Attacking a defenceless woman!”

Raids on the Brüll family

*First attack on Rudolf and Julie Brüll*⁴¹⁴

The solid wooden gate at 7 Anichstrasse is locked, but that does not hold up the SA men in the Stanzel squad for long; a skeleton key is all it takes to open it. The men go straight up to the third floor and the apartment of the family of the 51-year-old carpenter and furniture manufacturer Rudolf Brüll, a son of the company's founder Michael Brüll.⁴¹⁵ Apartments on the first and second floors, where some of his eight siblings live, are apparently not on Karl Stanzel's list of addresses.

One of Stanzel's SA men, Alfred Gnesetti, allegedly does not enter the building because he is acquainted with Rudolf Brüll in his capacity as cashier of the Wiener Versicherungsanstalt (insurance company). Gnesetti used to have contact with many Innsbruck Jews, allegedly even “playing cards and chess” with them.⁴¹⁶

At about two o'clock⁴¹⁷ in the night the SA men hammer on the door to the apartment. 44-year-old Julie Brüll née Steinharter wakes up and rouses her husband. Fortunately, their 13-year-old daughter Ilse is not in the apartment; she is staying with relatives in Munich.

When the hammering does not stop, Julie and Rudolf Brüll get out of bed. Both are barefoot and wearing nightgowns. Rudolf Brüll slips into his dressing gown. Through the peephole he can only see two people in civilian clothes. The other SA men are obviously hiding so as not to arouse suspicion. When Brüll asks, “What do you want?” they reply, “Gestapo, open up!”⁴¹⁸ In good faith, Rudolf Brüll opens the door for the alleged officers, whereupon about five men enter the apartment. As soon as Brüll has revealed his identity, one of the men grabs him by the throat in a strangle hold. The SA men push him back down the corridor and up against the wall. Frau Stock, the maid, is ordered to remain in her room.

When Julie Brüll comes to the rescue of her husband and tries to get between him and his attackers, they repeatedly tread on her and her husband's bare toes. Two of the men pounce on Frau Brüll and tear her away from her husband. They punch and kick her until she faints and remains lying on the

⁴¹⁴ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46 mit Aussagen Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945, 8.4.1946 u. 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anton Haupt 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946; Urteil Haupt, Dietrich u. Gnesetti 20.8.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47 mit Aussagen Anton Haupt 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Alfred Gnesetti 15.12.1947 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Karl Stanzel 6.11.1947; Urteil Stanzel 15.12.1947. Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 41. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴¹⁵ See Sabine Pitscheider, *Der Möbelfabrikant Michael Brüll – Gründer des „Innsbrucker Etablissements für Wohnungseinrichtung“*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“*. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck-Wien 2009), 305–324.

⁴¹⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁴¹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945.

⁴¹⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 8.4.1946.

floor. Even then they punch her in her face, and one SA man treads on her hand. In great agitation, Rudolf Brüll shouts at their attackers, “Cowards! Attacking a defenceless woman!”⁴¹⁹

At that the whole gang turns on him, hitting him until he also falls. On the floor, Rudolf Brüll is savagely beaten, with the punches landing mainly on his right shoulder and back. He feels a sharp pain on the ribs. He is also struck on the head. One of the men is using a knuckleduster. Rudolf Brüll estimates that each of his assailants, including Anton Haupt, delivers six to ten punches. All that happens within minutes and without much noise at the end of the hall in front of the doors to the various rooms. Rudolf and Julie Brüll are in a state of shock and make little noise themselves. None of the intruders enter the other rooms.

As they leave, one of the attackers tells their battered victims, “That is the revenge for the murder of Rath!”⁴²⁰ When the SA men exit the building, they allegedly tell Alfred Gnesetti that it has been “a very minor affair, just old people, and they only got a punch in the face”.⁴²¹ They tell him the scream that Gnesetti says he heard from the street was only the maid getting excited.⁴²² According to police inquiries conducted after the war, however, Gnesetti was himself in the apartment. “In consideration of the obviously evasive statements made by all three perpetrators regarding the acts of physical abuse, it can be clearly deduced that all three”, Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich and Gnesetti, played “an active role in the violence”.⁴²³

Second attack on Rudolf and Julie Brüll⁴²⁴

As soon as the SA hit squad led by Stanzel leave the apartment, Rudolf Brüll – although seriously injured himself – looks to his wife, who is still lying in a daze on the floor. He helps her up and guides her into the bedroom, where she gradually comes round. One eye is severely bloodshot. Rudolf Brüll now locks the door to the apartment three times, with the key, a security lock and a safety chain. He telephones his brother Josef, who lives on the floor below, to tell him about the attack and asks him if he has had any trouble. Josef says that he has not and has not even noticed anything amiss. At all events, he and his wife Antonie are now warned against opening their door.

Rudolf Brüll feels “stabs of pain in the area of the right shoulder, chest and back”.⁴²⁵ His wife makes him a warm compress. They then go back to bed. In

⁴¹⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 8.4.1946.

⁴²⁰ On November 9, 1938, Legationsrat Ernst vom Rath, an employee of the German Embassy, succumbs in Paris to the injuries inflicted on him by 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 8.4.1946.

⁴²¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Polizeibericht 15.1.1946.

⁴²² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁴²³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Bericht 15.1.1946.

⁴²⁴ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussagen Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945, 8.4.1946, u. 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Julie Brüll 8.4.1946; Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946. Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 41. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴²⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 8.4.1946.

spite of his injuries and agitation, Rudolf Brüll quickly falls asleep from sheer exhaustion.

After about half an hour, the couple again hear violent knocking on the door of their apartment. When the noise grows louder, Rudolf Brüll goes into the hall where he sees that the door to the apartment is already working loose and the wood splintering. He runs back and discusses the situation with his wife. They decide to lock the bedroom door and the connecting door to the dining room “in order to put as many obstacles as possible in the attackers’ path.”⁴²⁶

The intruders break down the door to the apartment. The couple hear them set to work in the various rooms: In the kitchen they smash the valuable crockery that has already been packed up ready for their departure; In the dining room, they break vases, glasses, etc. They also damage the phone. Finally, the men use a heavy tool, probably a hammer or an axe, to batter the barricaded bedroom door. Julie Brüll urges her husband to escape over the balcony because she assumes that the attackers will not do anything more to her. Rudolf Brüll quietly opens the rear bedroom door and enters the kitchen unnoticed. In the light from the hallway he sees a 20-year-old man in boots waving a dagger and running into the dining room only two metres away. He looks bloodthirsty to Brüll and “so excited that he is literally foaming at the mouth”.⁴²⁷ From the kitchen Rudolf Brüll, barefooted and wearing only a nightgown, reaches the balcony undetected. From there – in spite of his injuries – he “as an old sportsman” makes “a very complicated escape (...) onto the roof”⁴²⁸.

About eight men push their way into the bedroom. Julie is surrounded and screams loudly for help at least 15 times. Someone places a hand over her mouth and orders her to be quiet. The men assure her that she will not be harmed; they only want to know where Rudolf Brüll is. Julie remains steadfast and refuses to betray her husband. She just says that he is not there. But the men do not believe her and they check the apartment, even searching the attic with a torch. In the next few minutes they keep leaving and coming back again. Julie is afraid that her husband may return too soon and be caught.

From the edge of the roof Rudolf Brüll can see three cars on the opposite side of the Anichstrasse in front of the aryanised Stiasny and Schlesinger clothes store. Some men get out of the cars and greet others. Now he realises that it is more than a raid on his apartment. He is determined that, if he is discovered, he will jump from the roof of the outbuilding two storeys into the courtyard to avoid falling into the hands of the criminals again.

The men do not find Rudolf Brüll, but on the second floor they raid the home of Rudolf Brüll’s 49-year-old brother Josef.

⁴²⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945.

⁴²⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945.

⁴²⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945.

Attack on Josef Brüll and his family⁴²⁹

At first the men simply ring the bell. But Antonie Brüll née Wasserer remains in the bedroom with her 12-year-old daughter Inge. Forewarned by her brother-in-law Rudolf Brüll, she has quietly put her clothes on again, doing so under the covers so as not to upset Inge. Her husband Josef Brüll is in a small separate room next to the kitchen, where he has been sleeping for some time so as not to inflict his cigarette smoke on his daughter, who has respiratory problems. He himself suffers from asthma.

Soon they hear “a deafening noise”⁴³⁰ from the landing. The men have knocked out one of the door panels, possibly so as to reach the lock from the inside. Antonie and Josef Brüll rush into the hall. Their daughter Inge clutches her beloved teddy bear Putschi and follows them. Josef Brüll confronts the intruders, pointing out that he was a front-line officer in the First World War, but he is immediately knocked down with a powerful blow and kicked in the face while lying on the ground. Inge sees blood trickling from his lips.

Lotte Brüll, the sister of Josef and Rudolf, also lives on the second floor, while two brothers, Franz and Felix Brüll, are officially domiciled on the first floor until 1938. It is not known whether Lotte was mistreated during the night of the pogrom. The only information available on Franz Brüll is that he was arrested, whereas his brother Felix had fled to Shanghai in August.

‘Protective custody’ and subsequent fate⁴³¹

When the hit squad has left, two men in uniform appear on the third floor. Julie Brüll recognises them as members of the SS, but they merely inspect the apartment. Rudolf Brüll leaves his hiding place behind a chimney on the edge of the roof of the outbuilding and carefully climbs back into the apartment. Through the window he can see a man speaking quietly to his wife. In the kitchen and dining room, the crockery lies smashed on the floor. Barefoot and wearing only his nightgown, Brüll reenters the apartment.

One of the men, a Gestapo officer, orders Rudolf Brüll in a north German accent to come with him. Julie points to his injuries but that does not prevent the officer from arresting her husband.

He gives Rudolf Brüll time to get dressed and then puts him in a car and drives him to the police jail. Josef Brüll is also arrested in the presence of his wife and

⁴²⁹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Bericht 15.1.1946. Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015). Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 41. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴³⁰ Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015).

⁴³¹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussagen Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945, 8.4.1946, u. 20.8.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Julie Brüll 8.4.1946; Bericht 15.1.1946; Anklage Anton Haupt, Richard Dietrich u. Alfred Gnesetti 6.5.1946. Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

daughter. When the Gestapo officers, who enter the apartment immediately after the raid, ask with feigned innocence, “What’s happened here?” Antonie Brüll replies, “You must have met the men on their way out!”⁴³² Josef Brüll is also allowed to get dressed. When Antonie Brüll tries to give her husband some clothes to take with him, one of the officers barks at her, “Don’t disturb me in the execution of official business.” To Inge he says, “You go back to bed, little girl!”⁴³³

In the cell Rudolf Brüll lies down on a bunk and temporarily loses consciousness. Later he is permitted to consult the police physician Dr. Steidl, who diagnoses broken ribs. But he is prevented from applying a bandage by another doctor, which Steidl finds outrageous. A fellow prisoner then wraps a pair of braces around Rudolf Brüll’s chest as a makeshift bandage. No proper medical assistance is given.

Julie Brüll does not call a doctor in spite of severe bruising and subsequent swelling around her left eye and other injuries to her face, arms and legs. Presumably she is afraid to do so. Her initial fear of a trauma to the cornea is fortunately unfounded, but the swelling around her eye takes weeks to subside. Although confined to bed, Julie Brüll is forced to leave the apartment within three days but she remains in Innsbruck.

Franz Brüll is released from ‘protective custody’ on 19 November, Rudolf on 21 November and Josef, whom the authorities mistakenly consider the owner of the Brüll furniture store, three days later.

Rudolf Brüll does not receive medical attention until after his release. An x-ray reveals two broken ribs and later, in Vienna, cracks in the right shoulder blade. He has also suffered grazing and the ‘usual’ marks of a beating⁴³⁴ and receives medical treatment for about four weeks.

Like his sister Lotte, Rudolf’s youngest brother Franz has to move to Vienna on 27 November 1938, from where he flees to Shanghai in March 1939, but there he is interned. Lotte manages to emigrate to Palestine.

Josef Brüll, who first considers living with his family in the country until the dangerous times in Tyrol are over, finally accepts the advice of his ‘Aryan’ wife Antonie and moves to Vienna at the end of November 1938, where he converts to Catholicism in 1939. But his health deteriorates and he dies in the General Hospital at the end of 1941. In April 1939, his daughter Inge and her cousin Ilse, who is a year older, are sent to the Netherlands in the framework of a child rescue mission organised by the Quakers. There they are accommodated in Eersel Monastery near Eindhoven. Their parents hope that this will keep the two girls safe until they can emigrate to America. The plan fails.⁴³⁵

Ilse Brüll, now 17 years old and already in possession of valid papers for America, is sent to the Westerbork transit camp on 5 August 1942 and a few

⁴³² Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015).

⁴³³ Interview with Inge Brüll, 2009, in: Hermann Weiskopf und Peter Mair, *Filmedition gegen das Vergessen* (AVG Filmproduktion, 2015).

⁴³⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Rudolf Brüll 4.12.1945.

⁴³⁵ Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 205–208.

weeks later deported to Auschwitz, where she is murdered.⁴³⁶ Her parents Julie and Rudolf Brüll wait too long to emigrate. In 1943, after attempting to flee, they are arrested in Hungary and immediately deported to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, but they survive and, like Rudolf's siblings Franz, Felix, Lotte and Elise, return to Innsbruck.

In 1949 Rudolf Brüll takes over his furniture business again and invests great energy in rebuilding the local Jewish Community, whose President he remains until his death.⁴³⁷ After the war he still suffers from severely restricted movement of the right arm, and a fall causes the symptoms to become acute again. That handicaps him in his work and especially when drawing. Julie Brüll also suffers from the long-term effects of her injuries. In 1946 she is still unable to fully extend her little finger and ring finger. Both die in Innsbruck: Rudolf in 1957 and Julie in 1971. The furniture store ceases trading in 1978, the year in which Lotte Brüll dies. This time, as it says in the official announcement, the closure is voluntary.⁴³⁸

As a 'half-Jew', Inge Brüll escapes the fate of her beloved cousin and returns to Innsbruck in 1950. In memory of Ilse, Inge – who was brought up by her mother as a Catholic – dedicates herself to the reconciliation between Christians and Jews until her death in 2011.

⁴³⁶ Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 212f.

⁴³⁷ Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 213–215.

⁴³⁸ Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (= *Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik* 1, Innsbruck 2001), 43.

“Suddenly the darkness around me was filled with shouting and the sound of shattering glass.”

Violence and devastation in the home of the Landauer family⁴³⁹

The Landauer family lives at no. 8 Salurner Strasse: Siegfried Landauer, a 55-year-old commercial agent and former chairman of the Hohenems Jewish Community, his 53-year-old wife Laura née Zentner and their two daughters Johanna and Irma, who are 24 and 18 respectively. Their 27-year-old son Leonhard managed to flee to Switzerland immediately after the Anschluss in March 1938.

Hans and Ernst David Heuer, who live at 2 Amthorstrasse, are staying with the Landauers temporarily as their parents are not in Innsbruck. Their father, the physician Dr. Munisch Heuer, was forced to give up his practice at 41 Pradler Strasse, right next to where he lived. He obtained a visa and was able to emigrate to Kaunas (Kovno) in Lithuania shortly before the pogrom. His wife Selda née Weiner is in Vienna where she is trying to get a visa for herself and her children. She has already sold various possessions and some of her husband’s medical equipment.

Laura Landauer has converted the sofa in the dining room into a bed for seven-year-old Hans Heuer, while his brother Ernst, who is three years older, has been given a temporary bed in the store room. Ernst, a friend and classmate of Erich Weinreb from Defreggerstrasse, takes a long time to fall asleep on 9 November 1938. As a safety precaution, he has not been permitted to go out onto the street since his parents left. For his part, he is afraid that something might happen to his mother and is worried that she might kill herself like Rosa Goldenberg, the mother of the next-door children Fritz and Freddy, who jumped out of the window in despair.

When Ernst Heuer finally falls asleep, a hit squad approaches no. 8 Salurner Strasse. Long after midnight, unknown SA or NSKK men break into the apartment of the Landauer family, devastate it, damage and destroy furniture and furnishings and beat Siegfried Landauer. Laura and her two daughters Johanna and Irma are frightened but apparently otherwise unharmed. Little Hans Heuer hides under the sofa during the raid. His elder brother Ernst experiences the dramatic events from his closet and describes them under his later name David Ben-Dor in his autobiographical book “The Darkest Chapter”:

“Suddenly the darkness around me was filled with shouting and the sound of shattering glass. At first I wasn’t sure if I was dreaming, but the noise didn’t stop. I gradually realised that strangers – maybe burglars – were in the place. Then I heard Frau Landauer scream. I did not dare switch the light on. Hiding under the blanket, I grasped my pocketknife, ready to stab anyone who came into the room. But no one did. The noise subsided. A last slam of the apartment

⁴³⁹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: David Ben-Dor, *Die schwarze Mütze. Geschichte eines Mitschuldigen* (Leipzig 2000), especially 24–28 and 30. Compare Michael Guggenberger, *Unbekannte Täter im Novemberpogrom in Innsbruck*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck* (Innsbruck-Wien 2016), 361–363. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

door could be heard and the sound of footsteps moving quickly down the stairs.”⁴⁴⁰

Subsequent fate of the Landauer and Heuer families

Siegfried Landauer is left beaten and bloody. According to Ben-Dors, he was arrested the same night. A deeply religious man, he was prevented from taking his prayer shawl with him: “You don’t need it where you’re going.”⁴⁴¹

After his terrible experience, Ernst Heuer cannot sleep any more. When morning finally comes, he gets dressed and ventures into the dining room. Everything is a mess. There is broken crockery on the floor, chairs have been broken and the upholstery slit open. His little brother Hans is crying and holding tight to Laura Landauer’s hand. In her despair Laura starts screaming again and shows Ernst her husband’s prayer shawl, “Here, look at his tallit. It’s all covered in blood!”⁴⁴² And then she starts to weep, too.

On 24 November 1938 Laura and Siegfried Landauer have to move to Vienna with their two daughters Johanna and Irma. Selda Heuer, having returned to Innsbruck, leaves her home with her children on the same day as the Landauers. She travels via Vienna to Lithuania, where her husband Munisch is practising as a doctor again in Kaunas. A degree of normality gradually returns to their lives.

In 1942, however, Dr. Heuer and his family are taken to the Kaunas ghetto and subsequent concentration camp. In 1944 they are transferred to Stutthof Concentration Camp near Gdansk, where Selda and Hans are selected for immediate murder on arrival. In the last days of the war, in the course of the evacuation of the Kaufering camps, Munisch Heuer dies a tragic death in a train overcrowded with prisoners near Schwabhausen – as a result of American bombing.⁴⁴³ His son Ernst survives all the camps. During the evacuation of Kaufering I, he hides until he is liberated by American soldiers. Of the Landauer family, too, only one person survives: their son Leonhard, who has fled to Switzerland. His family was deported in 1942 and finally murdered at Maly Trostinec Concentration Camp near Minsk.

In 1945 Ernst David Heuer returns to Innsbruck but leaves Austria for Italy the following year, finally emigrating via France to Israel, where he arrives in 1948 and has since lived as David Ben-Dor.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ David Ben-Dor, *Die schwarze Mütze. Geschichte eines Mitschuldigen* (Leipzig 2000), 26.

⁴⁴¹ So David Ben-Dor, *Die schwarze Mütze. Geschichte eines Mitschuldigen* (Leipzig 2000), 27.

⁴⁴² David Ben-Dor, *Die schwarze Mütze. Geschichte eines Mitschuldigen* (Leipzig 2000), 27.

⁴⁴³ www.memoria21.de/115.html (aufgerufen 5.7.2015) and www.a-wagner-online.de/todesmarsch/marsch16.htm (aufgerufen 5.7.2015). Compare Edith Raim (Hg.), *Überlebende von Kaufering. Biografische Skizzen jüdischer ehemaliger Häftlinge. Materialien zum KZ-Außenlagerkomplex Kaufering* (Berlin 2008).

⁴⁴⁴ See David Ben-Dor, *Befreit. Mein Weg zurück ins Leben* (Leipzig 2001).

“And if it kills him, it’s all the same!”

The attack on Hugo Schindler⁴⁴⁵

The attack on Hugo Schindler is an example of how, in addition to the SS hit squads, operative groups from other Nazi organisations – in this case the National Socialist Motor Corps (NSKK) – meted out extremely brutal treatment to their Jewish victims during the November pogrom in Innsbruck and were protected at higher levels. From the extensive records of the trial of some of the culprits at the Innsbruck People’s Court,⁴⁴⁶ it is possible to create a highly detailed picture of the events of that night in Schindler’s apartment in Innsbruck’s Andreas-Hofer-Strasse:

After the roll call on the evening of 9 November 1938, members of the Pradl NSKK squad (Motor Regiment 92 Squad 5) proceed to Café Hammerle in the Museumstrasse, where they are ordered by their leader, Sturmführer Alois Hochrainer, to assemble on the Bozner Platz at midnight wearing civilian clothes. They actually meet in front of the building of the DDAC (German Automobile Club).

After a general speech given by NSKK Staffelführer Rudolf Mayerbrucker, Obertruppführer Josef Ebner is instructed by Hochrainer to call on the well-known entrepreneur Hugo Schindler and to give him a thorough beating. Prior to aryanisation, Schindler, a lieutenant in the Tiroler Kaiserjäger Regiment during the First World War, and his brother Erich were the proprietors of two flourishing businesses in Innsbruck, which they had taken over from their father Samuel: the Erste Tiroler Fruchtsaftpresserei, Landesproduktenbrennerei und Likörfabrik S. Schindler, which was at no. 13 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse and no. 21 Karmelitergasse, and the popular Café Schindler at 29 Maria-Theresien-Strasse.⁴⁴⁷ Already in July 1938 Hugo Schindler’s car was confiscated, and in September he was detained and subjected to brutal treatment in an attempt to make him sell his business interests and emigrate.⁴⁴⁸

Sturmführer Hochrainer’s orders to his men were formulated something like this: “You guys go to Schindler in the Andreas Hoferstrasse and give the Jew a beating he’ll know about, and if it kills him it’s all the same. There’ll be no police

⁴⁴⁵ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46 mit Aussagen Hans Ruedl 1.8.1945, 19.11.1945, 29.1.1946 u. 8.1.1947, Josef Ebner 2.8.1945, 25.1.1946 u. 8.1.1947, August Hörhager 13.8.1945, 28.1.1946 u. 8.1.1947, Otto Biendl 10.9.1945 u. 21.2.1946, Agnes Oberhauser 14.9.1945, Bericht 14.9.1945, Karl Tautermann 5.12.1945 u. Anfang 1946, Sophie Freiger 4.2.1946, Leo Lischka 5.2.1946 u. 30.4.1946, Josef Schneider 17.10.1946; Anklage Josef Ebner, August Hörhager u. Hans Ruedl 2.12.1946; Urteil Josef Ebner, August Hörhager u. Hans Ruedl 8.1.1947. Auskunft Meriel Schindler, August 2017. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at. Compare Michael Guggenberger in Horst Schreiber / Elisabeth Hussl / Martin Haselwanter (Hg.), *Im Zwiespalt. Gaimair-Jahrbuch 2018 (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2017)*, 186–193.

⁴⁴⁶ See Thomas Albrich/Michael Guggenberger, „Nur selten steht einer dieser Novemberebrecher vor Gericht“. Die strafrechtliche Verfolgung der Täter der so genannten ‚Reichskristallnacht‘ in Österreich, in: Thomas Albrich/Winfried R. Garscha/Martin F. Polaschek (Hg.), *Holocaust und Kriegsverbrechen vor Gericht. Der Fall Österreich (Innsbruck 2006)*, 26–56, hier 36–44. For the prosecution of perpetrators and their curriculum vitae see Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck (Innsbruck-Wien 2016)*.

⁴⁴⁷ See Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (Innsbruck-Wien-München-Bozen 2001)*, 84–88. For Franz Hiebl, the aryanizer of Café Schindler, see Martin Achrainer, *Der Chef fährt Porsche. Aus dem Leben eines Hasardeurs*, in: Lisa Gensluckner u.a. (Hg.), *Gegenwind. Gaimair-Jahrbuch 2004 (Innsbruck 2003)*, 159–178.

⁴⁴⁸ Compare Rudolf Brülls Beschreibung der Behandlung der Verhafteten durch die Gestapo: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1745/47, Schreiben Rudolf Brüll an den Bund der politisch Verfolgten, Innsbruck, 7.8.1947, abgedruckt in: *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (Hg.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation. Band 1 (Wien 1984)*, 471f.

on the streets and you have protection from above.”⁴⁴⁹ He continues with the remark that “the Jewish pigs have to be given a good hiding”⁴⁵⁰ and closes with the order, “And smash the place to pieces!”⁴⁵¹ They are told to be sure to do a thorough job as there will be a check to see whether the orders have been carried out. Ebner is then instructed to form a group of men from the NSKK squad for the operation.

Ebner chooses August Hörhager – who is enthusiastic according to Hochrainer – , Hans Ruedl, Josef Schneider, Karl Tautermann and another two to four men, who Tautermann says include Max Wiatkowski.⁴⁵² In total, therefore, Ebner’s hit squad comprises between seven and nine men. Unlike most other operations, it seems the group was given only one address to target, although the possibility cannot be excluded that attacks on other locations were simply not reported.

Josef Ebner and his men walk as a casual group from the Bozner Platz to the Maximilianstrasse and on to the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse. As they are walking along, August Hörhager says, “Just leave it to me to beat up Schindler.”⁴⁵³ Hörhager later denies having said that and also refutes the suggestion that he was enthusiastic.

The men take up their positions outside the building at no. 13 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse. Fifty-year-old Hugo Schindler, who was born in Innsbruck, is sleeping on the first floor. A woman is with him, probably his sister in law Margarete Schindler – his wife Edith is already in England, where they sent their young son Kurt for safety in September 1938. According to Ebner and Ruedl, it is about one o’clock at night, but two of the residents say it was already two o’clock or even later.

The front door is locked. Since Schindler does not react when the bell is repeatedly rung, the NSKK men ring some of the other doorbells, including that of Sophie Freiger on the second floor. She gets out of bed and looks out of the window, but despite the street lighting she cannot see anyone as she suffers from night blindness. When she hears a male voice demanding to be admitted to the building to call on Schindler, Frau Freiger merely says that he lives on the first floor and goes back to bed. After a short time the men ring the bell again. When Sophie Freiger reappears at the window, Josef Ebner calls out to her, “Please unlock the door, I have to leave tonight and have urgent business to discuss with Schindler.”⁴⁵⁴ But Frau Freiger does not open up as the whole thing seems suspicious.

Then Josef Schneider rings the bell of Leo Lischka, a colleague at work, who lives on the second floor. At first only his sister comes to the window. Schneider asks for Lischka, and after repeated bell-ringing and a long wait, Lischka finally

⁴⁴⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage August Hörhager 28.1.1946.

⁴⁵⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Josef Ebner 25.1.1946.

⁴⁵¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Josef Ebner 25.1.1946.

⁴⁵² Archiv der Republik (AdR), BMfI, GZl. 121.2666-2/46, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, Bundespolizeidirektion Innsbruck, Staatspolizeiliche Abteilung, 2.7.1946.

⁴⁵³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Josef Ebner 25.1.1946.

⁴⁵⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage August Hörhager 28.1.1946.

goes down to the front door. In the stairwell he meets Sophie Freiger and tells her that they cannot very well refuse to admit the NSKK to the building.

When Leo Lischka unlocks the front door and asks what it is all about, Schneider simply pushes past without saying a word. The group of NSKK men rush up to the first floor, with Ebner leading the way. One of them tells the other residents in a loud voice to go back to their apartments. One man stays downstairs to watch the front door. Before Lischka withdraws to his apartment, he sees the men standing in front of Schindler's door. An agitated Sophie Freiger observes the events from the landing on the second floor with her two children, who are now awake as well.

Josef Ebner repeatedly rings Schindler's doorbell. Freiger hears someone shout, "Open up, murderer!".⁴⁵⁵ Hugo Schindler has no intention of opening the door. So Ebner tries to break the door down, alone at first and then together with Hörhager and Schneider. But the door is sturdy and does not yield. Ebner then asks Hans Ruedl to help, "Give us a hand, Ruedl, you're strong enough!"⁴⁵⁶ And the door bursts open. Ebner rushes into the unlit hall, closely followed by Hörhager and Ruedl. There they find Hugo Schindler in a striped nightgown holding a candle, with his dog at his side. "We haven't done anything to anyone,"⁴⁵⁷ says a horrified Schindler. But August Hörhager immediately delivers Hugo Schindler a blow to the head. Schindler falls. A tumult ensues, and the dog runs away. Everything happens very quickly. From the second floor Lischka hears sounds of breaking glass and yelling, and then a single shriek.

The Schindlers are planning to leave Innsbruck as quickly as possible, and their packed possessions stand waiting in the apartment. Hörhager grabs a piano stool in the hall, attacks the piano with it and does as much damage as he can in his blind rage. Then he turns his attention to his victim again. Hugo Schindler flees into the bedroom, but Hörhager follows him and beats him with the stool. Schindler is sitting on the bed with arms outstretched in an attempt to protect himself from the blows. He is screaming and groaning terribly. Then Ebner, Ruedl and Wiatkowski also enter the bedroom. Schindler is pushed backwards and finishes up lying on the bed, one arm already useless. One of the raging intruders kicks him in the face with his nailed boots. Mrs. Schindler cannot but witness all this brutality at close quarters. She tries to come to Hugo's aid, appeals to reason and shouts with all her might, but to no avail.

After the war Josef Ebner can only remember August Hörhager assaulting Schindler; he and Hans Ruedl deny all involvement, arguing that they only took the crying woman into another room to protect her and calm her down, while Karl Tautermann claims to have only kept the dog in check.

Mrs. Schindler finally manages to run upstairs to the second floor. Completely beside herself she asks Leo Lischka to help her deal with the raging and lethal gang in her apartment. But his family urges otherwise and he does not go. In her despair Mrs. Schindler runs back down to her apartment, where she is met

⁴⁵⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Sophie Freiger 4.2.1946.

⁴⁵⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Josef Ebner 25.1.1946.

⁴⁵⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Sophie Freiger 4.2.1946.

by scenes of devastation. In the bedroom the intruders knock over and smash the furniture. In the drawing room Ebner tears down a lampshade and also knocks furniture over. A grandfather clock defeats him because it is screwed to the wall. Crockery is broken. From the kitchen, which is where Ruedl now is, Karl Tautermann hears the sound of breaking glass and objects being smashed. Josef Schneider later admits, "Everyone smashed everything up."⁴⁵⁸

After about ten minutes, it is all over. The hit squad leaves, leaving behind not only a wrecked apartment: Mrs. Schindler is in tears, and Hugo Schindler, an officer in the First World War, is also crying. He is bleeding heavily from a gash on his head and in great pain from injuries to his face, arms and a leg. On leaving the apartment, one of the NSKK men calmly remarks, "They didn't take pity on us either, when we were unemployed for several years."⁴⁵⁹

The hit squad disbands not far from the scene of the crime, at the corner of the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse and Maximilianstrasse or Müllerstrasse. Some of the men, including Ebner, Hörhager and Schneider, make a detour to the railway station buffet, where they meet Staffelführer Mayerbrucker and make their report over a glass of beer. Later, Sturmführer Alois Hochrainer lets it be known that, in order to protect the perpetrators, no-one should talk about the raid.

Subsequent fate of Hugo Schindler and his family⁴⁶⁰

As soon as the attack is over, other residents try to contact Otto Biendl, a doctor living on the third floor. But only his mother is at home. When Dr. Biendl returns home a little later, he immediately goes to the Schindlers' apartment. He sees the broken furniture and traces of blood on pieces of chairs and finds Hugo Schindler in the bedroom with a bloodied face. Mrs. Schindler is by his side. By way of first aid, he provisionally dresses an approximately ten-centimetre-long laceration on Schindler's head. The scalp has been cut to the bone, but the skull is undamaged. The doctor does not find any physical injuries on Mrs. Schindler.

While the doctor is treating Hugo Schindler, a small group of uniformed men armed with daggers enter the apartment: the three Gestapo officers Albert Lutz, a man from Berlin by the name of Brauns and an unknown local man. They behave very rudely towards Dr. Biendl, eye Hugo Schindler's injuries, shout at everyone in the apartment and demand an explanation. Hugo Schindler tells them about the attack, about a blow with a wooden sled⁴⁶¹, and the officers take notes. In a threatening tone, they ask Biendl what he is doing in the apartment; they clearly disapprove of his presence there. After a few minutes,

⁴⁵⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Josef Schneider 17.10.1946.

⁴⁵⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Hans Ruedl 29.1.1946.

⁴⁶⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46 mit Aussagen Otto Biendl 10.9.1945 u. 21.2.1946, Agnes Oberhauser 14.9.1945; Bericht 14.9.1945; Anklage Josef Ebner, August Hörhager u. Hans Ruedl 2.12.1946; Urteil Josef Ebner, August Hörhager u. Hans Ruedl 8.1.1947. Sowie TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Aussagen Albert Lutz 9.1.1947 u. 19.5.1949. See also Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (Innsbruck-Wien-München-Bozen 2001), 84–88. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴⁶¹ Or trolley.

the officers leave the scene of the crime without saying much. Hugo Schindler does not have to go with them; the presence of the doctor doubtless saves him from the usual 'protective custody'.

Later that night, Dr. Biendl has Schindler taken to the hospital run by the Sisters of Charity in the Kaiserjägerstrasse. While Mrs. Schindler appears to be more or less psychologically stable, Hugo is "completely disoriented"⁴⁶². Hugo Schindler tells the doctor and Agnes Oberhauser, one of the nurses, that his head injury was inflicted with an iron bar or wooden slat. First thing in the morning, Dr. Biendl treats and dresses the wound under local anaesthetic. Schindler complains of pains in his arm and lower leg, and there are pronounced swellings there. Dr. Biendl applies cold compresses but does not have x-rays taken; he wants as few people as possible to see Schindler in the hospital so that his patient will be left in peace. For that reason, the doctor can neither confirm nor exclude the possibility of fractures. The nurse Agnes Oberhauser speaks of fractures of the humerus and tibia.⁴⁶³

On 14 November 1938, only four days after the attack, Hugo Schindler, who has been bedridden until then, leaves the hospital with his lower leg in a plaster cast. He then leaves Innsbruck and flees to England.–He and his wife Edith survive and return to Innsbruck and no. 13 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse at the end of 1948 – almost two years after the People's Court sentenced some members of Ebner's NSKK hit squad⁴⁶⁴ to between 14 months and two years in prison. Six months later their son Kurt returns to Innsbruck – Hugo's sister in law Margarete Schindler as well. Hugo Schindler dies in 1952. Following restitution, the Café Schindler in the Maria-Theresien-Strasse is again run by his wife Edith.

⁴⁶² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage Otto Biendl 21.2.1946.

⁴⁶³ Also Laura Popper mentions only days after the pogrom in a letter that Hugo Schindler had a broken leg. Leo Baeck Institute Austrian Memories by Robert Popper 1909–1943, Schreiben Laura Popper an ihre Söhne (Innsbruck 18.11.1938).

⁴⁶⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Urteil Josef Ebner, August Hörhager u. Hans Ruedl 8.1.1947: Ebner received a prison sentence of 1 ½ years, Hörhager of 2 years, Ruedl of 14 months.

“What do you want of me? I haven’t done anything to you!”

The raids on the Pasch, Seidl-Neumann and Goldenberg families⁴⁶⁵

Abduction of Friedrich Pasch

Long after midnight, a group of about six SA men in civilian clothes arrive in Salurner Strasse. They are led by Otto Stigger, a tall ordinary member of the squad with a slip of paper in his hand, which he was given at SA headquarters at no. 10 Bürgerstrasse. It lists four addresses, including that of the Pasch family at no. 3 Salurner Strasse. The 61-year-old Friedrich Pasch, former proprietor of the clothing store of the same name at no. 21 Maria-Theresien-Strasse, lives there with his wife Rosa née Stiasny, who is eight years younger, and two of his children.

Stigger and his companions⁴⁶⁶ gain access to the building – probably with the help of a skeleton key, as the caretaker Lucia Wachberger locked the main door in the evening. They go up to the first floor and ring the bell. Then they knock vigorously on the door to the apartment, and Friedrich Pasch opens it. The group immediately push their way into the vestibule shouting, “Out, everybody out!”⁴⁶⁷ To a string of curses, one of the intruders hits the father of the family full in the face. Pasch’s glasses fall on the floor. The telephone cable is quickly cut. While one SA man, with his hands on his back, walks up and down in the vestibule to prevent anyone from leaving, the others search the apartment. They do not touch Rosa Pasch, but they enter the children’s room where the family’s two daughters – Dora, who is 14, and Trude, who is 26, – are in bed. One of the men slaps the girls. A shocked Dora shouts, “What do you want of me? I haven’t done anything to you!”⁴⁶⁸ Ilse, the third daughter, is not there; she managed to flee to London in October.

After about 20 minutes Otto Stigger tells the injured Friedrich Pasch in a forceful tone that he must come with him. It is now between 2 and 3 in the morning. Pasch, who is bleeding from the nose and mouth, has to quickly dress and say goodbye to his family. His wife and daughters are crying. Will they see him again?

Stigger leads Friedrich Pasch, who has a leg condition, slowly along Salurner Strasse and around the corner into the Adamgasse. From there he sends his SA

⁴⁶⁵ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46 mit Aussagen Otto Stigger 10.10.1945 u. 30.9.1947, Rosa Pasch geb. Stiasny 29. u. 30.9.1947, Franziska Bauer geb. Slatkes 13.9.1945, Maria Graubart geb. Herold 8.11.1945, Polizeibericht mit Aussagen Otto Stigger, Franziska Bauer geb. Slatkes, Wilhelm Ludwig, Agnes Mayrhofer, Viktor Nauthe, Lucia Wachberger (4.2.1946). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann 18.–19.4.1946. Bericht Dora Neale geb. Pasch in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 115f. Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.3.1985, in: To Remember Me By. First Crusade Through Holocaust. Facts, Fragments, Lore and Legends (Cambridge 2000), 214f. Interview Ruth Oppenheim geb. Pasch, Februar 1985, in: ebd., 215. Schreiben Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch an Andreas Maislinger (20.7.1986). Interview Dorli Neale geb. Pasch, in: Das Vermächtnis. Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Widerstand im Nationalsozialismus (DVD-Edition erinnern.at 2008). Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 49. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁴⁶⁶ They are unknown.

⁴⁶⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Rosa Pasch geb. Stiasny 29.9.1947.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview Dorli Neale geb. Pasch, in: Das Vermächtnis. Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Widerstand im Nationalsozialismus (DVD-Edition erinnern.at 2008). Compare Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 49.

men ahead to the next address in the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse and continues with his victim towards the Adambräu brewery – allegedly so as to have “no witnesses”⁴⁶⁹ for his next move. Standing across from the brewery, he tells Pasch that he has orders to throw him into the water, into the River Sill. Friedrich Pasch kneels before him and begs for mercy.⁴⁷⁰ Otto Stigger spares him and boasts of his charity:

“Do you know who you owe your life to? Me, because I believe in a God.”⁴⁷¹ Apparently Pasch, who “had already resigned himself to his fate”,⁴⁷² then kisses the hands of the SA storm trooper and asks if he would like something in return, like money or clothes. But Stigger replies, “I don’t need anything from a Jew, and certainly not for this deed.”⁴⁷³

Stigger advises the completely devastated Friedrich Pasch not to go home: They might come for him again. But Pasch, only lightly dressed and with no shoes on, wants to return to his apartment. Without his glasses, however, he cannot find his way. Otto Stigger accompanies Friedrich Pasch on his way back to the Salurner Strasse. He also asks after his brother Julius Pasch. In response to his claim that he does not know, Stigger says. “You know all right, but you are wise not to tell.”⁴⁷⁴

Why does Stigger ask after Julius Pasch? Is he also on the list? Before going to the Salurner Strasse, did Stigger call at no. 1 Anichstrasse, where Julius Pasch is still officially domiciled, and fail to find him?

About half an hour after the attack, Friedrich Pasch is finally back home, exhausted, but happy to be alive. He remarks to his wife Rosa that there are still some good people in the world. A short time later he is taken into ‘protective custody’.

Assault on Anna Seidl and Adolf Neumann

When Friedrich Pasch is on his way home in the night of the pogrom, Otto Stigger’s SA men have long since arrived at no. 29 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse:

On the first floor on the right live the 53-year-old landlady Anna Seidl, née Levitus, and her partner, Adolf Neumann, a member of the Jewish Community Council, who is of the same age. They are the former proprietors of the Innsbruck brandy distillery and liqueur production plant Grätzer & Seidl, which was aryanised a few days earlier. Some other people are also sleeping in the apartment, namely Julius Pasch, the man Stigger is looking for, and his wife

⁴⁶⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Otto Stigger 10.10.1945.

⁴⁷⁰ According to the version of the events that Stigger’s wife told Maria Graubart after the war: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Maria Graubart 8.11.1945

⁴⁷¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Rosa Pasch geb. Stiassny 29.9.1947. Compare ÖStA, AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol 159-166, Polizeibericht 4.2.1946 und ÖStA, AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Aussage Maria Graubart geb. Herold 4.2.1946.

⁴⁷² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Rosa Pasch geb. Stiassny 29.9.1947. Compare ÖStA, AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol 159-166, Polizeibericht 4.2.1946 und ÖStA, AdR, BMI, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Aussage Maria Graubart geb. Herold 4.2.1946.

⁴⁷³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Otto Stigger 30.9.1947.

⁴⁷⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Rosa Pasch geb. Stiassny 29.9.1947.

Emma née Schneider and their two youngest children Gerda and Ruth. Julius Pasch was the owner of two aryanised businesses, Schuhhaus Pasch and Schuhhaus Corso (otherwise known as Salamander Schuhe) at numbers 13, 17 and 19 Maria-Theresien-Strasse. He is also a member of the Jewish Community Council – as the deputy of Ing. Richard Berger, who was murdered that night. The Pasch family moved from the Anichstrasse to the Andreas-Hofer-Strasse only a week earlier for safety and in response to pressure from the authorities⁴⁷⁵. Hilde, Edith, Janne and Hans, the oldest children of Emma and Julius Pasch, have already gone abroad. They managed to flee between March and September 1938. Anna Seidl's son Willi has also left Innsbruck, but in 1939 he is tragically killed by a landmine in Palestine.

Upstairs, on the second floor at no. 29 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse, is the apartment of another Jewish family. Three people currently live there: 40-year-old Arthur Goldenberg, former manager of Julius Pasch's Corso shoe store, and his 7-year-old son Fritz. Arthur's wife Rosa is now dead; a few days earlier, during breakfast, she threw herself in despair from the stairwell window. She said she was just going to fetch some bread from the bakery. She died in hospital on 2 November.⁴⁷⁶ A member of the SS by the name of Birnbaumer presumably bears moral responsibility for the death of Rosa Goldenberg, having set a deadline for vacating the apartment that was impossible to meet.⁴⁷⁷ On the day of his mother's death, the Goldenbergs' 14-year-old son Alfred fled to Palestine. Arthur Goldenberg is also preparing to depart. On the front door he has put up a notice: House moving sale – 2nd hand furniture (Goldenberg, 2nd floor).⁴⁷⁸

During the night of the pogrom, the homes of the Jewish residents at no. 29 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse are raided several times at short intervals. But only the first squad, which probably consists of Stigger's SA men,⁴⁷⁹ force their way into the Seidl-Neumann apartment:

After 3 o'clock in the morning seven young men⁴⁸⁰ in civilian clothes arrive at the door of the apartment and wake Anna Seidl and Adolf Neumann by insistently ringing the bell. Anna Seidl opens the door. She and her partner are asked if they have heard what has happened. When they say they have not, the men tell them about Herschel Grynszpan's assassination of the German

⁴⁷⁵ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 31, Interview Edith Lesh geb. Pasch, März 1984, 4.

⁴⁷⁶ Ernst David Heuer (David Ben-Dor), the son of the physician Munisch Heuer (not Haber!), then registered at Amthorstraße 2, remembers this detail. The Goldenbergs lived in Amthorstraße 4 before they moved to Andreas-Hofer-Straße and were therefore former neighbours of the Heuers: see David Ben-Dor, *Die schwarze Mütze. Geschichte eines Mitschuldigen* (Leipzig 2000), 24. Fanny Krieser also reports on Rosa Goldenberg's tragic death: "In such times it's no wonder you lose your nerve." (Family property Levin (copy Jüdisches Museum Hohenems), Schreiben Käthe Krieser an ihre Tochter Erna in Florenz (Innsbruck, 4.11.1938). Compare Niko Hofinger, „Es ist, Ernerl, sehr traurig. Ich werde fast krank dies alles mit ansehen zu müssen.“ *Die Entrechtung und Vertreibung Innsbrucker Juden ab 1938, erzählt in den privaten Briefen der Frauen der Familie Krieser*, in: Horst Schreiber (Hg.), 1938. *Der Anschluss in den Bezirken Tirols* (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2018), 387.)

⁴⁷⁷ According to Hermann Aigner, Fassbinder bei der Firma Grätzer & Seidl: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Hermann Aigner 4.2.1946.

⁴⁷⁸ 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Hermann Aigner 4.2.1946.

⁴⁷⁹ To get into the building at all, Stiggers SA men have to open the blocked front door with a lock pick. So they are probably the first to enter the house. Moreover, Stigger meets his men "in" an apartment, people scream desperately. They were already with the "other parties" and it's been almost half an hour since Stigger sent them ahead. Sufficient time to rage in the house. (The time frame is determined by the distances. Only for the distance from Salurner Strasse 3 to Andreas-Hofer-Strasse 29 needs Stigger at least about eight minutes.)

⁴⁸⁰ So Anna Seidl.

diplomat Ernst vom Rath in Paris and then attack them. They give them such a violent beating that they both lose consciousness and finish up lying on the floor of the hall, where the men continue to kick Neumann with their boots.

Julius and Emma Pasch undiscovered

From his neighbouring apartment, Viktor Nauthe hears a terrible noise, which also wakes 14-year-old Ruth Pasch and her sister Gerda, who has just celebrated her 17th birthday. Frightened, they sit up in bed as two men step into their bedroom. “Oh, they’re only children!”⁴⁸¹ one of the men says. Fortunately, he does not enquire about their names but only points to a door leading to another room and asks if anyone sleeps there. Out of fear, Gerda and Ruth tell the truth: “Our parents”.⁴⁸² The men confer briefly and then leave the room and close the door behind them without having looked. They presumably assume that Neumann and Seidl are the girls’ parents. And so Emma and Julius Pasch, who are 50 and 65 years old respectively, remain undiscovered.

When Anna Seidl regains consciousness, the left side of her face feels paralysed, and her eyes are bloodshot from the punches she has received. Adolf Neumann is in such terrible shape that his partner at first thinks he is dead. Not much time can have passed as the men, who have not forgotten to cut the telephone line, are still in the apartment and are about to assault Anna Seidl again. When Anna begs for mercy, one of the men throws two heavy washbowls at her, which she just manages to evade by quickly jumping to one side. But then the thugs decide to leave her alone. They seem to feel that they have accomplished their mission.

Assault on Arthur Goldenberg

Soon after, five or six men – presumably the same group⁴⁸³ – ring the bell on the next floor up. Arthur Goldenberg opens the door. The SA men rush into the apartment and beat him so brutally that he even gets “his teeth knocked out”.⁴⁸⁴ Was little Fritz a witness to that? At all events he heard everything and finds his father lying on the floor battered and bleeding. For him, these terrible events remain inextricably linked with Innsbruck; he remembers them all his life.⁴⁸⁵ During the next few days he is looked after by his aunt, Frau Gutstein, from Vienna. She probably came to the funeral of her sister Rosa on 4

⁴⁸¹ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 34, Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.03.1985, 3. Compare box 1 folder 31, Interview Edith Lesh geb. Pasch, März 1984, 4.

⁴⁸² Interview Ruth Oppenheim geb. Pasch, Februar 1985, in: *To Remember Me By. First Crusade Through Holocaust. Facts, Fragments, Lore and Legends* (Cambridge 2000), 215.

⁴⁸³ So Anna Neumann.

⁴⁸⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann, 18.4.1946. Also Franziska Bauer geb. Slatkes: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945.

⁴⁸⁵ Maria Luise Stainer, „Ich hab mich gefühlt wie bei der Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.“ *Berichte Vertriebener aus Tirol*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Wie lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck 1999), 360.

November and has stayed in Innsbruck to help her brother-in-law following Rosa's tragic death.

Agnes Mayrhofer, who works for an old lady on the third floor, is woken by all the noise. She hears bells being rung long and loud, and then shouting and noises as if someone is jumping over tables and benches. At first she thinks, "Herr Goldenberg has gone mad at the loss of his wife."⁴⁸⁶

Another two hit squads ring the bells at no. 29 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse that night. But Anna Seidl does not open the door again and asks that they be "left alone" because, as she says, "We have already received 'our share' from the others."⁴⁸⁷

Medical assistance and renewed threats

When the house is quiet again, Viktor Nauthe asks Anna Seidl what has happened. She shows her neighbour into her room and tells him. While she is talking, Nauthe hears voices from another room of the apartment. He does not know the excited voices are those of Julius Pasch and his family. Frau Seidl does not want to betray their presence for safety reasons and therefore asks him not to enter the other room.

That same night Julius Pasch calls his daughter Edith in Paris in an attempt to speed up his departure from Innsbruck. He can count on the active support of the French consulate in Innsbruck as Consul Simon, who is also Jewish, is currently in Paris. Together with Edith Pasch, the diplomat spends a whole day waiting in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Edith Pasch finally manages to obtain a French visa for her parents and sisters.⁴⁸⁸

Adolf Neumann is hospitalised for a week, from 10 to 16 November. The skin has been scraped⁴⁸⁹ from the cartilage of both ears, and he has abrasions of the right shoulder, numerous bruises and chest pains; he may also have suffered from broken ribs.⁴⁹⁰ On the morning of 11 November 1938, Dr Wilhelm Ludwig is asked to attend Anna Seidl. Before his arrival, however, two SA men, most likely Anton Haupt and Oswald Markt, enter the dining room shortly after 10 a.m. and demand to see Julius Pasch so that they can take him with them.⁴⁹¹ Julius Pasch quickly joins Anna Seidl on the bed and says he is ill and is receiving medical treatment. Just as the SA men are insulting and threatening the two "in the nastiest possible way",⁴⁹² Dr. Ludwig arrives. He comes to the aid of Julius Pasch by asking the men "not to prevent him from fulfilling his medical duty and to leave the apartment".⁴⁹³ One of them pulls something "like a coin"⁴⁹⁴ –

⁴⁸⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46 Polizeibericht mit Aussage Agnes Mayrhofer (4.2.1946).

⁴⁸⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann 18.4.1946.

⁴⁸⁸ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 31, Interview Edith Lesh geb. Pasch, März 1984, 4. Bericht Edith Lesh geb. Pasch in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (1979), 116.

⁴⁸⁹ skin detachment

⁴⁹⁰ Anna Neumann speaks of broken ribs.

⁴⁹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann 19.4.1946.

⁴⁹² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Polizeibericht mit Aussage Dr. Wilhelm Ludwig (4.2.1946).

⁴⁹³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Polizeibericht mit Aussage Dr. Wilhelm Ludwig (4.2.1946).

possibly an ID or a badge – out of his pocket and shows it to the doctor. After a long exchange of words, the men finally leave the apartment with a written document, perhaps a diagnosis made by Dr. Ludwig.⁴⁹⁵ The doctor even goes to the Gestapo and files charges against persons unknown. Anna Seidl continues to receive treatment at home. Her facial paralysis, which could have been caused by a knuckleduster,⁴⁹⁶ persists for six months. After the war she still suffers from the consequences of retinal damage.

After the attack Arthur Goldenberg, whom Dr. Ludwig probably attended to as well,⁴⁹⁷ is so afraid that he sleeps in Anna Seidl's apartment on the first floor and he generally avoids "spending time in his own apartment".⁴⁹⁸ The bruises on his face continue to remind him of the assault for a long time. In the meantime, his sister-in-law, Frau Gutmann, returns to Vienna, presumably taking her little nephew Fritz with her.

Helene Hafler née Schlesinger is registered as resident in Goldenberg's apartment from mid-November 1938, when her son Max leaves Innsbruck, until her own departure. Before that she lived at no. 12 Schöpfstrasse, where she had her draper's shop.⁴⁹⁹

After the pogrom, Gerda Pasch sleeps very badly at night. Again and again she wakes up in fear, always at the same time as the raid. She, her sister Ruth and her parents take turns keeping watch at the window in case any suspicious persons approach the building.⁵⁰⁰ A few days after the pogrom, the SS man Heinz Pfanner, son of a surgeon and member of the Suevia student fraternity⁵⁰¹, appears in the apartment and searches it for Julius Pasch, even in the toilet and under the beds.⁵⁰² But Julius is not there. Presumably he was warned by his wife or daughters.⁵⁰³

Flight and exile

In all the chaos, Anna Seidl and Adolf Neumann find time to get married at the end of November 1938 before being forced to move to Vienna on 20 December 1938. In 1942 they are deported to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp. From there, Adolf Neumann is transferred to Auschwitz in 1944, where he is murdered.

⁴⁹⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann 19.4.1946.

⁴⁹⁵ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 34, Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.03.1985, 4.

⁴⁹⁶ So Anna Seidl.

⁴⁹⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 528/46, Aussage Franziska Bauer 13.9.1945.

⁴⁹⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 327/46, Aussage Anna Neumann 18.4.1946.

⁴⁹⁹ Compare Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 105.

⁵⁰⁰ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 34, Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.03.1985, 3f.

⁵⁰¹ Michael Gehler, *Student und Politik. Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft an der Universität Innsbruck 1918–1938*, Innsbruck 1990, Namenregister, 414.

⁵⁰² Pfanner intervened already before 1938 in Innsbruck against Jews, especially against the Jewish youth, and became violent: see Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 36.

⁵⁰³ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 34, Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.03.1985, 4.

Arthur Goldenberg leaves Innsbruck on 30 November 1938. On 29 April of the following year he departs from Vienna and takes a ship to Palestine with his son Fritz. In the night of 1 June 1939, they reach the port of Haifa.⁵⁰⁴ Anna Neumann-Seidl also survives. After the war she returns to Innsbruck, where she remains until her death in 1957.

Julius and Emma Pasch leave Innsbruck on 29 November 1938 and flee to France via Italy with their daughters. From Paris they send Gerda and Ruth to a school in England, while they remain in France where they struggle to survive under dangerous conditions with their daughter Edith. In 1941 the three of them receive an entry permit for Cuba, from where they subsequently travel to the USA. Gerda and Ruth follow from England with their brother Hans in 1944.⁵⁰⁵ Julius Pasch dies not long afterwards in 1946. Emma remains in New York until her death in 1952.

After the pogrom, Julius Pasch's brother Friedrich has to spend several days in protective custody sleeping on bare wood without a straw mattress.⁵⁰⁶ Concerned non-Jewish acquaintances ask Rosa Pasch about her husband. He is not released until 22 November 1938. A few days later Friedrich Pasch sets off for Vienna with Rosa and his daughters Dora and Trude. Soon after they all arrive in England by various routes. Their packed furnishings and belongings are forwarded to them. But when they arrive, the silver and valuables are missing.

In the middle of December Dora, accompanied by another Innsbruck girl, is the first to leave Vienna with a group organised by the Refugee Children's Movement. During a stopover in Aachen she is humiliated; her suitcase is rummaged through and her belongings thrown on the ground.⁵⁰⁷ Until April 1939 she stays in two camps in England. Then she finds a home with a family and can go to school again.⁵⁰⁸ The family find it hard to make a living. Rosa is able to earn some money by baking apple strudel.⁵⁰⁹ Friedrich Pasch also helps. He finds the loss of social status particularly hard to bear. He is suffering from a heart condition and dies in London in 1944. His wife and daughters survive the war, and Rosa Pasch enjoys a further ten years of life.

⁵⁰⁴ Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibermann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. Der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni. Mit einem historischen Essay über jüdisches Leben in Tirol (Innsbruck 2014), 131–133. See also Maria Luise Stainer, „Ich hab mich gefühlt wie bei der Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.“ Berichte Vertriebener aus Tirol, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Wie lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 1999), 360f.

⁵⁰⁵ Leo Baeck Institute New York, Ernst Oppenheim Collection AR25030, box 1 folder 34, Interview Gerda Vandenberg geb. Pasch, 15.03.1985, 10f. Ebd., box 1 folder 31, Interview Edith Lesh geb. Pasch, März 1984. Bericht Edith Lesh geb. Pasch in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 116f.

⁵⁰⁶ Schreiben Fritz Rosenstein an Ilse Pasch, 9.1.1939, in: To Remember Me By. First Crusade Through Holocaust. Facts, Fragments, Lore and Legends (Cambridge 2000), 217.

⁵⁰⁷ Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 50.

⁵⁰⁸ Bericht Dora Neale geb. Pasch in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 115f.

⁵⁰⁹ Bericht Ilse Zadek geb. Pasch in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 117f.

“... belaboured with beer bottles”

Assault on Martin and Rosa Steiner⁵¹⁰

During the night of the pogrom, an SA or NSKK hit squad force their way into the building at no. 3 Andreas-Hofer-Strasse and climb the stairs to the first floor. There the men break open the door to the Steiners' apartment. Martin Steiner, the 69-year-old grandson of the founder of the Bürgerliches Bräuhaus, is savagely beaten and “belaboured with beer bottles”.⁵¹¹ Until aryanisation in the summer of 1938, he was the proprietor of the S. Steiner company, a liqueur maker, distillery and tea wholesaler. Steiner suffers bruises or fractures of the ribs and a cut on the head, as well as extensive injuries to his leg, of which no details are known. His 65-year-old wife Rosa née Brüll is not spared either and is beaten by the intruders in their blind rage.

Soon afterwards SA-Oberscharführer Michael Stengg, who works as a messenger at the police headquarters, tells his colleagues Ferdinand Hafner and Irma Anetzberger about the attack. He says he and others called on “Steiner the tea man” and other homes and kicked the Jew there and that Jewesses went down on their knees to beg for mercy.

After the war, Stengg denies all involvement in the pogrom. He claims to have been “on leave” from the SA at the time and not have heard of the violence until after the war.⁵¹²

After the assault Martin Steiner remains physically handicapped for a long time and has to use a walking stick. On 28 December 1938 the former businessman and his wife are forced to move to Vienna, where he dies in 1941. His widow Rosa Steiner is deported to Theresienstadt in 1942 and from there to the Maly Trostinec extermination camp. The only member of the family to survive was their married daughter Gabriele⁵¹³, who managed to flee to the United States shortly after the Anschluss.

⁵¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1021/46, Aussagen Michael Stengg 13.10.1945, Irma Anetzberger 11.12.1945, Ferdinand Hafner 21.3.1946, Max Klappholz (Bericht 19.4.1946). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at. The very scarce information about this raid comes mainly from Max Klappholz, whom the Steiners in Vienna told about it.

⁵¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1505/46, Aussage Dr. Gelb 11.7.1946.

⁵¹² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1021/46, Aussage Michael Stengg 13.10.1945. To his comrade Alfred Aichhorn Stengg describes the abuse of a Jew in Saggen. He was dragged out of the house, beaten and finally dragged around the street. (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1021/46, Aussage Alfred Aichhorn 7.1.1946.) The victim should be Fritz Rosenstein.

⁵¹³ Thomas Albrich, Martin Steiner. Gründer des „Bürgerlichen Bräuhauses“ in Innsbruck, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck-Wien 2009), 126.

“Down with the Jews!”

Savage assaults on the Schulhof, Schenkel and Rado families⁵¹⁴

Preparations

On the evening of 9 November 1938, NSKK Sturmführer Alois Hochrainer is in the Café Hammerle on the Museumstrasse where he tells his comrades from the Pradl Company to go home and assemble on the Bozner Platz in civilian clothes. Among them is one of his deputies, Truppführer Karl Hanl, a prosthetic limb maker by trade.⁵¹⁵ After a speech by Staffelführer Rudolf Mayerbrucker on the Bozner Platz, Hanl is made leader of a hit squad and given a typewritten list of addresses of Jewish families.⁵¹⁶ Hochrainer assigns Karl Zoller, Heinz Wallpach, Hans Lackner and some other men to Hanl's squad.⁵¹⁷

Karl Hanl and his NSKK group first drive to the Fischerstrasse – now Franz-Fischerstrasse – in Wilten, a district of Innsbruck.⁵¹⁸

Raid on the Schenkel and Rado families

Truppführer Karl Hanl and his NSKK men park their car in front of no. 22 Fischerstrasse and enter the building by unlocking the front door with a skeleton or duplicate key. The noise wakes the caretaker Maria Slamik. She opens her door and sees several men in civilian clothes in the hallway. One of them immediately orders her to get back into her apartment, and she does so. From her window she can see a big car parked in front of the building, but she is again shouted at and told to mind her own business.

Hanl and his men hurry up to the third floor and ring the bell of the apartment belonging to 50-year-old Josef Schenkel, one of the owners of the Schulhof Fashion Store prior to aryanisation. He lives there with his children Eva and Bernhard (Hans-Bernhard), aged 13 and 14, and his 41-year-old wife Marianne née Skopall, stepdaughter of Josef Schulhof, who is also on Hanl's list. The Schenkels' apartment also houses 59-year-old Louis Rado, a dealer in cereals and agricultural produce, his second wife Anni née Kraus, aged 45, and their 15-year-old daughter Elfi, who have been forced to vacate their apartment at the

⁵¹⁴ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Maria Slamik 3.10.1945, Klara Ortner geb. Skopall 2.11.1945, Anna Schulhof geb. Ernst, 2.11.1945, Karl Hanl 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung), Bericht 17.12.1945; Anklage Karl Hanl etc. 1.12.1946; Urteil Karl Hanl etc. 15.1.1947. AdR, BMI, GZL. 121.266-2/46, Fol 69-73, Bericht. Schreiben Ruth Strickland geb. Elfi Rado in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 119f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵¹⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Aussage August Hörhager 28.1.1946.

⁵¹⁶ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Alois Hochrainer 8.8.1946.

⁵¹⁷ Josef Kogler and Hans Moser, who are also mentioned as belonging to the group Hanl at the beginning, but who never name Hanl as their leader, probably do not belong to Hanl's group, because they first drive into the Saggen: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945, Aussage Hermann Moser 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1288/55, Aussage Friedrich Bader 12.06.1946.

⁵¹⁸ Compare also TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Josef Kogler 5.3.1946.

Adamgasse 9a. Louis Rado's grown-up children Grete and Helene and also the twins from his first marriage, Hedwig and Paul,⁵¹⁹ no longer live in Innsbruck.

As soon as Josef Schenkel opens the door, he and Louis Rado are chased around the kitchen table and "badly beaten".⁵²⁰ The intruders hit their victims with clubs, sticks and chairs and tell them to leave Innsbruck immediately. Karl Zoller "slaps" one of them. Heinz Wallpach smashes a radio set.⁵²¹ Meanwhile, Marianne Schenkel and Anni Rado, who are screaming as loud as they can, are being held in one of the rooms. Their children are with them⁵²² or have been locked in a toilet.⁵²³ Josef Schenkel and Louis Rado are pushed into the small bathroom where the savage beating continues. Only when they are lying in the bathtub do their assailants desist. They lock the bathroom door and take the key with them. The perpetrators leave behind a devastated apartment, with two chairs smashed in the kitchen and the sideboard and table ruined. Even the bathroom is damaged.

The caretaker Maria Slamik hears calls for help and watches as the NSKK men move on to the building next door, no. 20,⁵²⁴ where Anna Schulhof, Marianne Schenkel's mother, lives with her family.

Assault on the Schulhof family

Presumably the caretaker lets Karl Hanl and his group into the stairwell. The NSKK men go up to the first floor and ring the Schulhof family's doorbell. The people in the apartment are jolted awake: the 62-year-old Josef Schulhof, a member of the Jewish Community Council and former senior partner of the aryanised Schulhof Fashion Store at no. 12 Museumstrasse and no. 19 Marktgraben, his 67-year-old wife Anna divorced Skopall née Ernst and 51-year-old Pepi Schulhof. Anna's six children have all left home.⁵²⁵

When Pepi Schulhof opens the door, she sees about ten well dressed young men and the caretaker standing behind them. The men immediately push Pepi back into the apartment, lock her in the toilet, rush into the bedroom and tell Josef and Anna Schulhof to get up.⁵²⁶ Anna Schulhof says she is ill, and the men leave her alone.

In the living room, the intruders damage or smash the furniture and fittings – "chairs, tables, crockery, a glass door, the refrigerator".⁵²⁷ Some of the Schulhofs' possessions are already packed for their departure. The men shout

⁵¹⁹ His first wife Hedwig Karplus died in 1915 in childbed.

⁵²⁰ Bericht Ruth Strickland geb. Elfi Rado in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 119.

⁵²¹ According to Karl Hanl. The destruction of a radio is also indirectly confirmed by TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Josef Kogler 5.3.1946. Hanl systematically plays down his own role: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Karl Hanl 14.1.1947 (Hauptverhandlung) u. Bericht 17.12.1945.

⁵²² According to Maria Slamik.

⁵²³ According to Klara Ortner, who knows the events through the stories of her sister Marianne Schenkel.

⁵²⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Maria Slamik 3.10.1945.

⁵²⁵ Only Marianne, Klara and Alois are still in Innsbruck.

⁵²⁶ Whether or how they are armed is not clear. According to Anna Schulhof, some have 'revolvers', according to Maria Slamik they have 'rubber truncheons'. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Schulhof geb. Ernst 2.11.1945.

⁵²⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Schulhof geb. Ernst 2.11.1945.

slogans like “Down with the Jews!” and “Beat them to death!”⁵²⁸ One of the culprits grabs Josef Schulhof and hits him in the face. The intruders cut the telephone line and take the toilet key with them.

Next stop Friedhofsallee, then Saggen and Pradl

Karl Hanl then takes his group to an address in Friedhofsallee. He is most probably looking for Alois Schulhof, who lives at no. 7. But there is no-one there, because Alois Schulhof and his family had to move in with the Loewensohns at no. 17 Fischerstrasse at the end of July 1938.

So Hanl continues to the Saggen district, but he and his men are prevented from entering the Magda Villa at no. 18 Falkstrasse. Apparently another NSKK group has already been there and Gestapo officials are still on the premises.

The group is probably active in Pradl, too. In any event, a comrade sees Karl Hanl and some men there standing in the doorway of a building directly in front of the door to an apartment (see the raid at Defreggerstrasse 12).⁵²⁹ Finally, Karl Hanl drives to the railway station buffet to report to Staffelführer Rudolf Mayerbrucker.

The fate of the Schulhof,⁵³⁰ Schenkel and Rado families⁵³¹

Josef Schulhof's face is swollen. The marks of his assailant's fingers can still be seen. He may have spent a few days in the municipal hospital,⁵³² but he does not seem to have suffered any serious injuries. Pepi Schulhof moves to Vienna just a few days after the pogrom. From there she is deported to the Maly Trostinec Concentration Camp and murdered in June 1942. Anna and Josef Schulhof have to leave Innsbruck on 23 December 1938. Josef dies in Vienna in March 1942. Anna survives Theresienstadt Concentration Camp and returns to Innsbruck in 1945. Until her death in 1952 she lives at no. 5 Templstrasse with her second born daughter Klara Ortner née Skopall, who survived the years of persecution in a 'mixed marriage'.

And the Schenkel and Rado families? When the attack is over, and Anni Rado and Marianne Schenkel find their husbands locked in the bathroom, Marianne Schenkel goes downstairs and asks the caretaker Maria Slamik if her son can come and open the bathroom door. He promptly does so, and Josef Schenkel

⁵²⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Schulhof geb. Ernst 2.11.1945.

⁵²⁹ Alois Seipt stays with his testimony even after a confrontation with Hanl: AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol 69–73, Bericht.

⁵³⁰ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Anna Schulhof geb. Ernst 2.11.1945. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵³¹ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussagen Maria Slamik 3.10.1945; Klara Ortner, geb. Skopall 2.11.1945. Schreiben Ruth Strickland geb. Elfi Rado in: G. H. Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 119f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵³² Prof. Dr. Helmut Scharfetter believes that Schulhofs were there: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 105/46, Schreiben Helmut Scharfetter 4.12.1945.

and Louis Rado are liberated. Louis Rado is covered in blood and Josef Schenkel is also bleeding. Both of them have probably suffered cuts to the head. When the caretaker sees him the next morning, she immediately notices the swellings and puffy eye. Josef Schenkel bursts into tears and wails, "Just look what they did to me!"⁵³³

Louis, Anni and Elfi Rado leave Innsbruck in great haste. "We were given an ultimatum to leave Innsbruck on 10 November and we went to Vienna."⁵³⁴ Three months later, on 13 February 1939, they flee to England. They and Louis Rado's older children all survive.

Two weeks after the attack, on 24 November 1938, the Schenkel family has to move to Vienna. Josef and Marianne Schenkel flee to Mauritius in 1939, from where they later reach Palestine. They both return to Innsbruck in 1948. Their two children Bernhard and Eva managed to travel to England in December 1938. Eva gets married and remains there, whereas Bernhard leaves Manchester in 1948 and returns to his parents' place of birth.

⁵³³ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Aussage Maria Slamik 3.10.1945.

⁵³⁴ Schreiben Ruth Strickland geb. Elfi Rado in: Gad Hugo Sella, Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal (Tel-Aviv 1979), 119.

“In the Fuchs apartment, I ate two or three pastries.”⁵³⁵

Assault on Dr. Eduard Fuchs⁵³⁶

After hearing the general speeches and instructions for the night of terror in the SA headquarters, Scharführer Wilhelm Eder is given a slip of paper with six to eight addresses, including that of the Fuchs family in the Museumstrasse. Scharführer Max Adermann and another five to seven SA members join Eder. For Adermann, participation in the pogrom is “not exactly voluntary” but not “a must” either. A “certain obligation” applied only to those “in a public function”.⁵³⁷

Led by Wilhelm Eder, the SA men march away from headquarters in civilian clothes, first calling on Jews in the Speckbacherstrasse, Andreas-Hofer-Strasse and Leopoldstrasse. Although they always pretend to be officials with a search warrant, they claim that no one opened the door to them anywhere, which from what we know is very hard to believe. On the contrary, it can be assumed that Eder and his SA group went into action at at least some of the addresses. Nevertheless, Eder and Adermann, the only members of the hit squad known by name, admit only to the attack on the Fuchs in the Museumstrasse.⁵³⁸

Wilhelm Eder and his SA men enter the house at no. 6 Museumstrasse and go up to the third floor to the apartment of the Fuchs family and ring the bell. Dr. Eduard Fuchs, one of the partners until aryanisation in the jewellery business of his deceased father Leopold, gets out of bed, goes into the hall and opens the door. His 63-year-old mother Lilly née Königsbacher follows him.⁵³⁹ The SA men immediately gain access to the apartment by pretending to be on official business. Max Adermann first reproaches Dr. Fuchs, whom he knows personally, for the murder of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath by 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan in Paris and then lashes out with his fists. While Adermann speaks only of a few slaps in the face, Eder remembers Adermann repeatedly hitting him with his fists. The 38-year-old Fuchs is hit full in the face – “a powerful blow followed by two or three punches”.⁵⁴⁰ Adermann allegedly acts in a rage because he sees Persian carpets “standing around” – presumably in preparation for emigration – although Fuchs used to complain about his financial situation.

Dr. Eduard Fuchs is not only punched but also kicked.⁵⁴¹ Lilly Fuchs tries to make the perpetrators stop the beating but is prevented from doing so.

⁵³⁵ Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Wilhelm Eder 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁵³⁶ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946; Aussagen Wilhelm Eder 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Max Adermann 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Max Adermann, Wilhelm Eder u. Hubert Stoiber 8.10.1946; Urteil Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 27.11.1946; Gnadengesuch Wilhelm Eder 22.1.1947; Gnadengesuch Max Adermann 5.9.1950. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵³⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Max Adermann 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁵³⁸ Obviously, because they're only recognized there. They are followed by Dr Theodor Tapavicza, the leader of another SA group.

⁵³⁹ Her daughter Wally-Therese Gießkann née Fuchs fled to London in October 1938. Before that, she had lived with her husband Karl, a dentist, in Vienna for years.

⁵⁴⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, Vr 10 Vr 651/46, Urteil Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 27.11.1946.

⁵⁴¹ So Theodor Tapavicza, who followed the group Eder and observed it.

Wilhelm Eder takes Frau Fuchs to a back room, allegedly so that she does not have to watch her son's beating and to calm her down.

Dr. Eduard Fuchs is left with a bleeding nose after the attack. A knuckleduster has apparently broken his nasal bone.⁵⁴² On leaving the apartment, Wilhelm Eder allegedly advises Dr. Fuchs that it would be better for him to disappear before something else happens, and Dr. Fuchs and his mother do in fact leave the apartment during the night. Wilhelm Eder and his SA group then proceed to no. 31 Museumstrasse with the intention of paying a visit to the businessman's widow Irma Freund née Mayer and her two adult sons Emil and Karl. The SA men allegedly fail in their attempt to enter the building. They would not have found anyone there anyway, as all three have already fled, Karl Freund in March, and Irma and Emil in October.

The hit squad then apparently disperses. Eder and Adermann subsequently meet up with SA Brigadeführer Vinzenz Waidacher and SA Standartenführer Johann Mathoi and give their report.

To be on the safe side⁵⁴³

But Waidacher and Mathoi think further action is required, and Eder and Adermann return to no. 6 Museumstrasse, taking with them SA Obersturmführer Arthur Schöffthaler and some other SA men.

In the meantime, Dr. Fuchs has secured the apartment door with an iron grille, but this does not hold up the SA men for long. They force the grille open, open the locked door – and enter an empty apartment. The SA men take the opportunity to cause as much gratuitous damage as possible. They use their SA daggers or pocket knives to slash several valuable old paintings, smash crystal tableware and vases and also damage the piano. In between, Eder helps himself to pastries from a little basket on the table. On their way out, the SA men take some woollen blankets with them.

Follow-up for Lilly and Eduard Fuchs⁵⁴⁴

After their flight from the apartment, Lilly and Eduard Fuchs travel to Munich in the night of the pogrom. Dr. Fuchs, who was held in an Innsbruck police jail in September 1938, is again arrested in Munich. His mother suffers a nervous

⁵⁴² So caretaker Magdalena Schwaiger.

⁵⁴³ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946; Aussage Wilhelm Eder 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 8.10.1946; Urteil Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 27.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Anklage Johann Mathoi, 8.6.1948; Aussage Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Schöffthaler 29.8.1951.

⁵⁴⁴ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946; Anklage Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 8.10.1946. Brief Laura Popper an ihre Söhne, 18.11.1938 (ins Englische übertragen), in: Leo Baeck Institute. Austrian Memories by Robert Popper, 1909–1943. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

breakdown “as a result of the terror she has endured”⁵⁴⁵ and she has to be treated in a psychiatric hospital for some time. Dr. Florenz Tomasi, a lawyer with close connections to the Fuchs family, inspects their apartment at no. 6 Museumstrasse after the pogrom. On the walls of the apartment four paintings have been cut to ribbons, and chairs and carpets have been thrown around. Elisabeth Hofmeister, who worked for Frau Fuchs at the time, is told that a radio was stolen.

Lilly and Eduard Fuchs apparently make one brief trip back to Innsbruck before finally leaving their homeland. They flee to London and emigrate to the United States in 1940, where they settle in New York as Lilli and Edward Fulton. Lilli dies in 1961 and her son 17 years later.

⁵⁴⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Anklage Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 8.10.1946.

“... never seen people in such a rage”

Destructive frenzy of the SA in the Hermann, Dubsy and Fuchs apartments⁵⁴⁶

As the commander of the Honomichl SA Mountain Rifle Regiment, Johann Mathoi addresses his men at no. 10 Bürgerstrasse just before the start of the November pogrom in Innsbruck. Hit squads are to be formed and the Jews given “a good beating”⁵⁴⁷ in order to speed up their departure from Innsbruck. When asked whether they may also be killed, he gives an evasive reply: The men should do what they want. He says the operation will be covered by the Gestapo, and the police will not interfere. SA Obersturmführer Arthur Schöffthaler, the adjutant of Gauleiter Franz Hofer, has brought slips of paper with addresses on them, which are distributed to the individual groups.⁵⁴⁸

Standartenführer Mathoi forms his own hit squad with SA Brigadeführer Vinzenz Waidacher, the supreme commander of the SA in the region, and other SA men including Schöffthaler. They first go to the Leopoldstrasse, to the home of the distiller and fruit juice manufacturer Alois Hermann, the father-in-law of the murder victim Ing. Richard Graubart.

The search for the Hermann family and devastation of Alois Hermann’s liquor store⁵⁴⁹

It is not clear how the Waidacher/Mathoi group entered the building at no. 28 Leopoldstrasse. The main door was apparently undamaged. At all events, after 2:30 a.m.⁵⁵⁰ the SA men repeatedly and forcefully ring the doorbell of Alois Hermann’s apartment on the first floor. They are not aware of the fact that Hermann no longer lives there. SS-Untersturmführer Karl Waschka and his wife Rosa and their daughter Trude Webhofer have just moved in. Only the two women are at home. Karl Waschka is probably still in town following the swearing-in ceremony for the SS at the Adolf-Hitler-Platz.

Rosa Waschka, still very tired from moving house, is awoken by the noise. Thinking that the milk is being delivered early, she gets up and looks through the peephole on the door. She sees a tall stranger wearing a hat and coat with

⁵⁴⁶ The reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Aussage Johann Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Urteil Johann Mathoi, 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussagen Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947 u. 9.7.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Arthur Schöffthaler 29.8.1951.

⁵⁴⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948.

⁵⁴⁸ According to Mathoi. – Schöffthaler apparently just returned from Munich during the night, where he stayed with Gauleiter Hofer.

⁵⁴⁹ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussagen Rosa Waschka 10.11.1945; Anton Schwarz 2.2.1946; Trude Webhofer 2.2.1946; Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947 u. 9.7.1947. TLA, LG 10 Vr 3170/46, Aussagen Martha Hermann-Wild 8.10.1945 u. 4.11.1946; Aussage Rosa Waschka, 12.11.1946; Aussage Kaspar Horngacher, 30.9.–2.10.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussagen Josef Hannig 29.4.1948; Anton Schwarz 29.4.1948; Trude Webhofer 29.4.1948; Johann Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Schöffthaler 29.8.1951. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 211–223, Polizeibericht 7.2.1946. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁵⁰ According to Trude Webhofer.

the collar turned up. He is hammering on the door and shouting, “Open up!”⁵⁵¹ Frau Waschka warns her daughter, opens the window and calls for help.

In the meantime, the SA men are using a crowbar in an attempt to open the apartment door, which still bears the name plate of the Hermann family. Finally Johann Mathoi and Vinzenz Waidacher throw themselves with all their weight against the door, and it bursts open. Four or five SA men rush into the apartment. One of them grabs Rosa Waschka by the shoulders, shakes her and asks her name.⁵⁵² She feels faint and cannot reply. Her daughter Trude gives the answer.

Alarmed by the cries for help and all the noise, Anton Schwarz, the caretaker’s son, goes up to the first floor. The intruders draw their pistols and warn him not to interfere and go back downstairs. At that moment someone is pulling Rosa Waschka’s hair. Anton Schwarz tells them they are making a mistake and explains the facts. Mathoi and Waidacher apologise to the two women.

Rosa Waschka is asked whether any members of the Hermann family are still in the building. She says there are none. Following a period of detention,⁵⁵³ Alois Hermann left for Vienna with his wife Wilhelmine and son Richard on 20 October 1938. But Martha Hermann née Wild, Richard’s ‘Aryan’ wife, still lives in the building – in an apartment on the third floor – with her son Nikolaus Alois. Although not yet two years old, Nikolaus is now the owner of the building. His grandfather Alois Hermann signed the property over to him a few months earlier to prevent it from being aryanised.

Waidacher and Mathoi are satisfied with Washka’s information, and the SA men return to the ground floor to continue their rampage. They break into Alois Hermann’s wines, spirits and beverages store and quickly destroy many of the fittings and fixtures including counters, cupboards etc. They smash or damage bottles, several large glass vessels and barrels containing essences, fruit juices and spirits. An intense smell of alcohol spreads through the store.

Anton Schwarz, the caretaker’s son, again comes to see what is happening: Four to six men are knocking rows of bottles off the shelves and using hammers and chairs to destroy a typewriter, bottles, mirrors and the shop windows. Schwarz observes the goings-on for a few minutes and then courageously confronts the raging men. Threatened again, he withdraws to his apartment at about 3:30 a.m.

SA Obersturmführer Arthur Schöffthaler will later say that he has “never seen people in such a rage”.⁵⁵⁴

Martha Hermann hesitates to go downstairs; she feels intimidated by the events and developments of the last few weeks and months. Finally she picks up the courage to do so but is stopped on the first floor by Rosa Waschka, with whom she is related. Frau Waschka advises her to hide in the attic. But Martha

⁵⁵¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Rosa Waschka 10.11.1945.

⁵⁵² She may also be beaten with an object. That’s how Karl Waschka reports it to Hans Aichinger: AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 211–215, Polizeibericht 7.2.1946.

⁵⁵³ To force him to Aryanize.

⁵⁵⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Urteil Arthur Schöffthaler 29.8.1951.

Hermann returns to her apartment and phones the Hermann company's cellarkeeper and bookkeeper, telling them that some men have broken into the store and there is a risk of fire and explosions. She instructs the bookkeeper Josef Hannig to call the fire brigade and the police. The police tell Hannig that they have already been informed.

When the Gestapo officer Kaspar Horngacher⁵⁵⁵ arrives with a colleague at the scene of the crime, he notices a car parked in front of the Café Tyrol, which he finds surprising at that hour of the night. He observes several men leaving the building at 28 Leopoldstrasse and going to the car. They are possibly members of the Waidacher/Mathoi SA group.

Assault on the Dubsy family and destruction of their company's liquor stocks⁵⁵⁶

Josef Hannig, the Hermann company's bookkeeper, sees the Waidacher/Mathoi group of SA men enter the nearby building at no. 2 Heiliggeiststrasse, in which the Dubsy distillery is located. The men first go upstairs to the Dubsy family's apartment⁵⁵⁷. Three people are sleeping there: Luise Dubsy née Bertoldi, her 91-year-old father-in-law Leopold Dubsy, retired director of the "Erste Tiroler Essigsprit- und Likörfabrik, Branntweinbrennerei und Obstverwertungsindustrie", and their cook Hermine Rosenzopf. Luise Dubsy's 41-year-old husband Egon Dubsy, the prime target of the attack, is in hospital. Demoralised by the exhausting disputes over the aryanisation of his business and following instructions from the Gestapo to leave Innsbruck, he tried to commit suicide in October 1938.⁵⁵⁸

Luise Dubsy is woken by the noise. An agitated Hermine Rosenzopf comes into the bedroom and says that some men are in the process of breaking down the door to the apartment. Frau Dubsy, who is of 'Aryan' descent, hurries to the telephone to inform her relatives. But before she can get through, the door bursts open and Johann Mathoi and eight SA-men barge into the apartment with their collars turned up and their hats pulled down over their eyes.⁵⁵⁹ One of them snatches the receiver out of Frau Dubsy's hand and throws the telephone on the floor to break it. The marble clock, a French grandfather clock from the 17th century, is knocked over and broken in the process.

SA Standartenführer Mathoi asks for Egon Dubsy. Luise truthfully replies that he is in hospital. Mathoi justifies the intrusion with the death of Ernst vom Rath, the German diplomat working in Paris who was shot by Herschel

⁵⁵⁵ Horngacher received a note from Chief Inspector Schmidt with the address of the company Hermann.

⁵⁵⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussagen Luise Dubsy 20.5.1948 u. 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Johann Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Schöffthaler 29.8.1951. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 211–223, Polizeibericht, 7.2.1946. TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsy (ohne Datum). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁵⁷ According to Mathoi, Standartenschreiber Gfrerer follows them on the stairs.

⁵⁵⁸ The plan to save the company by transferring it to his brother-in-law Friedrich Bertoldi had been thwarted in June 1938.

⁵⁵⁹ Mrs. Dubsy counts nine persons and recognizes Mathoi. According to Mathoi, Vinzenz Waidacher is not with him.

Grynszpan two days earlier. Luise Dubsky does not see the connection and asks what that has to do with her. Mathoi replies that it has “a lot” to do with her⁵⁶⁰ and shouts (or one of his companions does), “Give her a good thump, the race defiler, the Jewish sow!”⁵⁶¹

With such yelling and shouting, the intruders spread out in the spacious apartment. Two of them enter the room of the elderly Leopold Dubsky. Luise Dubsky follows them, sits on her father-in-law’s bed and gives him cover so that nothing can happen to him. And in fact, no physical violence is done to him or Luise. However, the SA men demolish the apartment in a destructive frenzy – and do so with great thoroughness. “To a torrent of threats and insults”,⁵⁶² they smash mirrors, cupboards and washing utensils in her father-in-law’s room, tear all the oil paintings out of their frames in the living room and also damage pictures and clocks in other rooms. They chop the Bösendorfer grand piano “right down the middle”⁵⁶³ and smash the dishes in the kitchen down to the last cup. Karl Bertoldi, who lives on the second floor, tries to intervene as Luise Dubsky’s brother, but he is not allowed to enter the apartment.

When Mathoi and his SA men finally leave the apartment, they apparently meet another hit squad on the ground floor.⁵⁶⁴ It is not clear which of them then breaks into the liquor cellar and storerooms and destroys the Dubsky company’s stock of beverages, but the procedure is similar to the attack on Alois Hermann’s store:

The furnishings and fittings are demolished and the contents of all bottles and barrels – “brandy, raspberry juice, vinegar, etc.”⁵⁶⁵ – poured onto the floor. Albert Lutz, who is on his way either to or from Hugo Schindler’s apartment with two other Gestapo officers,⁵⁶⁶ makes a quick inspection of the Dubsky store rooms and gives a brief but striking description of what he sees: “In the cellar there was wine, liqueur and raspberry juice standing about 10 cm deep on the floor, with everything smashed to pieces.”⁵⁶⁷ But there is no longer anyone there.

⁵⁶⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁵⁶¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Luise Dubsky 20.5.1948.

⁵⁶² TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsky (ohne Datum).

⁵⁶³ TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsky (ohne Datum).

⁵⁶⁴ The SA group Stanzel meets another group in Dubsky’s house: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 2648/47, Aussage Alfred Gnesetti 3.11.1947. The NSKK group Ebner could also have intervened here, because according to the beer brewer Josef Mauthner, Karl Tautermann, a member of Ebner’s group, told him the next morning that he had stood with Dubsky up to his calf in schnapps and wine: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 106/46, Bericht 6.2.1946.

⁵⁶⁵ TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsky (ohne Datum).

⁵⁶⁶ One of them a Berliner named Brauns.

⁵⁶⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 852/47, Aussage Albert Lutz 9.1.1947.

The hunt for Dr. Eduard Fuchs⁵⁶⁸

Johann Mathoi and Vinzenz Waidacher then meet members of the Eder group of SA men, who tell them about their raid on Dr. Eduard Fuchs at no. 6 Museumstrasse.

Mathoi and Waidacher are apparently dissatisfied with the other group's performance. Together with Wilhelm Eder, Max Adermann, Arthur Schöffthaler and other SA men, they break into the apartment of the Fuchs family. There is no-one there any more, but the intruders take the opportunity to devastate this apartment as well (see Assault on Dr. Eduard Fuchs).

Mathoi then goes to the Sillgasse, where he witnesses the destruction of the synagogue. In court he will later make the implausible claim, "At the Fuchs' place, I started to find the whole Jewish thing pretty stupid."⁵⁶⁹

Follow-up for the Hermann family⁵⁷⁰

On his way to see Martha Hermann, the bookkeeper Josef Hannig meets two Gestapo officers in the street, perhaps Kaspar Horngacher and his colleague. When Hannig tells them about the telephone call from Frau Hermann, they inform him about the operation and advise him not to enter the Hermann liquor store.

When the Gestapo officers arrive at no. 28 Leopoldstrasse, the front door is open. Inside there is a smell of schnapps. The hallway is littered with broken glass. Wading through pools of alcohol, they enter the store to inspect the mess, as one of them puts it⁵⁷¹. They ask Rosa Waschka about the Hermann family. In the stairwell they meet Martha Hermann-Wild. She introduces herself as the wife of the businessman Hermann, whom she is in the process of divorcing. She says her husband has left for Vienna. The officers do not believe her and conduct a search of her apartment on the third floor.

On his arrival at the store, the bookkeeper Josef Hannig is greeted by the following sight: Both shop windows have been smashed. One typewriter has obviously been used as a projectile and lies damaged on the floor, while another is missing. The cash register has been robbed. Almost all containers have been broken or emptied. The floor is covered with a mixture of various

⁵⁶⁸ The reconstruction of the events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946; Aussage Wilhelm Eder 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Max Adermann, Wilhelm Eder u. Hubert Stoiber 8.10.1946; Urteil Tapavicza, Adermann, Eder u. Stoiber 27.11.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi, 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3224/47, Anklage Arthur Schöffthaler 5.6.1950; Urteil Schöffthaler 29.8.1951.

⁵⁶⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi, 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung)

⁵⁷⁰ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3170/46, Aussagen Martha Hermann-Wild 8.10.1945 u. 4.11.1946; Kaspar Horngacher 30.9.–2.10.1946; Rosa Waschka 12.11.1946; Bericht 15.3.1946. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 211–223, Polizeibericht 7.2.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Josef Hannig 29.4.1948; Anklage Johann Mathoi 8.6.1948; Urteil Mathoi 28.8.1948. Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 63–65. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁷¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 3170/46, Aussage Martha Hermann-Wild 8.10.1945.

liquids that have spilled over the broken furnishings and fittings. Hannig puts the total damage at between 12,000 and 20,000 Reichsmarks.⁵⁷²

In the morning, a police officer in the registration office tells the funny story of the shock he gave his wife: He came home red to his knees. His wife thought it was blood, but in fact it was raspberry juice. He had waded in it in the Hermann company's store.

The Hermann company, which had been signed over to the grandson, is closed down and a sale at a reasonable price prevented. Under intense pressure from Gauleiter Hofer, the property is finally sold to the South Tyrolean Lauda family at the beginning of 1940. In October 1941, Alois and Wilhelmine Hermann are deported from Vienna to the Lodz ghetto and from there transferred to the Chelmno extermination camp, where they both die in 1942. Their son Richard Hermann and grandson Nikolaus flee to the USA and survive.

Following protracted restitution proceedings after the war, the heirs finally receive a token payment and a bankrupt business. The Lauda company, which in the meantime has moved to the former premises of the Dubsky company in the Heiliggeiststrasse, has deprived the company of its business.

Follow-up for the Dubsky family⁵⁷³

Shortly after the departure of the SA squad, two men appear in the Dubsky apartment at no. 2 Heiliggeiststrasse and identify themselves as Gestapo officers. They ask what has happened and whether anyone has been beaten. Then they do a provisional repair job on the door to the apartment and advise Luise Dubsky to lock the doors of the rooms. They leave at about 4:15 a.m.

Just before six o'clock in the morning, two uniformed police officers arrive. They tell Luise Dubsky that she "should be glad" that the perpetrators "didn't knock her and her father-in-law about, because that's what they did to others". The officers apologise for "not coming earlier, but the whole police force was off duty during the night, and only the SS and the Gestapo performed the duties of the police".⁵⁷⁴ Later two other policemen inspect the devastation on the premises of the Dubsky company. According to Luise Dubsky, the damage there amounts to 30,000 to 40,000 (old) schillings and in the apartment to about 10,000 schillings.

In 1940 Leopold Dubsky dies a natural death in Innsbruck at the age of 93. Egon Dubsky is transferred from the hospital in Hall to the Reichenau Corrective Labour Camp in May 1943. There he is shot for purely arbitrary reasons by

⁵⁷² 12.000–15.000 RM (AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZl. 121.266-2/46, Fol. 211–223, Polizeibericht 7.2.1946.), 15.000–20.000 RM (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4555/46, Aussage Josef Hannig 11.2.1947.) – The perpetrators apparently did not invade the cellar and the magazine. In any case, nothing has been destroyed here.

⁵⁷³ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussagen Luise Dubsky 20.5.1948 u. 27.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung). TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsky (ohne Datum). Horst Schreiber (Hg.), Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche (= Tiroler Studien zu Geschichte und Politik 1, Innsbruck 2001), 47f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁷⁴ TLA, BP Innsbruck. NS-Dokumentationsmaterial zur Arisierung, Aussage Luise Dubsky (ohne Datum).

Gestapo chief Werner Hilliges on 2 June 1943. The Dubsky liquor company and real estate are restituted to his widow Luise Dubsky after 1945.

“It wasn’t as bad for us as it was for others; they didn’t kill anyone.”

The raid on Max Turteltaub and his family⁵⁷⁵

“We woke up from all the noise, with the Nazis and their shouting. I tried to hide,”⁵⁷⁶ Abraham Gafni recalls. Back then, in November 1938, his name was Erich Weinreb. With his two half siblings Margit (Gita) and Leopold Scharf, ten-year-old Erich lives with his grandparents Amalie and Max Turteltaub at no. 12 Defreggerstrasse: “My little brother Poldi saw them beat up our 70-year-old grandfather.”⁵⁷⁷ The perpetrators most likely belong to an NSKK squad.⁵⁷⁸ They brutally knock down the businessman Max Turteltaub⁵⁷⁹ and drag him down the stairs by his feet, with his head banging on the steps. In the apartment they throw “everything around”.⁵⁸⁰

In the early hours of the morning Erich Weinreb sees several relatives being taken into ‘protective custody’: They arrested “my grandfather, uncle Fritz, my cousin Aldo and my great uncle Julius and took them away.”⁵⁸¹ Others are arrested, too: Karl Schnurmann, who has been registered as living in the Turteltaub apartment with his wife Bertha since the beginning of November,⁵⁸² and Julius Schrager, who lives in the same building with his wife Sali and their two sons David and Paul. It is not known whether they are also subjected to physical abuse in the night of the pogrom.

As an Italian citizen, Aldo Alloggi is released on the same day on condition he maintain secrecy. Grandfather Max Turteltaub and his son Friedrich remain in custody until 18 November. Karl Schnurmann is freed three days later and Julius Schrager on 22 November 1938. For a retrospective view, Abraham Gafni takes refuge in irony, “It wasn’t as bad for us as it was for others; they didn’t kill anyone.”⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁵ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibernann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni (Innsbruck 2014), v. a. 125–159. Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 109–116. Martin Achraier / Niko Hofinger, Die Turteltaubs – eine Großfamilie zwischen jüdischer Tradition und österreichischem Alltag, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 1999), 154f, 159. Maria Luise Stainer, „Ich hab mich gefühlt wie bei der Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.“ Berichte Vertriebener aus Tirol, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Wir lebten wie sie. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 1999), 355–372. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁷⁶ Abraham Gafni according to Christoph W. Bauer, Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 109.

⁵⁷⁷ Abraham Gafni nach: Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibernann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni (Innsbruck 2014), 125.

⁵⁷⁸ Not an SA group, as Abraham Gafni suspects. For NSKK men, including Josef Seipt, enter a building in the Leipziger Platz area, very probably the house Defreggerstraße 12 directly next to the square. Seipt says he encounters troop leader Karl Hanl, who has been assigned a NSKK group at Boznerplatz, in front of an apartment door in Pradl. Does he meet Hanl at Defreggerstraße 12? (Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4171/46, Bericht 17.12.1945; Anklage Alois Hochrainer, Karl Hanl, Martin Liedoll, Hermann Moser, Josef Ramersdorfer u. Josef Alois Seipt, 1.12.1946. AdR, BMI, Dokumentenmappe Judenpogrom 1938 in Innsbruck, GZL. 121.266-2/46, Fol 69-73, Polizeibericht 21.2.1946.)

⁵⁷⁹ Actually Wolf Meier Turteltaub.

⁵⁸⁰ Abraham Gafni according to Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibernann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni (Innsbruck 2014), 125.

⁵⁸¹ Abraham Gafni according to Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibernann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni (Innsbruck 2014), 125.

⁵⁸² Before that they lived at 13 Defreggerstrasse.

⁵⁸³ Abraham Gafni according to Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibernann, Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni (Innsbruck 2014), 125.

Max Turteltaub is determined to move his family to safety as quickly as possible. Shortly before Christmas 1938 he leaves Innsbruck for Vienna with his wife Amalie, son Friedrich and his grandchildren. Salomon Scharf, the father of Poldi and Gita, is with them. "The train left Innsbruck after midnight. Grandmother, grandfather and we children were in a compartment and we looked out of the window, and I remember my grandmother saying: 'Take a good look at Innsbruck. Who knows if you'll ever see it again.'"⁵⁸⁴

In Vienna, Max Turteltaub tries to get visas, especially for his grandchildren, whose mother Anna died of tuberculosis several years earlier. Finally, in May 1939, Erich Weinreb and his two-year-younger brother Poldi Scharf are able to leave the city; they set off for Palestine as unaccompanied minors on the Danube steamer Helio.

Their six-year-old sister Gita is due to be evacuated with a group organised by the Refugee Children's Movement but her departure is tragically prevented by illness. No further opportunity for flight presents itself, and Gita is deported from Vienna to Latvia and the Riga ghetto in January 1942 together with her grandparents, Amalie and Max Turteltaub. All three perish there. Gita's father Salo Scharf is arrested in France and finally murdered in Auschwitz. Of the Schragger family, only the elder son Paul, who was born in 1925, survives. In March 1939 he arrives in Palestine with a Zionist group, ahead of his second cousins Erich and Poldi.

Leopold Scharf and Erich Weinreb are initially found places with various families and institutions in Palestine. Ultimately, they manage to establish themselves as Aria and Abraham Gafni and become Israeli citizens.

Today Abraham Gafni again has close contacts with his old hometown. Since 1963 he and his wife Zipora have been regular visitors to Innsbruck. "For Abraham, Innsbruck always had symbolic value. He felt very much at home there, and not just because of the beautiful scenery. His grandparents did a lot for him, they were very caring, and also his many aunts, uncles and cousins,"⁵⁸⁵ says Zipora Gafni.

⁵⁸⁴ Abraham Gafni according to Christoph W. Bauer, *Die zweite Fremde. Zehn jüdische Lebensbilder* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 109.

⁵⁸⁵ Zipora Gafni according to Horst Schreiber / Irmgard Bibermann, *Von Innsbruck nach Israel. der Lebensweg von Erich Weinreb / Abraham Gafni* (Innsbruck 2014), 219.

“... shocked that a doctor should be a party to such things”

Assault on Ing. Alfred Graubart and (Ernst) Fischer by the SA's Innsbruck medical squad⁵⁸⁶

On the evening of 9 November, SA Obersturmführer Dr. Theodor Tapavicza, a doctor and head of the SA's Innsbruck medical squad since the summer, is working in his office at the squad's base, which is located on the second floor of no. 10 Bürgerstrasse. He is summoned to a roll call on the regiment's premises one floor down. Dr. Tapavicza, who at first thinks that some kind of “student fling”⁵⁸⁷ is planned, listens closely to the speech given by SA Standartenführer Johann Mathoi. Towards the end of the meeting Tapavicza receives a small slip of paper from him. He studies the addresses of Innsbruck's Jews noted on it, including Ing. Alfred Graubart in Saggen, and forms a strong group of comrades from the medical squad, most of them students. The group also includes Dr. Hubert Stoiber, who is a lawyer. The names of the other men are not known. In a message smuggled out of the prison after the war, Theodor Tapavicza tells Stoiber, “Please don't say anything about the others. I am sorry that I gave them your name.”⁵⁸⁸

Assault on Berta Dannhauser?

The SA group first goes to some addresses in the city centre.⁵⁸⁹ In the Maria-Theresien-Strasse “the Jews have already gone over the Brenner Pass”, as Dr. Hubert Stoiber puts it.⁵⁹⁰ In the Sillgasse the men force their way into an apartment near the Klosterkaserne (barracks)⁵⁹¹. It can only be the apartment of the Dannhauser family⁵⁹² on the second floor of no. 15 Sillgasse. Dr. Stoiber later tells the court that he did not find anyone there. But for decades it has been the home of Berta Dannhauser, cared for by her widowed daughters Helene Jäger and Regina John. They also look after Rudolf John, Regina's paralysed son. How the SA men behave towards Berta, Regina, Helene and Rudolf is not known. Do they limit their acts to verbal abuse and threats to make them leave Innsbruck? Berta Dannhauser, the widow of the Innsbruck

⁵⁸⁶ Unless otherwise stated the reconstruction of events is based on: Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 3.2.1946; Aussagen Maria Graubart geb. Herold 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung), Hubert Stoiber 14.8.1946 u. 27.11.1946 (Hv.), Theodor Tapavicza 27.11.1946 (Hv.); Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 8.10.1946, Urteil Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 27.11.1946; Schreiben Melanie Tapavicza 16.7.1948. AdR, BMI, Judenpogrom GZl. 121.266-2/46, 3.5.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Maria Graubart geb. Herold 3.7.1945 u. 14.4.1946. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Theodor Tapavicza 12.12.1945 (Bericht 30.5.1947). TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Theodor Tapavicza 28.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung). See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁵⁸⁷ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Theodor Tapavicza 28.8.1948 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁵⁸⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Hauptverhandlung Theodor Tapavicza 27.11.1946.

⁵⁸⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Hubert Stoiber 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung); Anklage Adermann, Eder, Stoiber u. Tapavicza 8.10.1946.

⁵⁹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Hubert Stoiber 14.8.1946.

⁵⁹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Hubert Stoiber 14.8.1946.

⁵⁹² For the Dannhauser family see Martin Achrainner, Gemeinderat Wilhelm Dannhauser, Selbstbewusstes Judentum zwischen „deutscher Treue“ und politischem Antisemitismus, in: Thomas Albrich, Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 2009), 225–264.

City Councillor Wilhelm Dannhauser,⁵⁹³ is allegedly assaulted in the night of the pogrom, but the claim that she was pushed down the stairs is probably untrue,⁵⁹⁴ as she could hardly have survived such treatment at the age of 98.⁵⁹⁵

Detour to Dr. Eduard Fuchs

SA Obersturmführer Dr. Theodor Tapavicza subsequently meets the SA squad led by Eder, who are about to enter the building at no. 6 Museumstrasse to pay a visit to Dr. Eduard Fuchs. He follows them. As his motive for doing so he mentions his acquaintance with Eduard's sister Wally, who is one of his sister's classmates. Wally is not in Innsbruck, however, but probably in London. Tapavicza sees men from the Eder squad attack Eduard Fuchs and break his nose. Dr. Tapavicza has his first aid kit with him, allegedly to "be of help" if necessary.⁵⁹⁶ He does not provide Dr. Fuchs with any such help. Nor does the brutality of Eder's men stop him from continuing on his own mission and proceeding to the Saggen district.

Beating of (Ernst) Fischer in the home of the Gottlieb family

In Saggen the first stop for Dr. Tapavicza and his men from the SA medical squad is no. 4 Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Strasse. One of the ground floor apartments is the home of 72-year-old Eszti Gottlieb née Bendek and Cäzilie Gottlieb, who is 39 years old, and a Jewish tenant by the name of Fischer.⁵⁹⁷ This is presumably 47-year-old Ernst Fischer, who was previously registered at no. 9 Schillerstrasse, Eszti Gottlieb's former address.

The front door is unlocked, and the men ring the bell by the door to the apartment. Eszti Gottlieb opens and the men enter the apartment. They want to know whether there are any Jewish men on the premises. Frau Gottlieb presumably tells them that Arthur Gottlieb has gone, that the 49-year-old businessman, who only came from Nice in 1936, left Innsbruck again in April 1938 already. The SA men do not believe her and conduct a search of the apartment. That leads them to the tenant Fischer, who lives in a separate room on the other side of the hallway. Dr. Hubert Stoiber, a "rowdy and go-

⁵⁹³ Martin Achraier, Gemeinderat Wilhelm Dannhauser, Selbstbewusstes Judentum zwischen „deutscher Treue“ und politischem Antisemitismus, in: Thomas Albrich, Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 2009), 225–264.

⁵⁹⁴ Daisy Koeb makes no mention of this in her Dannhauser family chronicle: Daisy Koeb, The Dannhauser Chronicle (Rishon-Lezion 1990). "The very elderly Berta Dannhauser was finally pushed down the staircase." (Maria-Luise Stainer, Die Judengemeinde in Innsbruck (Hausarbeit aus Geschichte, eingereicht bei Prof. Dr. Johann Rainer an der Universität Innsbruck, 1973), 88. Compare Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Die Täter des Judenpogroms 1938 in Innsbruck (Innsbruck-Wien 2016), 16, 149.

⁵⁹⁵ Berta Dannhauser dies on December 27, 1939, Regina John on January 18, 1942, both in Innsbruck. Rudolf John and his aunt Helene Jäger are deported in September 1942 to a 'Sammellager' in Vienna and from there to the concentration camp Theresienstadt. Rudolf John was deported to Auschwitz in January 1943 and murdered. Helene Jäger dies in April 1943 in Theresienstadt. (www.hohenemsgenealogie.at. Daisy Koeb, The Dannhauser Chronicle (Rishon-Lezion 1990), 81f.)

⁵⁹⁶ In this way he wants to justify himself if he was picked up by the police (TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946).

⁵⁹⁷ "Next to us on the ground floor lived at that time [...] a subtenant, also a Jew, credibly named Fischer, about 40 years old." TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Maria Wiesauer (Bericht 13.2.1946).

getter”⁵⁹⁸, immediately attacks the defenceless man, who is lying on a mattress on the floor. He kneels on Fischer and punches him in the face. Dr. Tapavicza pulls the blanket over the head of the victim, who is screaming in pain, and beats him on the head or upper body.⁵⁹⁹ Eszti Gottlieb can only observe the violence from the door. As they leave, Stoiber is still hurling insults, while Dr. Tapavicza, a gentleman to the last, claims to have apologised to Frau Gottlieb.

Assault on Ing. Alfred Graubart

The next victim on the list is Ing. Alfred Graubart at nearby no. 8 Haydnplatz. The 43-year-old entrepreneur, until recently a partner in the now aryanised S. Graubart shoe store, is the brother of Ing. Richard Graubart. With him are his non-Jewish wife Maria née Herold and her sister Lilly Beran, who is on a visit from Reutte. It is not known whether Erik Friedrich Graubart, Maria and Alfred’s seven-year-old son, is also there. Some time after 3 a.m. Tapavicza’s SA squad rings the bell by the front door. Alfred and Maria Graubart get out of bed, open the window and look down to see who is disturbing them. When asked who is there, one of the men demands to be let in under false pretences, “Open up! Gestapo!”⁶⁰⁰ Maria Graubart stops her husband from going downstairs and unlocks the front door herself. She opens the door and recoils in shock. The leader of a group of about five men is standing in front of her with a pointed weapon in his hand.

Tapavicza and his men ask for Ing. Alfred Graubart and charge up the staircase without waiting for his wife to reply. Maria Graubart, fearing for her husband’s safety, follows them in great agitation, but one of the men pushes her into the children’s bedroom to join her sister Lilly. He also enters the room, closes the door behind him and stands in front of it with his legs apart.

The two women soon hear Alfred Graubart’s desperate cries for help from his room; he is punched and kicked over and over again. Lilly Beran faints with shock and lies unconscious on her bed. Maria Graubart tries to get to Alfred but her guard, knife in hand, pushes her back without a word and ignores her entreaties.

Dr. Theodor Tapavicza allegedly remains in the hall during the assault, which may be true because he knows Ing. Alfred Graubart from the tennis club. Then Dr. Tapavicza and his men from the SA medical squad depart and assemble in front of the building.

⁵⁹⁸ Tapavicza according to TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Urteil Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 27.11.1946.

⁵⁹⁹ Tapavicza states in court that he merely accidentally fell on the man and "perhaps" hit him with his elbow on his chest or face. But he only wanted to protect fishermen with the blanket. A statement which contradicts Dr. Stoiber's statement and which the Volksgericht does not follow.

⁶⁰⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 8.10.1946.

Still not enough blood

From the Haydnplatz, the SA hit squad moves on to the Graubart villa in the Gänsbacherstrasse, where Tapavicza sees blood on the steps. He introduces himself as a doctor but is not admitted. An ambulance is already there.⁶⁰¹ Apparently Dr. Wilhelm Bauer is to be taken to hospital from the building where Alfred Graubart's brother Richard has been murdered. Dr. Stoiber sees Dr. Bauer lying in the hallway, "I felt nauseated;"⁶⁰² "in front of him" there was "lots of blood (...) I looked at the man and was convinced that he only had another two minutes to live. I felt horror and left without doing anything."⁶⁰³

Nevertheless, the 'paramedics' – possibly in search of Dr. Eduard Fuchs, who has meanwhile fled his apartment in the Museumstrasse – proceed to the Wilhelm-Greil-Strasse to continue spreading fear and terror. Just before four o'clock am the Tapavicza SA group ring the bell of the Fuchs apartment on the second floor of the building at no. 4 Wilhelm-Greil-Strasse. Jutta Fuchs née Braunschweig, a Jewess with a Swiss passport and house owner and widow of the furniture dealer Karl Fuchs, is not in Innsbruck, but the cook and caretaker Magdalena Schwaiger opens the door.

Five SA men show her a party badge and enter the apartment shouting "Police! Search warrant!"⁶⁰⁴ The men follow the usual procedure, with one remaining in one of the rooms with the cook and another guarding the door to the apartment. Dr. Theodor Tapavicza and the others enter the room of the tenant Josef Fuchs, a medical student. Fuchs, who is neither a Jew nor a relative of Jutta Fuchs, recognises Dr. Tapavicza and is "shocked that a doctor should be a party to such things".⁶⁰⁵ When the student identifies himself as an Aryan, Dr. Tapavicza and his SA men leave him alone and terminate their mission.

On the 10th of November Tapavicza goes to the Institute of Pathology and, presumably out of curiosity, asks the autopsy assistant Benedikt Pilser to show him the corpses of Richard Graubart and Wilhelm Bauer.⁶⁰⁶ "From all the circumstances it is reasonable to assume that Dr. Theodor Tapavicza completely fulfilled his mission."⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰¹ According to Tapavicza.

⁶⁰² TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Hubert Stoiber 27.11.1946 (Hauptverhandlung).

⁶⁰³ TLA, LG Innsbruck 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Hubert Stoiber 14.8.1946.

⁶⁰⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 8.10.1946.

⁶⁰⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946.

⁶⁰⁶ Since Richard Berger is not mentioned, Tapavicza is apparently in the institute before.

⁶⁰⁷ According to a 1946 report by the police: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946.

Follow-up for 4 Kaiser-Franz-Joseph-Strasse⁶⁰⁸

Probably after three o'clock in the morning, Robert Wiesauer hears a terrible moaning from the neighbouring apartment through his bedroom wall. He wakes up his parents, who initially assume that the tenant of the Gottlieb family is drunk and terribly sick. Maria Wiesauer looks through the peephole of the apartment door and sees Cäzilie Gottlieb carrying a bowl of water from the kitchen across the hallway to (Ernst) Fischer's room. Only in the morning, when she learns about the outrages of the previous night, does she realise what must have happened. Cäzilie and Eszti Gottlieb obviously cleaned up their severely beaten tenant and washed the blood off him. He must have bled profusely.

Eszti and Cäzilie Gottlieb leave Innsbruck shortly after the pogrom. By 17 November 1938, both are listed as having fled. Nothing is known about (Ernst) Fischer's further fate.

Follow-up for Alfred and Maria Graubart⁶⁰⁹

Maria Graubart finds her husband Alfred lying motionless. He has a severe nose bleed and injuries to his face. Frau Graubart tries to call a doctor, but the telephone is not working. Dr. Theodor Tapavicza has pulled the cable out.

Maria Graubart hastily leaves her apartment at no. 8 Haydnplatz to fetch a doctor but is prevented from doing so by a man standing by the front door, who threatens to shoot her. Since her husband is a Jew, Maria Graubart cannot expect any help from the neighbours. So she has to see what she can do herself for her battered husband, who is on the floor "in his own blood"⁶¹⁰ and has lost consciousness. Maria washes his face, lays on cold compresses and pours a drop of cognac into his mouth.

He does not regain consciousness until half past six in the morning. Half an hour later, the two of them receive the news of the death of Richard Graubart, Alfred's brother. "Understandably," says Maria Graubart, "that shattering fact eclipsed all the harm done to us."⁶¹¹

Alfred Graubart suffers from headaches for a long time. At the end of November 1938 he has to move to Vienna but manages to flee to Switzerland and survives. For her own safety, Maria Graubart temporarily reassumes her maiden name Herold in 1939. Starting in 1945, Maria Graubart-Herold runs the Graubart shoe store for several years. Her son Erik Friedrich attends the

⁶⁰⁸ The reconstruction of events is based on: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Aussage Maria Wiesauer (Bericht 13.2.1946), Bericht 13.2.1946; Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 8.10.1946; Urteil Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 27.11.1946. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁶⁰⁹ The reconstruction of events is based on TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Graubart geb. Herold 3.7.1945. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 651/46, Bericht 13.2.1946; Anklage Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 8.10.1946; Urteil Theodor Tapavicza, Hubert Stoiber u.a. 27.11.1946. Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 103. Horst Schreiber (Hg.), *Jüdische Geschäfte in Innsbruck. Eine Spurensuche* (Innsbruck 2001), 55f. See also www.hohenemsgenealogie.at.

⁶¹⁰ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Graubart geb. Herold 3.7.1945.

⁶¹¹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Maria Graubart geb. Herold 3.7.1945.

grammar school on the Adolf-Pichler-Platz. Later he emigrates to the United States.

The suicide of Klara and Lotte Kohtz⁶¹²

After the November pogrom in Innsbruck, there was a rumour that, in addition to Laura and Julius Popper, an unknown Jewess was also thrown into the river. It may have originated in the following tragic event, which began across the border in Bavaria:

In the early morning of November 10, 1938, a “mob of mostly non-local rabble” besieges the house of the 81-year-old senior medical officer’s widow Klara Kohtz and her daughter Lotte in Partnachstrasse in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.⁶¹³ The police arrest Klara Kohtz and drive her to the NSDAP district headquarters. Lotte, who is half Jewish, accompanies her elderly mother. “In front of the National Socialists’ building, another large crowd gathered”.⁶¹⁴ Klara and Lotte Kohtz are verbally abused and spat at. Children who have been incited to do so also join in. Kreisleiter Hans Hausböck tells Klara Kohtz and the other arrested Jews to leave Germany immediately. While fondling his loaded pistol, Hausböck threatens the detainees with concentration camp and death.

Klara Kohtz has to sign an affidavit stating that she will leave Garmisch-Partenkirchen with the “next possible train”⁶¹⁵ and that she will never return and will sell her immovable property. At midday she and her daughter Lotte are released. When their friend Anneliese Wollenburg brings them food, she finds the two in their apartment “completely crushed”. While she and Lotte pack the basics needed for the journey, a Gestapo officer appears and checks their baggage. “I can’t live anymore and I don’t want to live anymore”⁶¹⁶ are the words that Klara Kohtz murmurs to herself.

Anneliese Wollenburg accompanies Klara and Lotte Kohtz to the train. At the railway station, residents of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, including many members of the National Socialist Women’s League, have gathered to see the spectacle. They also shout insults at Anneliese Wollenburg.

⁶¹² Alois Schwarzmüller, „Juden sind hier nicht erwünscht!“ Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Bürger in Garmisch-Partenkirchen von 1933 bis 1945 (Vortrag Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1993), http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_vortrag_1993/kapitel_6.htm#_ftnref55. Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006),

http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018. Compare Thomas Albrich, Der Novemberpogrom. Die „Reichskristallnacht“ vom 9./10. November 1938, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol, Bd. 3, Von der Teilung Tirols 1918 bis in die Gegenwart (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 228–230.

⁶¹³ Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006), http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018.

⁶¹⁴ Käthe Hirsch, Eidesstattliche Erklärung über die antijüdischen Vorgänge am 9. November 1938, 21.9.1948, according to Alois Schwarzmüller, „Juden sind hier nicht erwünscht!“ Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Bürger in Garmisch-Partenkirchen von 1933 bis 1945 (Vortrag Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1993), http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_vortrag_1993/kapitel_6.htm#_ftnref55.

⁶¹⁵ From the affidavit, according to Alois Schwarzmüller, „Juden sind hier nicht erwünscht!“ Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Bürger in Garmisch-Partenkirchen von 1933 bis 1945 (Vortrag Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1993), http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_vortrag_1993/kapitel_6.htm#_ftnref55.

⁶¹⁶ Spruchkammer Garmisch-Partenkirchen, A4-1711/3024/48, Aussage Anneliese Wollenburg 18.3.1949, according to Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006), http://members.gaponline.de/alois.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018.

Klara and Lotte Kohtz have to get on the train to Innsbruck without their identity cards, which seem to have been confiscated.⁶¹⁷ The train leaves Garmisch-Partenkirchen at half past four in the afternoon. Anneliese Wollenburg has a feeling that she will never see Klara and Lotte again. Klara's son Reinhold Kohtz receives a telegram: "Mother and Lotte departed for Basel. Please come at once."⁶¹⁸

In Innsbruck Klara and Lotte Kohtz get off the train and leave the station. Soon they make the final decision "not to continue to expose themselves to torments but to seek death together".⁶¹⁹ Presumably in response to the mood in Innsbruck, which makes their situation appear all the more hopeless, Klara and Lotte Kohtz throw themselves into the River Inn.⁶²⁰

On the following day, 11 November 1938, at about half past eleven, the body of Klara Kohtz is recovered from the river downstream from of the city centre near the rifle range in Neu-Arzl.⁶²¹ Reinhold Kohtz has his mother's body brought to Munich for cremation. The body of Lotte Kohtz is not found in the Inn until 12 June 1939 near Kundl.⁶²²

⁶¹⁷ Spruchkammer Garmisch-Partenkirchen, A4-1711/3024/48, Aussage Reinhold Kohtz (Bericht 22.5.1945), according to Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006), http://members.gaponline.de/aloes.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018.

⁶¹⁸ Spruchkammer Garmisch-Partenkirchen, A4-1711/3024/48, Aussage Reinhold Kohtz (Bericht 22.5.1945), according to Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006), http://members.gaponline.de/aloes.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018.

⁶¹⁹ Spruchkammer Garmisch-Partenkirchen, A4-1711/3024/48, Aussage Reinhold Kohtz (Bericht 22.5.1945), according to Alois Schwarzmüller, Garmisch-Partenkirchen und seine jüdischen Bürger 1933–1945 (2006), http://members.gaponline.de/aloes.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_biographien/kohtz_klara_lotte_reinhold.htm, abgerufen 8.3.2018.

⁶²⁰ Two other residents expelled from Garmisch-Partenkirchen also voted for suicide after the November pogrom: on 14 November 1938, the bodies of the married couple Dr Michael and Emma Schnebel were found dead in a hotel room in Feldkirch. They poisoned themselves with Veronal. In a farewell letter, Dr. Schnebel writes: "We think it is better to die in our fatherland than to become impoverished in a foreign country". (Akten der Spruchkammer Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Johann Hausböck - Berufsregister Nr. 135/50 Berufungskammer für München / Gen.Reg. 2904/49 - K 10065, Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck 15.11.1938, according to Alois Schwarzmüller, „Juden sind hier nicht erwünscht!“ Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Bürger in Garmisch-Partenkirchen von 1933 bis 1945 (Vortrag Garmisch-Partenkirchen 1993), http://members.gaponline.de/aloes.schwarzmueller/juden_in_gap_vortrag_1993/kapitel_6.htm#_ftnref55.

⁶²¹ Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, Totenbeschauprotokoll Nr. 992, 11.11.1938.

⁶²² Zahnersatz ermöglicht Ausforschung einer Vermißten, Salzburger Volksblatt, 27.6.1939, 7.

“Synagogue in Innsbruck wrecked”⁶²³

The destruction of the Jewish prayer house in the Sillgasse

For the night of 9 November 1938, the General SS had instructions not only to murder several prominent Innsbruck Jews but also to mount an operation against the “synagogue in the Strasse der Sudetendeutschen”, i.e. today’s Sillgasse.⁶²⁴ The “synagogue” was not a separate sacred building but a “prayer house consisting only of one large room”.⁶²⁵ It was inconspicuously located in the annex of no. 15 Sillgasse.⁶²⁶ The owners in 1938 were the ‘half-Jews’ Elsa Sova, resident in Innsbruck, and Fritz Fössl of Graz.⁶²⁷

The prayer house was only a temporary solution and was modestly furnished but it could accommodate up to 200 people on high holy days.⁶²⁸ Unlike Hohenems and Meran, Innsbruck never had a synagogue as a separate dedicated building. There were plans for a synagogue before the First World War, and an architectural competition was held in 1930, but the project was never implemented and was finally abandoned in 1936.⁶²⁹ The reason for this, “apart from the general economic problems, was probably the decline in the size of the community and especially the increase in the numbers of young Jews emigrating from Innsbruck”.⁶³⁰

The SS operation

When the orders are issued at the SS regimental headquarters, Oberführer Johann Feil gives instructions to wreck the “synagogue”. Before the operation, thought is apparently given to burning it down, as in other cities.⁶³¹ But on the contrary, precautions are taken against arson: According to instructions given

⁶²³ Innsbrucker Abendblatt ‚Neueste Zeitung‘, 11.11.1938.

⁶²⁴ Niederschrift Fast, SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol, 12.11.1938, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934-1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 451. Also printed in: T. Friedmann (Hg.), *Die Kristall-Nacht. Dokumentarische Sammlung* (Haifa 1972).

⁶²⁵ Bericht der Gestapo Innsbruck an die Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol betreffend Ruinen der synagoguen jüdischer Kultusvereinigungen, 12.5.1939, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934-1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 463. See also Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶²⁶ At Sillgasse 15 lives the almost 100 year old Berta Dannhauser with two daughters and one grandson. To the Dannhauser family see Martin Achrainner, Gemeinderat Wilhelm Dannhauser, *Selbstbewusstes Judentum zwischen „deutscher Treue“ und politischem Antisemitismus*, in: Thomas Albrich, *Von Salomon Sulzer bis „Bauer & Schwarz“*. Jüdische Vorreiter der Moderne in Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 2009), 225–264.

⁶²⁷ Fössl, not „Fössl“: Bericht der Gestapo Innsbruck an die Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol betreffend Ruinen der synagoguen jüdischer Kultusvereinigungen, 12.5.1939, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934-1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 463. See also Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶²⁸ Ingrid Böhler, *Der „Landesrabbiner“*. Dr. Josef Link und seine Familie, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *„Wir lebten wie sie ...“*. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 1999), 38f.

⁶²⁹ Ingrid Böhler, *Der „Landesrabbiner“*. Dr. Josef Link und seine Familie, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *„Wir lebten wie sie ...“*. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus Tirol und Vorarlberg (Innsbruck 1999), 38f. See Horst Hambrusch / Joachim Moroder / Bettina Schlorhauser, Franz Baumann. *Architekt der Moderne in Tirol* (Wien / Bozen 1998), 218ff.

⁶³⁰ Sabine Albrich-Falch, *Jüdisches Leben in Nord- und Südtirol von Herbst 1918 bis Frühjahr 1938*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol*. Bd. 3. *Von der Teilung Tirols 1918 bis in die Gegenwart* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 69.

⁶³¹ In any case, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger received an information from SS-Sturmbannführer Erwin Fleiss that can be interpreted in this way: *Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA), LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 17.–18.8.1945.*

by Gauleiter Franz Hofer, “any fires involving Jewish property” are “the responsibility of the fire department police”.⁶³² Presumably for reasons of safety and potential future uses of the premises, the decision is taken not to set the prayer room on fire.

According to later testimony given by SS Hauptsturmführer Hans Aichinger, who is present at the meeting in the SS headquarters, SS Sturmbannführer Erwin Fleiss leads the raid on the “synagogue” personally.⁶³³

The operation is executed simultaneously with the attacks carried out by the other SS hit squads. Just before half past two in the night, Erwin Fleiss leads several SS men in civilian clothes from the SS headquarters in the Salurner Strasse to the nearby Israeli prayer room in the Sillgasse.⁶³⁴ The group apparently includes Walter Linser.⁶³⁵ Fleiss and his men gain access to the prayer room and go on a rampage. They smash furniture and throw out the Torah ark and the 20 or so wooden benches.⁶³⁶ When SS Oberscharführer Gottfried Andreas goes to the Sillgasse, evidently out of curiosity,⁶³⁷ the wreckers are still hard at work. He sees Walter Linser standing on some scaffolding and busily “knocking the Star of David off the ceiling”. “Damaged furniture” is lying in the yard.⁶³⁸ Johann Mathoi, the commander of the SA regiment, observes SS men carrying off various objects.⁶³⁹ The result of the operation in the words of SS Untersturmführer Gustav Fast: “The synagogue was wrecked.”⁶⁴⁰ In the terse words of an Innsbruck Gestapo report filed under the reference “Ruins of the synagogues of Jewish communities”, “No significant damage has been done to the building itself; therefore no costs have been incurred.”⁶⁴¹

In misleading reports, the press ascribes the night-time devastation of the prayer room by the SS⁶⁴² to outraged citizens acting on impulse, “In their justified rage at the despicable murder,⁶⁴³ the crowd smashed the furnishings of the Jewish building and gave vent to their understandable indignation in angry words shouted against the Jews.”⁶⁴⁴

⁶³² Niederschrift Fast, SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol, 12.11.1938, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 451.

⁶³³ Also Aichinger according to himself would have rather participated here, but Fleiss however insisted on his decision to send him to Gänsbacherstrasse: TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 22.8.1945.

⁶³⁴ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Hans Aichinger 22.8.1945.

⁶³⁵ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussage Gottfried Andreas 23.8.1945.

⁶³⁶ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 12.5.1939, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶³⁷ He notices the fire brigade on the way out of the Saggen back into the city and therefore assumes that the prayer house is on fire.

⁶³⁸ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46, Aussagen Gottfried Andreas 21.8.1945 u. 23.8.1945.

⁶³⁹ TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 1446/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 21.5.1947. TLA, LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 4132/47, Aussage Johann Mathoi 27.8.1948.

⁶⁴⁰ Niederschrift Gustav Fast, SD-Unterabschnitt Tirol, 12.11.1938, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 452. Compare TLA, LG Innsbruck, 18 Vr 1119/64, Schreiben SD-Oberabschnitt Donau Polte an Reichssicherheitshauptamt 21.11.1938 (Abschrift).

⁶⁴¹ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 12.5.1939, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶⁴² The order for the destruction lay with the SS, who carried it out in civilian clothes. The fact that the prayer hall was demolished by the HJ under the leadership of the SS during the pogrom night is neither documented nor credible, since the SS men were to and wanted to remain unrecognized. The HJ only came into play later.

⁶⁴³ Assassination attempt by 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan on Ernst vom Rath, an employee of the German Embassy, in Paris.

⁶⁴⁴ Innsbrucker Abendblatt ‚Neueste Zeitung‘, 11.11.1938.

Subsequent fate of the furnishings and building

Some “synagogue furnishings” seized by the Gestapo are handed over to the secretary of the Jewish Community, Karl Burin, on 8 December 1938. On the other hand, several “metal objects” belonging to the Jewish Community, “wrought-iron candlesticks, a metal cup, a metal plate with chain etc., all of very little value as metal”, have still not been returned one year later.⁶⁴⁵ The regional office of the Hitler Youth receives an “iron stove and a piano”, which also belong to the Jewish Community.⁶⁴⁶ The smashed furniture from the prayer room is handed over to the caretaker as firewood “in consultation with the former head of the Jewish Community, Julius Pasch”,⁶⁴⁷ as it says in the Gestapo report.

Eva Alloggi rescues two Torah scrolls, which she takes with her on her flight to Palestine. A part of the religious inventory is finally sent to Vienna.⁶⁴⁸ Already in November 1938, the room itself is handed over to the Hitler Youth movement, and the former prayer house becomes a store house.⁶⁴⁹

In 1943 no. 15 Sillgasse is hit by bombs in an air raid and the building so badly damaged that it has to be demolished. Thus the few Innsbruck Jews who return after the war cannot at first resume their religious practices in this location.

Reestablishment of the Jewish Community and construction of the synagogue

The Jewish Community in Innsbruck mainly owes its reestablishment in 1952 to one of the victims of the pogrom who chose to return to his home town: the furniture dealer Rudolf Brüll. As a replacement for the destroyed prayer house, he made a room available in his house in the Anichstrasse. After 1961 a room in a ground floor apartment in the Zollerstrasse served as a simple prayer room.

Rudolf Brüll also worked for restitution of the Jewish Community’s ritual artefacts and the payment of compensation. The lost items included twelve Torah scrolls, valuable prayer books and bibles.⁶⁵⁰ Only a few years ago a Torah mantle donated by Max Turteltaub⁶⁵¹ and dedicated to his wife⁶⁵² was

⁶⁴⁵ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 17.11.1939, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 464.

⁶⁴⁶ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 17.11.1939, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Hg.), *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Tirol 1934–1945. Eine Dokumentation*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1984), 464.

⁶⁴⁷ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 12.5.1939, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶⁴⁸ Thomas Albrich, *Die Jahre der Verfolgung und Vernichtung unter der Herrschaft von Nationalsozialismus und Faschismus 1938 bis 1945*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol*. Bd. 3. *Von der Teilung Tirols 1918 bis in die Gegenwart* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 235. According to Stainer, *Torah rolls reach Palestine and the USA*: Maria-Luise Stainer, *Die Judengemeinde in Innsbruck* (Hausarbeit aus Geschichte, eingereicht bei Prof. Dr. Johann Rainer an der Universität Innsbruck, 1973), 88.

⁶⁴⁹ Bericht Gestapo Innsbruck an Landeshauptmannschaft von Tirol, 12.5.1939, in: Gad Hugo Sella, *Die Juden Tirols. Ihr Leben und Schicksal* (Tel-Aviv 1979), 58.

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Nord- und Südtirol nach der Shoa*, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol*. Bd. 3. *Von der Teilung Tirols 1918 bis in die Gegenwart* (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 438–443.

⁶⁵¹ Wolf Meier Turteltaub.

⁶⁵² Malke Turteltaub.

discovered in the collections of the Jewish Community of Vienna and is now in the Hohenems Jewish Museum.

In 1981, the Israeli ambassador to Austria suggested that a commemorative plaque be erected on the site of the former prayer room in the Sillgasse, which served as a parking lot after the war. Because of its poor location, however, it went largely unnoticed.

In 1991 the foundation stone was laid for the construction of a synagogue to the plans of the architect Michael Prachensky in a new building at Sillgasse 15. It was formally dedicated in 1993. The curtain or parochet covering the Torah ark is old; it was donated by Innsbruck women in 1899. A second parochet was donated by Wilma Rimalt, the widow of the last Innsbruck Rabbi. The Torah scrolls are from Prague, as are other ritual items. The silver Chanukka lamp is a gift from Innsbruck's Bishop Reinhold Stecher.

The Jewish Community for Tyrol and Vorarlberg had neither a claim in the strictly legal sense nor the financial resources to build the synagogue. However, with the strong support of Innsbruck's mayor Romuald Niescher, the Tyrolean regional authority and the federal government and especially Bishop Reinhold Stecher, Esther Fritsch – as President of the Jewish Community – was able to achieve a breakthrough in terms of moral justice.⁶⁵³

The Jewish Community has a souvenir of the former prayer room in the form of the old door key, which was kept privately for decades and returned in 1993.

⁶⁵³ Thomas Albrich, Jüdisches Leben in Nord- und Südtirol nach der Shoa, in: Thomas Albrich (Hg.), Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol. Bd. 3. Von der Teilung Tirols 1918 bis in die Gegenwart (Innsbruck-Wien 2013), 456f, 471–474.