

after arrest was not uncommon. However, the physical and psychological burdens of submerged life also proved too much for some individuals. In these cases, Jews preempted even the possibility of arrest and took their own lives.¹²² After the war, the diver Ellen Rathé remembered the case of Hannelore L. Hannelore had been taken in by a friend of Ellen's, but the rigors of illegal life in the city proved too much for her:

[She] poisoned herself on the street with pills. She was found on the Nicholsburgerplatz and taken to the Gertrauden Hospital where, without having regained consciousness, she managed to die an Unknown, since, in order to protect us all, she had destroyed her identity papers.¹²³

Not all Jews despaired. Not all who despaired died. Friends, family, love, recreation, employment, and the will to survive: these were some of the antidotes to one of the deadliest illnesses of the war. The key for one survivor and her family: "We grabbed everything that was a little bit light."¹²⁴

Despite the best efforts of the U-boats to survive, death was not always avoidable. Due to a lack of documentation, the number of people who died in hiding is unknown. At least 130 Jews perished in the air raids, if we are to peg the U-boat mortality rate to that of the non-Jewish mortality rate. However, we must also remember that lack of access to medical care and the exigencies of illegal life probably resulted in a higher-than-average mortality rate. The death of a U-boat, if they had friends or family, was a terrible emotional blow. Moreover, death put the living at risk.¹²⁵ Unlike Hannelore L., who planned the time and place of her death, most of the dashers who died did so unexpectedly, and the disposal of a dead body endangered the deceased's friends, family, and helpers.¹²⁶

Wiktor Pakman escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto with his wife at the end of September 1942, after the conclusion of the first large-scale liquidation measures in the ghetto that summer.¹²⁷ His sister Karola lived in Berlin in a mixed marriage. Karola effected the escape of her brother and sister-in-law by paying a bribe to an unspecified individual. Wiktor's two other sisters, Tania and Pela, along with Pela's daughter Mary, had been living in the city illegally since 1939.¹²⁸ Along with Pela's husband, who fled the ghetto in October 1942, the family lived together in Karola's apartment. In September 1943, the entire family contracted food poisoning, most probably through contaminated flour acquired on the black market. Wiktor died on 1 October 1943.¹²⁹ The family had to contend not only with the loss of Wiktor but also with his body. Burial was not an option. The sisters therefore rolled the body in a carpet and had two "trustworthy men" lay it along the banks of the Berliner Landwehrkanal. Authorities soon discovered the body and buried it in the Marzahn Cemetery on the outskirts of Berlin.¹³⁰

Disposal of the dead often followed similar lines. Despite the tragedy of loss, U-boats were unable to give their loved ones the proper burial and respect they deserved. Martin Wolff had been living submerged with his wife since August 1942. Frau Wolff suffered from cancer and amaurosis. However, due to the risk of capture, the couple was unable to seek out necessary medical care for her. Sometime in late 1943 or early 1944, Frau Wolff died. Martin had few options before him. With the help of an unnamed source, he put his wife in a small pull cart and placed her body in front of a police station. He was unable to ascertain the whereabouts of her remains after the war.¹³¹

Although Wolff was not alone in the difficulties faced when a loved one died, some Jews and the non-Jews helping them were able to go to great lengths to ensure that those who died in hiding received a proper Jewish burial. The cantor Martin Riesenburger, who, due to his marriage to a non-Jew, had been spared deportation and assigned by the Nazis in June 1943 to oversee Jewish burials at the Weißensee Cemetery, continued to provide Jews with a proper burial until the final days of the war. In his memoirs, he recounts the burial of a Jewish man who, in the parlance of both Jews and non-Jews at the time, had died while living in illegality. One early morning a non-Jewish woman who had been sheltering the man appeared in his office to report the death. Secretive and scared lest her Nazi neighbors catch wind of what was happening, she nonetheless asked Riesenburger if he could come that evening in his wagon (having removed the Star of David from his clothes, of course) and pick up the body for burial; Riesenburger complied. When the burial was held a few days later, the woman, along with several others who had helped hide the man, appeared at the burial to pay their respects.¹³² Riesenburger noted in his memoirs that all of the woman were Christian and wore crosses. Considering the myriad methods that submerged Jews used to camouflage themselves whenever they resurfaced into the non-Jewish world, it would be useful to consider whether all of the woman at the burial were, in reality, non-Jews. Riesenburger notes elsewhere in his memoirs that he always made a point of celebrating the High Holy Days in the Jewish calendar, if at all possible, and that he would even receive carefully worded phone calls from U-boats asking to know if they could attend services. Riesenburger knew that the Gestapo kept a lookout on these days, so he posted a watchman and planned an escape route should the dashers have to flee again. It is therefore logical for us to assume that if some Jews would risk their safety to attend services and maintain a sense of Jewish identity and faith, then something similar likely also occurred in cases where fellow U-boats (family and/or friends) wanted to pay their final respects to Jews who had died in hiding.

The birth of a child also posed problems for some women. As a matter of health, most female U-boats were malnourished and lacked regular access to a doctor. A newborn child also risked exposing the mother and her helper(s) to unwanted attention, and the act of giving birth sometimes led to denunciation and arrest.¹³³ Pregnancy resulting in birth among female U-boats, although not widespread, did occur. According to this study's sample, six children were born after the Large Factory Operation. The number of pregnancies almost certainly was higher; however, survivors rarely discuss miscarriages or abortions. Abortions were difficult to obtain, traumatic, and often carried out under unsanitary conditions. Survivor testimony suggests that most pregnancies resulted from consensual sex. Still, it is important to ask how consensual sexual intercourse could be during this time if it occurred between Jewish women and their non-Jewish helpers. Doubtless, some women became pregnant after falling victim to rape. There is also a nebulous and indeterminate gray zone of what could be termed "sexual barter." In her examination of sexual barter in the Theresienstadt Ghetto, Anna Hájková differentiates between what she terms "rational relationships" and "instrumental sex," both of which have direct bearing on the experiences of some female U-boats. Hájková argues that "rational relationships describe any instance or combination of social, sexual, and romantic relationships in which one or both of the partners engaged for at least partly pragmatic reasons. Instrumental sex . . . is a short-duration sexual encounter lacking, or possessing much less of, the social dimension."¹³⁴ While such examples of sexual barter also existed among some female U-boats and their helpers, and while consent likely was given in a number of cases, it is critical to remember the extreme power imbalance at work in many of these relationships, both in terms of gender and in the context of racial persecution in which the U-boats were operating. All too easily, what would begin as an instance of sexual barter could be shorn of its consensual nature and slide into the realm of rape. The psychological trauma associated with this act of violation during a period of already heightened stress further complicated survival. Although very few survivors mention rape, that omission does not mean rape did not occur. Jewish women on the run, especially if they submerged alone, often relied on strangers for help and were especially vulnerable to sexual predators. Likely, survivors omit this traumatic event out of a reticence to discuss such a painful and indescribable experience.¹³⁵

Annelies B. worked for part of her submerged life as a waitress in the Berlin suburb of Oranienburg, close to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. One of her fellow waiters took a sexual interest in her, but she told him to keep away. However, his behavior became markedly more aggres-

sive after Annelies ran into a dishwasher from her former Jewish finishing school. In hindsight, Annelies suspected the woman of informing on her to the coworker, although she does not explain how this occurred. The man offered Annelies an ultimatum: sex with him or the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Choosing, in her words, “the lesser of two evils,” Annelies had sex with him and soon discovered she was pregnant.¹³⁶ Through word of mouth, Annelies heard about a midwife who performed abortions by injecting soap into the uterus. She received two or three of these injections before the abortion succeeded. However, the afterbirth did not pass. Suffering from stomach cramps, Annelies convinced a *Mischling* friend to let her stay with him for one night. That night, Annelies began to hemorrhage. Sitting on a pail while the blood poured out, Annelies decided to call the hospital, but it refused to admit her until she first saw a doctor. Fortunately, the afterbirth passed, and the bleeding subsided. The next morning Annelies dressed and left; she did not see a doctor until after the war.¹³⁷

Rape and abuse constituted a physical and psychological threat to Jewish women. Although their non-Jewish rapists, if caught, faced prosecution for race defilement (*Rassenschande*), Jewish women could not turn to the authorities, as they would face certain deportation. Thus, men could degrade women repeatedly under their “protection.” These acts of sexual abuse, although a consequence of National Socialist persecution of Jews, were not necessarily acts of antisemites; in fact, many antisemites would not have engaged in sexual intercourse with a Jew on any account. Rather, rape often was the act of opportunists who took advantage of the social climate created by Nazism to exploit people with no recourse to justice. Yet it was also as much an “expression of anti-Jewish violence,” as Alexandra Przyrembel argues, as it was a consequence of an antisemitic and anti-Jewish system.¹³⁸ The prevalence of sexual blackmail and violence toward U-boats cannot be ascertained, but extant documentation demonstrates that some women were forced to trade sex for lodgings and/or money.¹³⁹ Although women were able to escape from these situations, as evidenced by Annelies, who never returned to her intolerable waitressing situation, the “safety” that these men provided from arrest and denunciation made some women feel as though they had no alternative.¹⁴⁰ In such situations, sexual abuse often led to something akin to sexual bondage, in which each rape reinforced the connection between rapist and victim.

On 30 November 1944, German officials charged the non-Jew Fritz Witt with race defilement. According to the report, Witt had engaged in sexual intercourse with Edith E. and her daughter Ingeborg E. After hearing the testimony of Edith and Ingeborg, the Gestapo was convinced

not only of Witt's guilt in the matter but that Witt "also did not shy away from exploiting the plight of the two Jewesses in order to consort with mother and daughter at the same time . . ."141 Indeed, Witt had raped both mother and daughter, alone and together. There is more to Witt's case, however, than the cruel act of a rapist taking advantage of two women under his "protection." Indeed, by all accounts, the relationship between Witt and the mother Edith initially was mutual. Witt had met Edith in 1937 in Königsberg in East Prussia; charged and cleared of race defilement in 1938 due to lack of evidence, Witt again met Edith in Berlin in 1942 and resumed a casual sexual relationship. Edith and Ingeborg submerged in December 1942, and Witt took them in. Some discrepancy exists between the testimony of mother and daughter on this point. Ingeborg claimed that she had to beg Witt to take them in, which he did because of his relationship with her mother. Ingeborg also stated that she and Witt did not get along. Through connections to two U-boats, mother and daughter were able to obtain false papers under the name Plester, and in October 1943, they registered with the police and received ration cards. During this time, Edith took care of Witt and his apartment, and Witt found Ingeborg a job as an office assistant.

According to Edith, her sexual relationship with Witt eventually included Ingeborg. She does not mention brute force per se, and her only reference to sex of a "perverse" nature concerns engaging with Witt in oral sex. Ingeborg is more specific and incisive during her interrogation, perhaps either as a result of her youth (she was twenty-two years of age at the time) or her relationship with her mother. According to Ingeborg, Witt and her mother argued frequently, and their incompatibility extended to the bedroom. Sometime in late fall or early winter of 1943, Witt approached Ingeborg and asked her to have sex. He explained that he wanted to start a relationship with her, being now fonder of her than he was of her mother. Ingeborg refused his advances multiple times, something that led to "dramatic scenes" (*Auftritten*). Her mother witnessed these episodes and had a talk with her: "Out of thanks to Witt, I had to make a sacrifice."¹⁴² Ultimately, Ingeborg began engaging in sex with Witt every four weeks or so. Witt also continued to have sex with Edith and, two or three times while Witt was intoxicated, with both mother and daughter at the same time.

The abusive and dysfunctional dynamic that culminated in rape of mother and daughter should be understood as the final phase in what, according to all sources involved, began as a somewhat "normal" and functioning relationship. The abusive situation that developed was not unique to Nazi Germany; however, it was doubtless a result of the system in which the three lived. In a free society, Edith and Ingeborg would

have been able to leave or report the situation; Witt would have had no claim over them. Instead, Edith, knowing the risks gentiles ran in illegally sheltering Jews (and perhaps even overestimating those risks), counseled her daughter to have sex with Witt out of gratitude for his help. Indeed, the mother's attitude is perhaps reflective of a number of such instances of rape in hiding, where the victim felt that this gross violation was the necessary price to be paid for survival. Also, the relationship might never have come to this point; where freedom of choice and movement are possible, once a relationship sours, often nothing holds a couple together. In Nazi Germany, however, laws against sexual intercourse between Jews and non-Jews tied Edith and Ingeborg to Witt in a form of sexual bondage. On the one hand, the mother and daughter were his to exploit until caught. On the other hand, once caught, Witt also became a criminal, albeit one without a death sentence. The exploitative situation that developed between Witt and Edith and Ingeborg demonstrates one of the many perverse and surprising morasses created as a result of the National Socialist system. Nazis and their sympathizers were not the only human threats to Jews. With no recourse to the law, Jews were at the mercy of the entire non-Jewish population. While Witt took sexual advantage of the situation, any form of conflict between Jews and the people sheltering them could lead to the U-boats finding themselves in danger.

Conclusion

For the submerged Jews of Berlin, 1944 was a continuation of the previous year's struggle. The fight for adequate food and shelter remained at the forefront of Jews' minds, and the threat of denunciation and arrest still loomed large. The radicalization of National Socialist antisemitic policy also drove previously protected Jews to dive. Over the course of the year, Allied advances certainly brought hope. On the western front, the failure of the Nazi High Command of the Armed Forces (OKW) to stem the western Allied advance in the Ardennes during Battle of the Bulge proved disastrous for Germany. On the eastern front, the Soviets had halted outside of Warsaw, and the city fell to them in January 1945. Hitler's claims of a Thousand-Year Reich, a possibility in the eyes of many only two years before, now seemed unachievable. Yet despite these victories, hope was only one aspect of survival, and for some U-boats, even hope was elusive. Illness, death, or sexual abuse at the hands of supposed helpers threatened many. In the individual world of submerged life, the U-boats often suffered alone.

Yet despite the challenging and dangerous nature of illegal life, many U-boats succeeded, however briefly, in developing routines in the search for a tenuous normality. They were aided in their endeavors by the mobility of their situation as well as frequent opportunities to express their individuality. Whether their routines included having a job, participating in resistance groups, biking in the countryside, or meeting with family members on Sundays to play cards, Jews stubbornly sought out stability and familiarity when at all possible, even when such behavior appears in hindsight to have been foolish and risky. Yet these developments were a powerful psychological and emotional tool, and the city's divers and dashers relied on them in the fight not only to survive but also to continue living as individuals with a sense of self. Indeed, survivor accounts suggest that emotional factors (both positive and negative) had at least as profound an impact on survivor experiences and memories as did physical factors, if not more. Although some of these routines and possibilities for social interaction lasted for only a few days at a time, others lasted for months. Yet as 1944 drew to a close, the approach of battle interrupted daily life with increasing frequency and ferocity. Hitler's war for domination came home to the Germans, and the possibility of normality, even one as fragile as that experienced by Berlin's U-boats, disappeared. Their tenuous and ephemeral routines collapsed, only to be replaced by new threats to their survival.

Notes

1. On the ability of *Alltagsgeschichte* to defy a single definition, see Paul Steege, Andrew Stuart Bergerson, Maureen Healy, and Pamela E. Swett, "The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter," *Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 2 (June 2008): 361.
2. These comments were given in a panel discussion moderated by Andrew Stuart Bergerson. The panelists included Elissa Mailänder Koslov, Gideon Reuveni, Paul Steege, and Dennis Sweeney. See "Forum: Everyday Life in Nazi Germany," *German History* 27, no. 4 (2009): 575.
3. An excellent example of the roles of *Eigensinn* and its relationship to *Herrschaft* in the daily lives of Germans living under Nazi rule is Andrew Stuart Bergerson, *Ordinary Germans in Extraordinary Times: The Nazi Revolution in Hildesheim* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 2004).
4. LAB, Landesbildstelle, Bestell-Nr. 254931
5. Eugen Herman-Friede, Interview 10112, Segment 38, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1996, accessed 9 June 2018.
6. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34292.
7. Paul Steege in "Forum: Everyday Life in Nazi Germany," 577.

8. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30320.
9. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31980.
10. See the appendix in this book for the number of U-boats at large at the start of 1944.
11. I am grateful to Maria von der Heydt for bringing these figures to my attention. See also Gruner, *Judenverfolgung*, 47. For more discussion on the categorization of *Mischlinge* and *Mischehen* and the persecutory measures taken against them, see Jeremy Noakes, "The Development of Nazi Policy towards the German-Jewish 'Mischlinge,' 1933-1945," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, no. 34 (New York: 1989), 291-354. In recent years, the fate of *Mischlinge* and *Mischehen* has benefitted from more sustained scholarly inquiry. See James F. Tent, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: Nazi Persecution of Jewish-Christian Germans* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003). Ursula Büttner and Martin Greschat focus specifically on the fate of Christians of Jewish heritage in *Die verlassenen Kinder der Kirche: Der Umgang mit Christen jüdischer Herkunft im "Dritten Reich"* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). See also, Beate Meyer, "*Jüdische Mischlinge*": *Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrungen 1933-1945* (Hamburg: Dölling und Gallitz, 1999).
12. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 2. This figure includes an estimate of forty thousand *Mischlinge* of the second degree.
13. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 3.
14. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 1:149.
15. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 1:290.
16. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 3
17. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 4.
18. Maria von der Heydt, "'Wer fährt den gerne mit dem Judenstern in der Straßenbahn?': Die Ambivalenz des geltungsjüdischen' Alltags zwischen 1941 und 1945," in *Alltag im Holocaust: Jüdisches Leben im Großdeutschen Reich 1941-1945*, ed. Andrea Löw, Doris L. Bergen, and Anna Hájková (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013), 65-66. In this article, von der Heydt provides an excellent overview of the daily experiences and challenges faced by this small, and therefore often overlooked, group within Germany.
19. Gruner, *Judenverfolgung*, 91.
20. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 63.
21. See the case of Georg Kamin in LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34292, and the testimony of his wife Rosa in LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30654. See also the case of Lance Corporal Rolf B. in Tent, *In the Shadow*, 121-22.
22. Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, 89-90, 92.
23. Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, 95.
24. Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, 95.
25. Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor*, 98.
26. Tent, *In the Shadow*, 149.
27. See, for examples, LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34292; LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 35752; LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 33167; CJA 4.1, 2933.
28. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 1:121.
29. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31980.
30. Gruner, *Judenverfolgung*, 47. See also Gottwaldt and Schulle, *Judendeportationen*, 461.
31. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, OdF Kartei, A-31980.
32. See Avraham Barkai, "Jewish Life under Persecution" in Meyer, *German-Jewish History*, 4:253.
33. Meyer, "*Jüdische Mischlinge*," 72-86. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 190-91.

34. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, Nr.: 1792.
35. CJA 4.1, 1680. See Avraham Barkai, "Exclusion and Persecution: 1933–1938," in Meyer, *German–Jewish History*, 4:213.
36. LAB, C Rep 118-01, Nr.: 2246. In Dresden, the case of Victor Klemperer and his wife Eva stands as a particularly strong and well-known example of spousal loyalty and the hardships suffered by couples in mixed marriages during the Third Reich. See Victor Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten. Tagebücher: 1942–1945*, ed. Walter Nowojski (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1995), 2:280. See also, Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., "Victor Klemperer's Holocaust," *German Studies Review* 22, no. 3 (October 1999): 388.
37. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, Nr.: 31492.
38. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, Nr.: 39108.
39. Barkai, "Final Chapter," 4:381.
40. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, Nr.: 30591.
41. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, Nr.: 30591.
42. See LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31094.
43. See the concerns of Victor Klemperer in *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten*, 2:280.
44. See also, Frederick Weinstein, *Aufzeichnungen aus dem Versteck: Erlebnisse eines polnischen Juden 1939–1946* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2006), 373. My thanks to Martina Voigt for having brought this work to my attention. See also Meyer, "Jüdische Mischlinge," 87–88.
45. LAB, A Rep. 408, Nr.: 11. Tätigkeitsbuch Kripo. Rev. 64.: 1.1.1942–28.12.1944, #81 Selbstmord durch Erhängen. The suicide note reads, "Ade du schöne Welt." The police conclusion regarding Stephan's suicide reads, "Weil seine Ehefrau Jüdin ist und er für sie Unannehmlichkeiten befürchte, die er nicht mehr erleben möchte."
46. Freie Universität Berlin: Zentralinstitut für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung (Hrsg.), *Gedenkbuch Berlins der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Druckhaus Henrich, 1995).
47. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30638.
48. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 32931.
49. See Tausendfreund, *Erzwungener Verrat*, 67.
50. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31225.
51. LAB, C Rep. 118-01, OdF Kartei, A-31225.
52. Tausendfreund, *Erzwungener Verrat*, 100–103.
53. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31209.
54. "Wirtschaftsblatt der deutschen allgemeinen Zeitung," in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sonnabend, 15. Januar 1944, Nr. 14.
55. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, "Erlebnisse." See also Benz, *Juden im Untergrund*, 26–29.
56. CJA, 4.1, 2971.
57. CJA, 4.1, 2971. See also, CJA, 4.1, 2978.
58. LAB, C Rep 118-01, Nr.: 38153.
59. For example, see Maurer, "From Everyday Life," 370–71.
60. Maurer, "From Everyday Life," 370–71.
61. ZfA, File of Martin Wasservogel, "Gedichte aus der Illegalität."
62. Schneider, "Saving Konrad Latte," 17–22. See also Benz, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 25–26.
63. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, "Erlebnisse." See also Benz, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 26–29.
64. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust

- Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Lovenheim, *Survival in the Shadows*, 132–35.
65. ZfA, File of Dr. Charlotte Bamberg, “Untergetaucht.”
 66. Kroener, Müller, and Umbreit, *Germany and the Second World War*, 2:519.
 67. See, for example, Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 83.
 68. Steege, Bergerson, Healy, and Swett, “History of Everyday Life,” 365.
 69. ZfA, File of Dr. Charlotte Bamberg, “Untergetaucht.”
 70. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
 71. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
 72. For an overview of the origins of this soap myth and a sound debunking of it, see Joachim Neander, “The Danzig Soap Case: Facts and Legends around ‘Professor Spanner’ and the Danzig Anatomical Institute, 1944–1945,” *German Studies Review* 29, no. 1 (February 2006): 63–86. Tom Segev traces the origins of the “soap myth” in *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 183–84. See also Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust*, 168.
 73. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 34859.
 74. See, for example, LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 7436.
 75. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 8851. See Barbara Schieb-Samizadeh, “Gemeinschaft für Frieden und Aufbau,” in Benz and Pehle, *Lexikon des deutschen Widerstandes*, 213–15. For more on Jews in the Berlin resistance, see also, Wilfried Löhken and Werner Vathke, eds., *Juden im Widerstand: Drei Gruppen zwischen Überlebenskampf und politischer Aktion, Berlin 1939–1945* (Berlin: Druckhaus Hentrich, 1993); Arnold Paucker, *German Jews in the Resistance 1933–1945: The Facts and the Problems*, trans. Deborah Cohen (Berlin: Allprintmedia GmbH, 2005); Eric Brothers, *Berlin Ghetto: Herbert Baum and the Anti-Fascist Resistance* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2012); and Cox, *Circles of Resistance*. For an overview of Jewish resistance throughout Europe and its postwar legacy, see Hans Erler, Arnold Paucker, and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, eds., “Gegen alle Vergleichenheit”: *Jüdischer Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2003).
 76. For more information on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943, see Israel Gutman, *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994). With respect to the connection between the uprising and the instances of Warsaw Jews submerging, see Paulsson, *Secret City*, 165–98.
 77. That some of the illegals resisted as individuals also finds documentation in Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 214.
 78. See, for example, the work of the forger Cioma Schönhaus in Schönhaus, *The Forger*.
 79. Gruner, *Judenverfolgung*, 49.
 80. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 38247.
 81. This ideal predates the rise of the Nazis, and it was a popular theme in the Weimar Republic. See, for example, Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, “Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Weimar Women in Politics and Work,” in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984), 33–65.
 82. Kroener, Müller, and Umbreit, *Germany and the Second World War*, 2:947.
 83. Marion Kaplan provides an excellent overview of these shifting roles over the course of the 1930s. See Kaplan, “Changing Roles in Jewish Families,” in Nicosia and Scrase, *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, 15–46.
 84. Kaplan, “Changing Roles,” 27.

85. Very little comparative research on Jews in hiding has been undertaken, and yet the reversal in gender roles that occurred in Germany was, for a variety of social and cultural reasons, not replicated elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe. Natalia Aleksiu's fascinating study of gender and daily life in hiding in Galicia indicates that quite unlike in Berlin, or Germany more generally, traditional roles remained largely unchanged for the hidden Jews of Galicia. See Natalia Aleksiu, "Gender and the Daily Lives of Jews in Hiding in Eastern Galicia," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues*, no. 27 (Fall 5775/2014): 38–61.
86. Kaplan, "Changing Roles," 34–35.
87. ZfA, File of Dr. Charlotte Bamberg, "Untergetaucht."
88. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 203.
89. ZfA, File of Charlotte Josephy, "Erlebnisse." See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 208–9.
90. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
91. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 203; Maurer, "From Everyday Life," 370.
92. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 350–51.
93. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 122–23.
94. Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library. See also Ruth Gumpel, interview with author; Lovenheim, *Survival in the Shadows*, 170–71.
95. For more on the role of gender and submerged life, see the appendix in this book.
96. LAB A Rep. 408, Nr.: 4, #785. "Tätigkeitsbuch 17. Polizei-Revier Kriminalpolizei Weinbergsweg 12." From 1.Januar.1943–31.Dezember.1943
97. Ruth Gumpel, interview with author.
98. Ruth Gumpel, interview with author. See also Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
99. According to Kurt Lindenber, looking clean and well-kept was "one of the most important commandments" of underground life. In Lindenber, "Personal Report."
100. Wyden, *Stella*, 251–52. See also, Jalowicz Simon, *Untergetaucht*, 305–6.
101. Survivor testimony abounds with mention of these locations. See, for example, Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library; CAHS, RG-14.070M, Reel 1959, fr. 877–1007; LAB, B Rep 002, Nr. 4861, "Das Ehrengericht des jüdischen Gemeinde."
102. ZfA, File of Dr. Charlotte Bamberg, "Untergetaucht."
103. ZfA, File of Cioma Schönhaus, "Interview G. Rogoff," 14.3.89 Basel, Interview conducted by Neiss, Schieb, Voigt, 12.
104. Schönhaus, *The Forger*, 128, 126–30.
105. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
106. See also Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 301–2.
107. CAHS, RG-14.070M, Reel 1959, fr. 877–1007.
108. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31398.
109. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 207–8.
110. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
111. Poor health as a consequence of years submerged was certainly not unique to Berlin's U-boats. Jews who submerged in Munich, for example, faced similar health problems. See Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*, 219–25.

112. CJA 4.1, 1512.
113. CJA 4.1, 2086.
114. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 207.
115. Barkai, "In a Ghetto without Walls," 4:335. See also, Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 83.
116. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 486
117. CJA, 4.1, Nr.: 648.
118. See Des Pres, *Survivor*, 88–89.
119. See Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 302; also, Maurer, "From Everyday Life," 373.
120. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
121. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 31476.
122. See Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 211–12.
123. ZfA, File of Ellen Rathé, "Versicherung."
124. Ruth G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1763), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
125. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 207–8; Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, 299–300.
126. See the case of Ursel Reuber and Eva in Andreas-Friedrich, *Der Schattenmann*, 210–17.
127. The Pakmans were one of a few thousand Jews who managed to escape the ghetto at this time. See Paulsson, *Secret City*, 76–78.
128. Weinstein, *Aufzeichnungen aus dem Versteck*, 375.
129. The hunger suffered by U-boats sometimes led them to consume spoiled food out of desperation. For another case of food poisoning, see Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony (T-1764), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
130. Weinstein, *Aufzeichnungen aus dem Versteck*, 376.
131. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 38159.
132. Martin Riesenburger, *Das Licht verlöschte nicht: Ein Zeugnis aus der Nacht des Faschismus–Predigten* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1984), 39–40.
133. LAB, C Rep. 118-01 Nr.: 30895. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 207.
134. See Anna Hájková, "Sexual Barter in Times of Genocide: Negotiating the Sexual Economy of the Theresienstadt Ghetto," *Signs* 38, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 505–6.
135. For an explanation of rape and its infrequent use in survivor testimony, see Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust*, 137–40.
136. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
137. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 AND T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
138. Alexandra Przyrembel, "Rassenschande" *Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 475.
139. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 208. Kurt Lindenberg is also quite clear on this point. See ZfA, File of Kurt Lindenberg, "Personal Report."
140. See Annelies H. Holocaust Testimony (T-276 and T-1866), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.
141. CAHS, RG-14.070M, Reel 1959, fr. 877–1007.
142. CAHS, RG-14.070M, Reel 1959, fr. 877–1007.