

# IN THE GARDEN OF THE RIGHTEOUS

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THE HEROES WHO RISKED THEIR LIVES  
TO SAVE JEWS DURING THE HOLOCAUST

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HUROWITZ



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## Notes

### NOTE ON SOURCES

THIS BOOK IS BASED ON SIGNIFICANT RESEARCH IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY materials. I have consulted archival materials on multiple continents in many languages, including English, French, Portuguese, Italian, German, Greek, Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish, and Dutch. This includes the files kept at the Department of the Righteous at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem for each rescuer who has received that award. I have spoken, where possible, to eyewitnesses and those who knew the individuals in this volume personally, including their families. I have also consulted many of the world's leading experts on rescue in general, and on the particular countries and cases that are contained in the stories herein. I have included detailed citations of sources in the endnotes and a bibliography of works consulted.

Any work of history is at best an honest attempt to report what actually happened. In any such attempt, a historian encounters on a constant basis inconsistencies. People's recollections of the same events differ, certainly with time but even in the immediate aftermath of events. Certain details can also simply be lost to time if they were not recorded. I have done my best in this volume to refer only to details of

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which I have confirmation. Where there are conflicting narratives of the same events, I have chosen the one that I believe is the most likely and tried to cite references to alternatives. And for information that is questionable, I have erred on the side of not including it. There are some stories, including from survivors, that I am actually convinced are accurate, but for which I could not find corroboration, and so I have not included them. For others, I have included the questions raised in the endnotes. The extensive bibliography also provides the reader with the opportunity to go much deeper into any of these stories and weigh the evidence for themselves.

This book is intended for a general audience. However, as I have become immersed in these stories, I am aware of certain historical and historiographical debates regarding specific rescuers. For those audiences that are deeply involved in these questions, I would like to note a few things. There has arisen in recent years questions about the extent of Gino Bartali's rescue activities. I have spoken to some of those who have questioned the story, who generally have a belief that eyewitness testimony can never be reliable. But for a story of a clandestine network during wartime, there will by definition never be much more than eyewitness testimony available. In the Bartali case, I have examined almost all documents and sources available, including Bartali's own unpublished will and the property records of Florence. Testimony regarding Bartali's activities dates back decades, and to question it, one would have to believe that many people who never met each other—including nuns, children, and soldiers—coordinated a grand conspiracy to fabricate the story. Some of those who question the story also question the incontrovertible evidence that Italians as a group did much to save Jews in their territories.

Certain details of the story of Chiune Sugihara are murky, and I have done my best to reconstruct what occurred. The timeline of his correspondence with Tokyo is particularly complicated. Questions

about his attendance at a Hanukkah party in Kovno have been raised, and I have included the version of that story which I believe, based on consultation with many authorities, to be historically accurate. Similarly, the exact timeline of Aristides de Sousa Mendes's actions on the ground in June 1940 and certain of Irena Sendler's actions in Warsaw are also somewhat conflicting. I have done my best to reconstruct them from multiple sources.

While there is no question that Hiram Bingham was a critical part of Varian Fry's rescue efforts, some have pointed to anti-Semitic and conspiracy-theory ramblings he made very late in his life. I agree with a survivor who said that what mattered was what he did in Marseille, not what he may have believed as an elderly person. In Le Chambon, the role of Major Julius Schmähling in preventing round-ups on the plateau has been the subject of a great deal of controversy among survivors, which I believe detracts from the broader story, so I have included only that information which is largely beyond doubt. However, I do believe that Schmähling was at a minimum a moderating influence. Some have also criticized scholars of Le Chambon for not giving sufficient credit to other pastors and overemphasizing the Trocmés, but it is in my view hard to dispute their central role.

Any anecdotes or stories that I believed were suspicious—and there were some—I have not included. It is important that all historical evidence be carefully studied, weighed, and analyzed without any prior agenda. I have tried to do so here as best I can, as a trained historian and lawyer. I have also tried to include as much evidence as possible in the endnotes, but they can never be comprehensive, and to have included all the information I have reviewed would have required a volume far too long. I welcome feedback from readers and from any of the scholars who have devoted themselves to the stories of the Holocaust and of rescue I have told in this book.

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### Introduction

- xii "What I want most of all": Scholl, *White Rose*, 12.
- xiii "Finally, a man has the courage": Scholl, 20.
- xiii "Every honest German today": Scholl, 79.
- xiii "in the most bestial way": Scholl, 78.
- xiii They pulled no punches: Scholl, 85.
- xiii Sprinkled with erudite references: Scholl, 88.
- xiv "There are half starved children": Dupas and Harper, "Bad Conscience."
- xiv "We will have to let the truth ring out": Scholl, *White Rose*, 36.
- xiv "Are we forever to be a nation": Scholl, 89.
- xv "There is a higher court": Scholl, 59.
- xv "Long live freedom": Scholl, 62.
- xv "What we wrote and said": Sophie Scholl, statement to court, February 21, 1943, in Richard F. Hanser, *A Noble Treason: The Story of Sophie Scholl and the White Rose Revolt Against Hitler* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1979), 38.
- xvi "to vindicate the righteous": 2 Chron. 6:23.
- xvi As of 2021, over twenty-seven thousand: Yad Vashem, "Names of Righteous by Country," <https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/statistics.html>.
- xvii "Why did the Polish farmer": Paldiel, interview.
- xviii "Which code of ethics": Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*, 12.
- xviii "Darkness cannot drive out darkness": Martin Luther King Jr., *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 37.
- xviii "We must know": Rittner and Meyers, *The Courage to Care*, 2.
- xviii "In the darkness": Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem*, quoted in Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*, 301.
- xviii "saved hope and faith in the human spirit": "The Dedication of the Avenue of the Righteous Among the Nations," in *I Am My Brother's Keeper*, Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous/milestone05.asp>.
- xix "The existence of rescuers": Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, xi.
- xix "For the first fifty years": Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 144.
- xix The filmmaker Pierre Sauvage: "Bill Moyers Interviews Filmmaker Pierre Sauvage," PBS, aired August 9, 1990.
- xxii "We must carry his spirit": Mináč, *Nicky's Family*.

- xxiii "There are no Jews in Morocco": Hurowitz, "You Must Remember This."
- xxiii It is what the philosopher: Lévy, *The Will to See*.
- xxiv "I believe that it was really": Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 170.
- xxv "Pharaoh's daughter did not": Sacks, "Light at the Heart of Darkness"; see also Jonathan Sacks, "Women as Leaders," Rabbi Sacks Legacy Trust, Covenant and Conversation, <https://www.rabbisacks.org/covenant-conversation/shemot/women-as-leaders/>.
- xxv According to Jewish tradition: Sacks, "Light at the Heart of Darkness"; Derekh Eretz Zuta 1.
- xxv "Although Moses had many names": Shemot Rabbah 1:26.
- xxvi "We cannot raise the question": Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, book 1, sec. 4.
- xxvi The acts of the rescuers: Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 140.

## 1. We Are All Refugees

- 3 They brought it back: Borden, *Journey That Saved Curious George*.
- 3 more than seventy-five million: Judith Rosen, "Curious George Turns 75," *Publishers Weekly*, August 12, 2016.
- 6 Whenever they were home: Aristides de Sousa Mendes, file M.31/264, Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem (henceforth Yad Vashem Archives).
- 7 Sousa Mendes was constantly expanding: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 9 "behind that cold exterior": Gallagher, "Life and Afterlife of Salazar."
- 10 "Take Versailles": Victor Hugo, *En voyage*, vol. 1, *Le Rhin: Lettres à un ami* (Paris: Librairie Ollendorf, 1906).
- 11 "The fear of Hitler": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 13 On November 11, 1939: Minister Luis Teixeira de Sampaio, Circular 14, in English and Portuguese, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives, Greenlawn, New York (henceforth Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives).
- 13 "I considered that it was a duty": Aristides de Sousa Mendes, statement of defense in the disciplinary proceedings brought against him, August 10, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 13 "A university professor": Franco, *Spared Lives*.
- 13 He defended himself: Sousa Mendes, statement of defense.
- 14 "Any new fault": Franco, *Spared Lives*.
- 14 Aristides wrote to his brother: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.

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- 14 "check thoroughly if those": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 15 Sousa Mendes met Chaim Kruger: "Aristides de Sousa Mendes: The Courage to Defy; Themes, a Tribute to the Righteous Among the Nations," Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous/mendes.asp>.
- 16 "Why, in the street": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Harry Ezratty, "The Portuguese Consul and the 10,000 Jews," *Jewish Life*, September-October 1964, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 16 Sousa Mendes confided: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives. The name Mendes means "New Christian," and Beira Alta, where Sousa Mendes was from, was one of two northern areas once known as the Jewish Provinces.
- 16 "No Jew is safe": Sousa Mendes.
- 16 "It's not just me that needs help": Fralon, *Good Man*, 57.
- 16 "All of a sudden": Fralon, 59.
- 17 "The situation here": Aristides de Sousa Mendes to his brother-in-law Silvério de Sousa Mendes, June 13, 1940, De Winter family collection, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 17 "There were lots of old and sick people": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 17 "I am sure there will be": Pedro Nuno Sousa Mendes, "Que o meu pai sirva de exemplo."
- 17 "shipwrecked": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 18 "My father got up": Fralon, *Good Man*, 57.
- 18 "Look, Gigi," he told her: Pedro Nuno Sousa Mendes, "Que o meu pai sirva de exemplo"; Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 18 "I cannot allow": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Paldiel, *Diplomat Heroes*.
- 18 "I have it all in my hands now": d'Avranches, *Flight through Hell*, 56.
- 18 "I am going to issue": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Sousa Mendes Foundation website, [sousamendesfoundation.org](https://sousamendesfoundation.org); d'Avranches, *Flight through Hell*, 56; Pedro Nuno Sousa Mendes, interview by Marta Victorino.
- 18 "I know that Mrs. de Sousa Mendes": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; d'Avranches, *Flight through Hell*, 56.
- 18 "I would rather stand": d'Avranches, *Flight through Hell*, 56.
- 19 He set up a veritable: Ezratty, "Portuguese Consul and the 10,000 Jews," 17–20.

- 19 "For the sake of your wife": Fralon, *Good Man*, 62.
- 19 The American consulate: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 19 "It is a fantastic commentary": Thompson, *Refugees*, 28.
- 19 One of their sons played: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 19 His signature morphed: Images of Sousa Mendes's signature, artifact boxes 1–6, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 19 "Come back when the dictator": Fralon, *Good Man*, 62.
- 19 "Visas have been issued outside": Fralon, 62.
- 20 "He did not eat": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 20 "My attitude was motivated": Sousa Mendes, statement of defense.
- 20 His son recalled one eight-year-old girl: Fralon, *Good Man*, 63.
- 20 "My uncle turned the offer": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 20 "filled with pity": Dr. Charles Oulmont to Mrs. Joana Mendes, February 7, 1968, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 20 A French ambassador: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 21 Many other prominent leaders: Register of Sousa Mendes visa recipients, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 21 "There was something": Sousa Mendes, statement of defense.
- 22 *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*: "Les Spectacles," *La Petite Gironde*, June 18, 1940, <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-petite-gironde/18-jun-1940/241/1383189/1>.
- 22 "The Ministry is concerned": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 23 Sousa Mendes confronted the local consul: d'Avranches, *Flight through Hell*, 59.
- 24 "The Portuguese government requests": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 25 "We wanted to keep out": Armando Lopo Simeão, report on special mission to Bayonne, July 1, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 25 The pro-Axis Teotónio Pereira: Madrid Embassy to Foreign Ministry of Portugal, June 25, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation; Franco, *Spared Lives*; Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 25 Simeão telegraphed: Armando Lopo Simeão to Foreign Ministry, June 23, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 25 He was there on June 23: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 25 "out of his mind": Madrid Embassy to Foreign Ministry, June 25, 1940; Teotónio Pereira, statement to Salazar, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.

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- 25 "All visas issued in Bordeaux": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 26 "I'm the Portuguese consul": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Fralon, *Good Man*, 95.
- 26 Permission was immediately: Sousa Mendes.
- 26 "To refuse a visa": Francisco de Paula Brito, "Nota de Culpa: Examination of Guilt," August 1, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 26 a local newspaper in San Sebastian: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 26 "lucid and determined": Pedro Teotónio Pereira, deposition, July 26, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 26 Other eyewitnesses begged to differ: Fralon, *Good Man*, 83–84.
- 27 A Viennese Jewish: Marguerite Rollin to David Alcalay, March 4, 1966, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 27 "By day Lisbon": Erich Maria Remarque, *The Night in Lisbon: A Novel*, trans. Ralph Manheim (1964; repr., New York: Random House, 2014), 111–12.
- 28 Simeão testified that: Simeão, report.
- 28 "slime": Simeão, report.
- 28 "allowed himself to be overcome": Francisco de Calheiros e Menezes, statement in defense of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 29 "My aim was first and foremost": Sousa Mendes, statement of defense.
- 29 Sousa Mendes strongly disputed: Franco, *Spared Lives*.
- 29 "You are the best advertisement": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 30 "It may be that I made mistakes": Sousa Mendes.
- 30 "caused a situation": Count Tovar, report on the disciplinary proceedings of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, October 19, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 30 But it was Salazar's friend: Franco, *Spared Lives*; Tovar, report.
- 30 "One cannot find any remorse": Tovar, report.
- 30 Salazar personally sealed: Statement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Secretariat General, October 30, 1940, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 31 "the powerful imperatives": Fralon, *Good Man*, 118.
- 31 "one of the largest in Portugal": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Aristides de Sousa Mendes, appeal to Salazar, 1940s, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives; Fralon, *Good Man*, 118.
- 31 "a civil servant is not competent": Tovar, report.
- 31 At one point: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives; Abranches, interview.



- 31 Sousa Mendes was sanguine: Sousa Mendes.
- 31 "If thousands of Jews": Chaim Kruger, "Der Portugeser Konsul" (interview), *Yiddish Daily [Der Tog]*, August 8, 1941, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 31 To its credit: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 32 It provided him with a monthly stipend: The stipend was 3,000 escudos. Sousa Mendes would not, however, take anything from any refugee he saved, many of whom were unaware of the consequences he had suffered. He maintained, his son noted, an "absolute refusal to receive any monetary compensation from the refugees seeking asylum in Portugal." Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 32 "Impressed by his presence": Sousa Mendes; Isaac Bitton to Mrs. Diana Adringa, January 15, 1992, and Isaac Bitton to John Paul Abranches, September 14, 1986, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 32 "As long as Salazar": Goebbels, *Diaries*, March 6, 1943.
- 32 "Mr. Sousa Mendes never": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 33 "As regards the refugees": Fralon, *Good Man*, 122. A different translation, giving a date of May 18, is at <https://holocaustremembrance.blog/2017/12/14/aristides-de-sousa-mendes-resisting-refugee-policy-in-portugal/>, citing publication of Salazar's papers in 1951 in Portuguese.
- 33 He wrote again: Aristides de Sousa Mendes, protest, December 10, 1945, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.
- 33 "praise of the administration": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 33 "Papa always showed": Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes, "Memories of Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes," 1987, private collection of Gérald Mendes.
- 33 Sousa Mendes wrote to every member: Sousa Mendes, protest.
- 34 How horrible could the dictator be: In 1970, one of Mendes's daughters felt compelled to write strongly to Yad Vashem in response to rumors that either Franco or Salazar might be made a Righteous Among the Nations following the appearance of many articles about their offering refuge to those fleeing Nazism. "I know it is easy for them to get these articles published because they have great influence over the press but one thing is sure: They never rescued nor helped the Jews in their time of terror and despair. . . . Now because they have a guilty conscience they are taking advantage of their high positions to mislead the world with their fallacies and to make people believe they were saviors of the Jews." She further wrote, "What the Government [of Portugal] wants is to take away the glory from my father to have the whole world believe that Salazar was the savior of the Jews in 1939 and 1940, he who had no scruples in forbidding my father to issue visas to Jews and then later

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- to punish him severely for having disobeyed his orders. If only my father's humanitarian action could be known around the world it would have a decisive impact and the Portuguese [sic] Government would be forced to reject his unjust desire to enjoy the fame he does not deserve." Correspondence between Joana Mendes and Moshe Landau, President, Commission for the Righteous, Yad Vashem. An article titled "How Salazar Aided Jews to Escape," with no byline, is annotated "This is completely untrue," "He never did!" and "This is the influx of refugees my father saved against the orders of Salazar." Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives. See also John Abranches, letter to the editor, *San Francisco Examiner*, December 25, 1968.
- 34 "Your Excellency no doubt": Fralon, *Good Man*, 124.
- 35 "had disobeyed an order": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 35 "We had a lot of misery": Sousa Mendes.
- 35 When Sousa Mendes could no longer: Sousa Mendes.
- 35 The older children failed: Two of his sons fought for the United States, one landing in the Normandy invasion. Another fought in the Korean War.
- 35 The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 35 "Anxiety and despair": Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes, "Memories of Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes," 1987, private collection of Gérald Mendes. "Both Father and Mother suffered in solitude as they witnessed the dispersion of their family," said their son Luís Filipe.
- 36 "He seemed at peace": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 36 write the king of Belgium: Fralon, *Good Man*, 132. Members of the Belgian cabinet had been hosted in Sousa Mendes's home after their escape before moving on to the government-in-exile.
- 36 a local newspaper in the Belgian Congo: "A Great Friend of Belgium Is Dead," *Pourquoi Poi?*, April 26, 1954, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives; Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 36 Salazar sent Cesar: Fralon, *Good Man*, 144.
- 36 "he had never regretted": Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 37 "I disobeyed": Sousa Mendes to his lawyer, January 1941, Sousa Mendes Foundation, <https://sousamendesfoundation.org/the-timeline/>.
- 37 "To his last days": Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes, "Memories of Luís Filipe de Sousa Mendes," 1987, private collection of Gérald Mendes. "I am filled with emotion when I talk about him to my children, young adults of to-day. May this sacrifice of a true Portuguese fidalgo [sic] remain a source of inspiration for them as it is for myself."
- 37 "I shall tell the whole world": Sousa Mendes.

- 37 “Was he mad in showing”: Fralon, *Good Man*, 146–47; Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 37 “extraordinary acts of mercy”: Sousa Mendes.
- 37 A European stamp: Sousa Mendes.
- 37 “I believe that my father”: Abranches, interview.
- 37 1,575 official visas: Sousa Mendes, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 38 “the largest rescue action”: Bauer, *History of the Holocaust*, 249.
- 38 “I wanted to say to you”: Otto von Habsburg to the grandson of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, António Pedro Moncada de Sousa Mendes, September 16, 1984, Sousa Mendes Foundation Archives.

## 2. Life in the Circus

- 39 an exquisite beauty: Prior, “Die Reiterin,” 38–42.
- 40 “The world may be Balkanised”: Kober, *Star Turns*, xv.
- 40 “Wherever variety or circus artists”: Kober, 12.
- 41 Jeanette Meyer: Saltarino, *Artisten-Lexikon*, 129.
- 41 “A circus man”: Kober, *Star Turns*, 45.
- 44 a circus journalist recalled: Kober, 53.
- 45 “one of the most technically proficient”: D. Nevill, “Obituary: Adolf Althoff,” *Independent*, October 21, 1998.
- 48 Her teacher personally led: Prior, “Die Reiterin.”
- 49 afraid to go in the ring: Prior.
- 49 At fifteen, Irene was forbidden: Adolf and Maria Althoff, file M.31/6433, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 49 the Carolis received a letter: Prior, “Die Reiterin.”
- 49 went to Italy: Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives. Peter Storms says Julius was in Belgium.
- 50 seven Ovitz siblings of Romania: Yehuda Koren and Eilat Negev, “The Dwarves of Auschwitz,” *Guardian*, March 23, 2013.
- 50 an act with three elephants: *Rescue in the Circus: Righteous Among the Nations Adolf and Maria Althoff*, video, July 11, 2010, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.
- 50 “The Three Bentos”: Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 50 a poorly kept secret among her coworkers: Prior, “Die Reiterin.”
- 50 both joined Adolf Althoff: “Peter Bento Storms,” *Times* (London), June 17, 2013.

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- 51 Irene and Peter fell in love: Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 51 Irene almost died: Althoff.
- 51 "What pig committed this crime?": Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 51 "Without Dr. Grobe": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 52 "You and your bastard": Althoff.
- 52 The great family house: Althoff.
- 52 Irene again prevailed upon: Althoff.
- 52 "There was no question": *Rescue in a Circus*, Yad Vashem.
- 52 he went underground: Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 52 "He was good to everybody": Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 53 minor wartime luxuries: Prior.
- 53 "The years in the circus": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 53 A subtle knock: Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 53 Sometimes they would hide: Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 53 When there was no time: Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 53 "developed a great skill": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 53 as Adolf entertained the Gestapo: Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 53 Althoff would turn on the charm: Prior.
- 54 "I kept telling them": Prior.
- 54 "One had to improvise": Prior.
- 54 "They admired our circus": Prior.
- 54 "saving our lives": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 54 "People in the circus knew my opinion": *Rescue in a Circus*, Yad Vashem.
- 54 "Why are there Jews in this circus?": *Rescue in a Circus*.
- 55 When their children grew up: Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 56 "Whoever once sniffs the ring air": Prior.
- 56 "His operation was regarded": Pace, "Adolf Althoff."
- 56 "It was only natural": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 56 "What have I done that is so special?": Prior, "Die Reiterin."
- 56 "We circus people": Althoff, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 56 "Without their help": Althoff.

## 3. On the Glory of Athens

- 57 "If you wish to hang me": "Special Issue: The Jews of Greece," *Hellenic News of America*, January 29, 2017.
- 57 "our prelates are hung and not shot": "The Holocaust in Greece: Athens," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/holocaust-in-greece/athens>.
- 58 "Berobed in the black garb": "Greece: If We Hold Fast," *Time*, October 1, 1945.
- 59 "a Jewish labor city": Naar, *Jewish Salonica*, 20
- 59 "Jerusalem of Turkey": Naar, 2.
- 61 "These books matter": Stein, *Family Papers*, 163.
- 62 "Salonika is filled": Stein, 167.
- 64 "We all decided to protest": Matsas, *Illusion of Safety*, 56.
- 64 "a protest by the totality": Matsas, 56.
- 65 "Let no one forget": "Protest by Archbishop Damaskinos and Greek Intellectuals against the Persecution of Greek Jewry," Shoah Resource Center, International School for Holocaust Studies, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, [https://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205114.pdf](https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205114.pdf).
- 65 "no Jewish issues exist": Archbishop Damaskinos Papandreou, file M.31/547, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 65 "those admirable and terrible Jews": Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, 71.
- 65 "their aversion to gratuitous brutality": Levi, 79.
- 66 "The Italians are extremely lax": Goebbels, *Diaries*, December 12, 1942.
- 66 "I have made my cross": Papandreou, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 67 Evert was joined: Papandreou.
- 68 "to the great chagrin": Angelos Evert, file M.31/553, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 68 "I followed this advice": Evert.
- 68 "provided counsel to Jews": Evert.
- 69 "the order that the priests should assist": Papandreou, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 69 at least 250 Jewish children: "Introduction to Rescue in Greece," Institute for the Study of Rescue and Altruism in the Holocaust, <https://www.holocaustrescue.org/introduction-to-rescue-in-greece>,
- 70 "Here is the list": Loukas Yiorgios Karrer, file M.31/1257, and Dimitrios Chrysostomos, file M.31/1257a, Yad Vashem Archives.

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- 70 “the island of the just”: Eptakili, “Greek Island That Hid Its Jews.”
- 72 “As far as the Cohens”: Princess Alice Battenberg, file M.31/5643, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 72 “very small, thin & dark”: Queen Victoria, journal, February 25, 1885, [queenvictoriasjournals.org](http://queenvictoriasjournals.org).
- 73 “God will punish us severely”: Ю.В. КЛОТЦ, “Great Russian Saint, Born in Germany,” *Язык. Культура. Образование* 2 (2017): 83–87.
- 74 “Virtue with the crown on it”: Shelley, *The Speckled Domes*, 220.
- 76 “moved deeply”: “Greek Jews Mourn Metaxas, Foe of Anti-Semitism,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Daily Bulletin*, January 30, 1941.
- 78 Alice tried her best: Battenberg, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 80 “relentless in his devotion”: Battenberg.
- 80 The Princess regularly visited: Battenberg.
- 81 “You can take your troops”: Battenberg.
- 81 “She thus saved”: Battenberg.
- 81 “living in humble”: Macmillan, *War Diaries*, 558–59.
- 82 “They tell me that”: Vickers, *Alice*, 311.
- 82 “We were very privileged”: Battenberg, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 82 “She showed her courage”: Battenberg.
- 83 “I expressed to her my sincerest thankfulness”: Battenberg.
- 84 “In retrospect, this reticence”: Battenberg.

### 4. Some Medals Are Pinned to Your Soul

- 85 “The ovations”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 85.
- 86 “They always tried to”: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 86 “Not a cat”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 86–87.
- 86 The Ufficio Stampa: McConnon and McConnon, 87.
- 86 “The party has started”: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 87 “A lot of time”: Lazzarini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 14, quoted in McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 13.
- 88 “From that pile”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 13–15, quoted in McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 16.
- 88 “You can imagine”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 16.

- 88 “When I descended into Florence”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 17.
- 88 “Despite their perfect bicycles”: Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 16, quoted in McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 23.
- 88 “I didn’t want to disrespect him”: Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 16.
- 89 “They took a bicycle”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 25.
- 89 “enchanted”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 17.
- 89 When a friend attached: Bartali and Pancera, 19.
- 89 “One day you will bring”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 30.
- 89 “My heart leapt”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 19.
- 89 “capacity for suffering”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 33.
- 89 “like the olive trees”: McConnon and McConnon, 71.
- 90 “he looked like he was being electrocuted”: McConnon and McConnon, 34.
- 90 “He was so embarrassed”: Alberati, *Gino Bartali*, 48–49.
- 91 “The deepest sadness fell”: Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 33.
- 91 “Politics is a trap”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 20.
- 92 “to understand that at the Tour”: McConnon and McConnon, 52.
- 92 “A soldier who defends”: McConnon and McConnon, 52.
- 93 “I had such great dreams”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 46.
- 93 “When the doctor”: Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 37–38.
- 93 “the greatest injustice”: Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 73.
- 93 “There was nothing else to say”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 47.
- 94 “now no force”: Count Galeazzo Ciano, entry for May 9, 1938, *Diary, 1937–1943*, 89.
- 94 Forty-seven thousand Italian Jews: “L’Olocausto in Italia,” Presidency of the Council of Minister, Italy, [https://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/olocausto\\_italia.pdf](https://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/olocausto_italia.pdf).
- 95 During Hitler’s visit to Florence: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 64.
- 95 After his 1938 win at the Tour: Ministry of the Interior, Informant Report, October 11, 1938, quoted in Alberati, *Gino Bartali*, 174–75.
- 95 “The pedestal of fame”: Bartali and Pancera, *La mia storia*, 51.

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- 95 “reed-thin”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 95.
- 95 “A great tragedy”: Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 109.
- 96 In the late 1920s: Nardo Bonomi Braverman, interview by author, February 2, 2022.
- 96 “I started to cry”: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 96 In June 1940: Gino Bartali, file M.31/12663, Yad Vashem Archives. Testimony here says this occurred on January 31, 1944, but the timing doesn’t make sense.
- 97 Giorgio would keep: Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 97 “Bartali was a kind of demigod”: McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 100.
- 98 “Better a widow”: Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 110.
- 99 the forty-three thousand Jews: “Italy,” Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 100 Bartali offered shelter: The provenance of the apartment is worth discussing. In Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*, Giorgio Goldenberg says his family was originally in the apartment, then moved to the basement. In the statement of Goldenberg’s cousin Nardo Bonomi Braverman at Yad Vashem, Giorgio recalls the address as Via del Bandino, 45, but that the cellar was in a building next door. According to Yad Vashem, Braverman, with whom I also spoke directly, inspected the real estate registry of Florence, which confirmed Bartali as the owner of a property in Via del Bandino corresponding to 81 and 83, renamed Piazza Cardinale Elia dalla Costa, 7. Bartali owned individual apartments on the ground floor, floors 1–3, and the *sottosuolo*, or basement. When Goldenberg returned to Florence on June 2, 2011, and with Braverman visited Andrea and Adriana Bartali, he immediately recognized the courtyard that the cellar where he had been hidden faced. According to Gioia Bartali, Goldenberg also identified the street by its wartime name.

According to Bartali’s will of May 21, 2000, which the author has inspected, the property at Via del Bandino, 81 (now Piazza Cardinale Elia dalla Costa, 7) was still in Bartali’s possession when he died, property, Bartali says, “which had been my residence and that of my parents.” More specifically, Bartali owned floors 2 and 3 at that time; he left them to his wife and subsequently, following her death, to their three children. According to Gioia Bartali, who subsequently inherited the property and its original plans, it had been built by Torello Bartali. She believes the basement was likely in an apartment two doors down from where her grandparents and father lived, also owned by Bartali, that faced the garden in the courtyard Goldenberg recognized. The author undertook an independent investigation of the Real Estate Registry of Florence in November 2021 and



confirmed that Bartali had purchased a plot of land in Via del Bandino in the 1930s, where a building was built. The original land deed was destroyed in the flood of 1966. Other documents confirm the house number was 81 with an attached garage at 25/R, as per email from Dr. Andrea Venturini to author, November 24, 2021. The Yad Vashem file for Bartali also gives the address for Adriana Bartali as Piazza Cardinale Elia dalla Costa, 7 (the previous Via del Bandino), both during the war and at the time, with five other addresses after the war (it is unclear if these are other places where the Bartalis lived). Paolo Alberati's dissertation "La guerra di Gino Bartali" puts Bartali's home at 23. See also Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*, 2014; Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives; Nardo Bonomi Braverman, interview and correspondence with author, February 2022; Gioia Bartali, interview with author May 15, 2022; Alberati, "La guerra di Gino Bartali."

- 100 "The Germans were killing": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 100 He was allowed to stay: Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 100 "I spent most of my time": Bartali.
- 100 "With quick reflexes": Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75.
- 101 young chief rabbi: Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 102 As archbishop: Cardinal Elia Angelo Dalla Costa, file M.31/12282, Yad Vashem Archives; Yad Vashem, "Cardinal Elia Angelo Dalla Costa, Archbishop of Florence, Recognized as Righteous Among the Nations," press release, November 26, 2021, Yad Vashem Archives, <https://www.yadvashem.org/press-release/26-november-2012-14-13.html>.
- 102 Meetings of the underground: Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 102 Bishop Nicolini was really: Oren, *My Italian Secret*.
- 103 It is reported: Other members of Bartali's network included Luigi Gedda, the president of Catholic Action, and the Rome-based Prince Marte Lòsego. Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 103 Although he wasn't the only courier: Ramati, *Assisi Underground*. Ramati claims Giorgio La Pira, the future mayor of Florence, was also a courier.
- 103 "I put myself to work": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 103 "He would leave the home": Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 104 "As a child": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*; Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 104 "In case they catch me": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 104 "He would arrive": "Cosi Bartali salvo' gli ebrei, 1943-44," *La Nazione*, July 2, 2003; Paolo Alberati, interview by author, November 30, 2021; Alberati, "La guerra di Gino Bartali," in which Alberati interviewed both Sister Alfonsina and Sister Eleonora; "Firenze-Assisi per ricordare Gino Bartali."

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- 105 Sometimes he would leave: Alberati, interview.
- 105 Other times he had barley coffee: Alberati, "La guerra di Gino Bartali."
- 105 Mother Giuseppina: Garibaldi, "Così Bartali." Andrea Bartali and others read the diaries, "where Bartali's visits were recorded."
- 105 "We just acted spontaneously": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 105 "More than once": Alberati, "La guerra di Gino Bartali."
- 105 When there was acute: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 106 "I fought for three years": Andrea Biavardi, "La straordinaria storia di uno stampatore di Assisi: Quest'uomo ha salvato cinquemila ebrei," *Gente*, June 15, 1989.
- 106 "While several of my friends": Biavardi.
- 106 "What a scare": Biavardi.
- 107 "pretend to be evacuees": Biavardi.
- 107 "I put three- or four-year-old tags": Enrico Maionica, interview, April 30, 1998, Trieste, Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation.
- 107 The documents would then: Maionica.
- 107 After the first batch: Biavardi, "La straordinaria storia."
- 107 "a gift from Assisi": Biavardi.
- 107 "Instead, as soon as I arrived": Biavardi.
- 108 "I saw him get on": Biavardi.
- 108 A stunned Trento: Biavardi.
- 108 "escaped by pure miracle": Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75; Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 109 "I was the only one": Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75.
- 109 "My father would play": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 109 "It was easier for the Jews": Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75.
- 110 "it's not logical": Segment on Giorgio Goldenberg, *La Vita in Diretta*.
- 110 The sons of the chief rabbi: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*; "Under the Wings of the Church: Florence Network," in *I Am My Brother's Keeper*, [https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous/florence\\_network.asp](https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous/florence_network.asp).
- 110 It was barely ten by ten feet: Braverman, interview. Braverman accompanied Giorgio Goldenberg in Florence when he visited the apartment on June 2, 2011, and definitively recognized the courtyard.
- 111 "What can you do": McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 147.
- 111 "These are terrible times": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 112 Carità accused him: Alberati, "La guerra di Gino Bartali."

- 112 "It's not true": Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 123–25.
- 112 "I hope I never": Lazzerini and Beghelli, 124.
- 112 "I think that was one": Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75.
- 113 "A bleak spectacle": Lazzerini and Beghelli, *La leggenda di Bartali*, 124.
- 114 "For me, that was the end": McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 159.
- 114 "You feel like you have gotten": Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 76.
- 114 "This is not the Italy": Turrini, *L'uomo che salvo l'Italia*, quoted in McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 161.
- 114 "like clowns": Alberati, *Gino Bartali*, 48–49.
- 114 "It seemed like they": Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 77.
- 115 "I ended up completely demoralized": Bartali and Ricci, 77
- 116 "Bartali, the old king of the mountains": McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 200.
- 116 "The good Lord": McConnon and McConnon, 224.
- 117 "What happened at the Tour?": McConnon and McConnon, 227.
- 117 "I feel like a lion": Bartali and Ricci, *Tutto sbagliato*, 147.
- 117 "Bartali wrote in these last": McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 231.
- 117 "I have won": McConnon and McConnon, 340.
- 117 "Everyone in their life": McConnon and McConnon, 239.
- 117 "I don't know if I saved": McConnon and McConnon, 247.
- 117 "For a quarter of a century": McConnon and McConnon, 256.
- 118 "I want to be remembered": Andrea Bartali, "Mio padre aveva ragione," introduction to Alberati, *Gino Bartali*, Kindle ed., loc. 36.
- 118 "These are things": "Bartali suo pensiero ebrei," Courtesy of Gioia Bartali, c. July 1994, video, MP4 file, 1:17. He elaborated: "You can't do something nice for someone and then rub it in his face."
- 118 When a film starring: Bartali, "Mio padre aveva ragione," loc. 4.
- 118 "I don't want to talk about it": Bartali, *Coppi e Bartali*.
- 119 "Life is like a Giro d'Italia": McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 256.
- 119 "Heaven should be a happy place": Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*; McConnon and McConnon, *Road to Valor*, 256.
- 119 "great sportsman": McConnon and McConnon, 257.
- 119 "When we were poor": McConnon and McConnon, 247.
- 119 "When the time comes": Bartali, Yad Vashem Archives.

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- 120 Over 7,600 Italian Jews: “Italy During the Holocaust: Historical Background,” Yad Vashem, [yadvashem.org/righteous/stories/italy-background-history.html](http://yadvashem.org/righteous/stories/italy-background-history.html).
- 120 “The Jews of Italy have Italian blood”: Ramati, *Assisi Underground*, 171.
- 120 “Gino Bartali saved my life”: Jacoby, *My Italian Secret*.
- 120 “You had a great father”: Bartali, *Gino Bartali*, 75.
- 120 “These are medals”: Bartali, “Mio padre aveva ragione,” loc. 4.

### 5. Samurai Spirit

- 122 “new eyes in Lithuania”: Chiune Sugihara, file M.31/2861, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 122 “My main task”: Pałasz-Rutkowska and Romer, “Polish-Japanese Co-Operation,” 285–316.
- 123 “Chiune, come back to us”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 123 “The cosmopolitan nature of Harbin”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 36.
- 124 “He was very influenced”: Nobuki Sugihara, interview by author, February 17, 2021.
- 124 Chinese Eastern Railway: Sugihara House, Kaunas, Lithuania, [www.sugiharahouse.com](http://www.sugiharahouse.com). Sugihara House refers to the “Northern Manchurian Railroad Acquisition Office.”
- 124 “I resigned from my post”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 126 Sugihara provided diplomatic cover: Pałasz-Rutkowska and Romer, “Polish-Japanese Co-Operation,” 285–316. Yukiko Sugihara noted they had hardly any contact with other diplomats.
- 126 “The people there”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 126 The family continued to grow: “Historical Discovery: Chiune Sugihara’s Third Child Was Born in Kaunas, January 4, 2018,” Vytautas Magnus University, January 4, 2018, <https://www.vdu.lt/en/historical-discovery-Chiune-sugiharas-third-child-was-born-in-kaunas/>.
- 126 “We would go to out-of-the-way places”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 15.
- 126 Jewish population of 32,000: “Kovno,” Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 126 At least ten thousand additional Jews: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”
- 127 “an eerie atmosphere”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, xiv.
- 127 “between the jaws of two lions”: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 185.
- 127 “you are crazy to stay here”: Ganor, *Light One Candle*, 37.

- 127 “if I were you”: Ganor, 37.
- 127 “Tell him,” Sugihara said: Ganor, 41. Sadly, the Ganors did not take Sugihara’s advice, and they remained trapped in Lithuania and eventually were deported. Remarkably, Solly was liberated from Dachau by the Japanese-American 522nd Field Army Battalion. It is worth noting that the veracity of the Hanukkah party story has been challenged, mostly by unreliable sources but also by Nobuki Sugihara. Almost every scholar of Sugihara I consulted, however, believes it to be true and Ganor to be a reliable narrator. The story was also confirmed more than once by Yukiko Sugihara. I have tried to only include details of the story that are based on eyewitness testimony.
- 129 “commercially we are finished”: Jan Zwartendijk, file M.31/7793, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 129 “a veritable pall”: Brokken, *The Just*, 81.
- 130 “Send me your passport”: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”
- 130 “The admission of aliens”: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 130 Eleven days later: “Zwartendijk—His Activities”; Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 130 “We were more afraid”: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 230; Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 130 Gutwirth did not need the visa: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 130 “My office carpet”: Zwartendijk.
- 131 he implored Gutwirth: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”
- 131 De Dekker had by now left: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 131 Issued another thousand: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.” Accounts range from 900 to 1,050; Zwartendijk puts the figure at 1,050.
- 131 visa number 2,345: “Zwartendijk—His Activities”; Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives. Yad Vashem states that 2,193 visas were issued and that the last one was to Herssz Praskier. Elsewhere, Jan Zwartendijk Jr. gives an estimate of 1,200–1,400.
- 131 “allowed the workers”: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”
- 131 “he knew he was in a position”: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 131 “enraged him from the start”: Zwartendijk.
- 132 “humming noise”: Pałasz-Rutkowska and Romer, “Polish-Japanese Co-Operation,” 285–316. The timelines in various sources are often inconsistent.
- 132 “This was indeed an extraordinary sight”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 2.
- 132 “for many days”: Gold, *A Special Fate*, 59; Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 3.

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- 132 "It was an upsetting sight": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 5.
- 133 They clung to their parents: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 133 Sugihara told his children: Mochizuki, *Passage to Freedom*.
- 133 "Those five men": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 9.
- 133 "With tears in their eyes": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 202–3.
- 134 "That night was one": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 10.
- 134 he composed a cable: Sugihara to Foreign Minister, cable no. 50, July 28, 1940, quoted in Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 236.
- 134 "More and more requests": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 249.
- 134 The telegram put consulates: Matsuoka to the Berlin Consulate, cable, July 23, 1940, Sugihara House.
- 135 Exceptions could be made: Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats*, 56.
- 135 Outside the crowd continued to grow: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives. According to Yukiko, the crowd the first day was around 100 and continued growing.
- 135 "They came to my office": Sugihara.
- 135 "Even the hunter cannot": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 13. Gold, *A Special Fate*, 62, states that Sugihara said this after first meeting the refugees.
- 135 Sugihara wondered: Gold, *A Special Fate*, 84.
- 135 "Chiune really wanted": Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 135 "Tokyo stubbornly refused": Sugihara.
- 135 "I cannot allow": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 259; Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 135 "I will issue visas": Mochizuki, *Passage to Freedom*; Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 20–21.
- 135 "The magic of the moment": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 21.
- 136 Sugihara personally interviewed: Sugihara, interview.
- 136 July 26: "Zwartendijk—His Activities"; Brokken, *The Just*, 95.
- 136 August 6: Sugihara's list is available at Sugihara House, <http://www.sugiharahouse.com/en/the-rescued/the-list-of-the-rescued>.
- 136 "I had to look up": Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives; Sugihara House.
- 136 Sugihara wondered: Gold, *A Special Fate*, 94.
- 136 The Japanese government: Sugihara House.
- 136 "I had to do something": Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.

- 136 "I decided to halt": Sugihara.
- 137 "It was very dangerous": Pałasz-Rutkowska and Romer, "Polish-Japanese Co-Operation," 293.
- 137 including Stalin himself: Brokken, *The Just*, 171; confirmed in Sugihara, interview, and Robert Zwartendijk, interview by author, February 9, 2021. Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats*, states that Warhaftig claimed he spoke to the Soviet deputy prime minister of Lithuania, Pius Glovacki, who then got permission from Moscow.
- 137 "Chiune was very persuasive": Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 19.
- 138 "The consul will never allow this": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 245–47.
- 138 "All right," he finally said: Levine, 245–47.
- 138 When Zupnik entered: Levine, 245–47.
- 138 In the hallway: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 138 Zupnik offered to help: Zwartendijk.
- 138 "He simply handed over": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 245–47.
- 138 "Whatever came in, I stamped": Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 139 "a tzaddik": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 195.
- 139 Sugihara kept a log: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 139 the official stamp: According to Nobuki Sugihara there were three stamps: a round stamp for Sugihara, a square consulate stamp, and then a third stamp that was used to expedite the handwriting. Only the latter would have been used by Zupnik. Sugihara, interview.
- 139 Sugihara worked methodically: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 22.
- 139 "He was in a hurry": Pałasz-Rutkowska and Romer, "Polish-Japanese Co-Operation," 293.
- 139 Eventually, he even halted: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 24.
- 139 Sugihara quickly realized: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 140 None of the refugees actually went to Curaçao: Zwartendijk.
- 140 "I'd say more than half": Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 140 Conditions were difficult: Sugihara.
- 140 "They were in a panic": Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 136–37.
- 140 "The world says that": Levine, 242.
- 141 "He looked very sympathetic": Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 141 As he wrote: "Lucille Szepsenwol Camhi Describes Obtaining Japanese Transit Visas from Chiune Sugihara in Kovno," oral history interview with Lucille Cahmi, June 8, 1999, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,

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- Washington, DC, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/oral-history/lucille-szepeswol-camhi-describes-obtaining-japanese-transit-visas-from-Chiune-sugihara-in-kovno>; Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 255.
- 141 He did this for women: Sugihara, interview.
- 141 “I thought that he was a real gentleman”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 131.
- 141 “We cannot permit them”: Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats*, 111.
- 141 “to deny transit visas”: Sugihara House.
- 141 Sugihara composed a telegram: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 248.
- 142 a cable on August 24: The cable is actually dated August 1, but it seems likely it was sent September 1, as it refers to cable 22. The response to this cable was sent from Tokyo on September 3. See also Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats*, which notes that things were so busy with such large issues that it is unlikely the foreign minister even saw the cables.
- 142 “Close the Consulate”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives; Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 24. The first telegram from the Foreign Ministry was on August 2, instructing him to close the consulate.
- 142 “Handling Refugees”: Sugihara House.
- 142 “From now on please”: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 258.
- 142 Zupnik bade farewell: Levine, 245–47. According to Nobuki Sugihara, Gudze was sadly shot and killed during the war. Sugihara, interview.
- 142 “Those were the best two weeks”: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 248.
- 143 “I will never forget”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 26.
- 143 “permission papers”: Sugihara, 27.
- 143 He wrote visas: Hiroki Sugihara says his father wrote for two days. Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives; Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 27.
- 143 “They stood frozen”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 27.
- 143 “I didn’t know what to do”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 143 “Don’t go, please!”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 27. The Sugiharas later heard that some of the stationery was actually used successfully.
- 144 “I was sad for the people”: Sugihara, 27.
- 144 “Father, are we going to Berlin?”: Mochizuki, *Passage to Freedom*; Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 27; Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 144 “They were tearful and terrified”: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 144 “There wasn’t a tree”: Brokken, *The Just*, 78; Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 145 two officers showed up: Zwartendijk, interview; “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”



- 145 “It is the more astonishing”: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 146 On February 4: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 273; cable to Matsuoka, February 28, 1941, Sugihara House.
- 146 he had issued 2,132 visas: Sugihara Museum, Yaotsu-cho, Japan, [http://www.sugihara-museum.jp/shared/pdf/about/issued\\_list.pdf](http://www.sugihara-museum.jp/shared/pdf/about/issued_list.pdf). The precise number is not entirely certain. Sugihara’s initial telegram said 2,132, but the actual list is different at 2,139. The original “Sugihara’s list” is in the Gaimusho (Foreign Ministry) archives and consists of 31 pages of people saved in Lithuania, and some additional rescues in Prague and Konigsberg. It is contained in a black loose-leaf binder labeled “consular activities.” Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 5.
- 146 Sugihara was now being viewed: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 272. Nobuki Sugihara said he was “persona non grata” to the Germans in Kovno. Sugihara, “Evening with Nobuki Sugihara.”
- 146 “I feel good today”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 58.
- 147 “gorgeous life”: Levine, *In Search of Sugihara*, 275.
- 147 “I’m not a spy”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 148 “The excitement I felt”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 105.
- 148 Two days later: Sugihara, 106.
- 148 “We have come back to Japan”: Sugihara, 106.
- 149 “Thank you, Mr. Sugihara”: Sugihara, 108–9.
- 149 “If I admit your way”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 149 “start a new life”: Sugihara. The Japanese government has disputed that Sugihara was dismissed for insubordination, asserting that he was let go as part as a wide-scale postwar downsizing at the Foreign Ministry.
- 149 “In the days after the war”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 110.
- 149 “helpless and vacant-eyed”: Sugihara, 111.
- 149 They blamed the war: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 150 “He never used money”: Sugihara.
- 151 The Foreign Ministry had records: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 124.
- 151 “very old and worn out piece of paper”: Sugihara, 123.
- 151 “emissary of G-d”: Sugihara, 125.
- 151 “I am proud to have issued visas to the Jews”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 151 “In 1963 an article”: Schreig, “Inside Report.”
- 152 “He did not wish”: “Zwartendijk—His Activities.”
- 152 “He just wanted to do good”: Zwartendijk, interview.

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- 152 And he did not like being called: Zwartendijk, Yad Vashem Archives; “Zwartendijk—His Activities.” The *Jerusalem Post* also called Zwartendijk “the man who saved Judaism because of his rescue of so many Torah scholars.”
- 152 a cedar grove was planted: It was originally intended to be of cherry trees, but cedars are better suited to the desert climate. *Sugihara* means “cedar grove” in Japanese.
- 153 “symbolize the ripple effect”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 144.
- 153 “courageous and humanitarian act”: Chinue Sugihara Memorial Hall, Yao-tsu, Japan, [http://www.sugihara-museum.jp/about/honor\\_en.html](http://www.sugihara-museum.jp/about/honor_en.html).
- 153 “He took us out from hell”: Goldberg, “Honors Come Late.”
- 153 “I think he was a man sent by God”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 153 “There’s a choice to be made”: Zwartendijk, interview.
- 153 “I didn’t do anything special”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 154 “What I did as a diplomat”: Sugihara, *Visas for Life*, 128.
- 154 “I felt pity for the people”: Sugihara, interview.
- 154 “My father told me that a samurai”: Sugihara, Yad Vashem Archives.

## 6. Miracle on the Øresund

- 156 From the outset, Germany announced: Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 9.
- 156 “under protest”: “Denmark Protests but Yields to Nazis,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1940.
- 156 The oldest members: Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 28.
- 156 “I considered our own Jews”: Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 19.
- 157 “Hitler’s canary”: Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 13.
- 157 “the cloven hoof of Nazism”: Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 12.
- 157 “an absolute correct and dignified behavior”: Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 9; “Denmark Protests.”
- 158 “My utmost thanks”: Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 21.
- 159 “would ruin the government’s”: Werner, 24.
- 159 Best blamed the press: Werner, 13.
- 160 “It has finally happened”: Werner, 27.
- 160 “It is my opinion”: Werner, 29–30.
- 160 “In order to arrest”: Werner, 30.
- 160 “a very heated discussion”: Werner, 31.

- 161 "She was my best moral support": Werner, 31.
- 161 "Deep down he's decent": Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 48.
- 161 "all that can be done": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 32. "Vorbereitet sein, ist alles, was getan werden kann."
- 162 "Now I know what I have to do": Werner, 33.
- 162 "If we were to stay silent": Werner, 84.
- 163 "Everything I do": Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 67.
- 163 Three hundred "specialists": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 35.
- 163 "No power in the world": Werner, 35.
- 163 The next day, Duckwitz went: Werner, 35.
- 163 "for the duration": Werner, 35.
- 163 "as if he had just said": Werner, 36.
- 164 "the operation will place": Werner, 35–36.
- 164 "Disturbances requiring use": Werner, 36.
- 165 "He took great personal risk": Werner, 37.
- 165 "It is good that Annemarie": Werner, 36.
- 166 in their innermost hearts": Hans Hedtoft, introduction to Bertelsen, *October '43*.
- 166 "cabin of trust": Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 71.
- 166 "white with indignation": Hedtoft, introduction.
- 166 "Now the disaster is about to occur": Georg Duckwitz, file M.31/679, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 166 "Henriques, a great disaster": Hedtoft, introduction.
- 167 "You must immediately": Hedtoft, introduction.
- 167 Henriques was in shock: Hedtoft, introduction.
- 167 "Everything is dark and hopeless": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 41.
- 167 "I have very important news": Werner, 41.
- 167 The seventy-two-hour head start: Duckwitz, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 168 "to emphasize to you": Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 132.
- 168 "We understand by freedom": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 48.
- 169 "horrible brutalization": Dolgin, "Danish Hero."
- 170 "I called my colleagues": Mark, "Splitting of the Sea."
- 170 Knud immediately went: Karen and Knud Marstrand Christiansen, file M.31/10633, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 171 "It was faster": Christiansen.

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- 172 "The thoughts flew": Christiansen.  
172 His host came: Christiansen.  
173 "I knew from Germany": Christiansen.  
173 "First we have to get": Christiansen.  
173 "It was as if": Christiansen.  
173 "You will not leave": Christiansen.  
174 "I had to eat": Christiansen.  
174 "Are we going to Sweden": Christiansen.  
175 "You are cold": Christiansen.  
175 "I was saved": Christiansen.  
176 "have a good trip": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 72.  
176 In the end: "Rescue in Denmark," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/rescue-in-denmark>.  
176 "Sweden is open to all": Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 96.  
176 many soldiers were not interested: Dolgin, "Danish Hero."  
178 "redeemed as a human being": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 114.  
178 "The gate was opened": Werner, 120.  
178 "One does not think": "German Who Saved Danish Jews Here," *Jerusalem Post*, 1971; Duckwitz, Yad Vashem Archives.  
178 "When I heard the news": Werner, *Conspiracy of Decency*, 144.  
179 "In most cases": Werner, 154.  
179 "How could you risk all": Christiansen, Yad Vashem Archives.  
180 "I had noticed:" Lidegaard, *Countrymen*, 19.  
180 "Denmark created greater difficulties": Lidegaard, 198.  
180 "put one's faith in a new Germany": Duckwitz, Yad Vashem Archives.

## 7. Beneath the Apple Tree

- 182 "I grew up": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."  
182 "Don't spoil her": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 11.  
183 "My father was a doctor": Mazzeo, 18.  
183 "I was beaten": Mazzeo, 23.  
183 "Everyone here was dedicated": Mazzeo, 21.  
185 "creative social work": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 79.

- 185 "Our streets were flooded": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 186 "There were families": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 43–44.
- 186 "The basis of receiving": Mazzeo, 47.
- 187 "With the creation": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 187 "We made contact": Sendler.
- 187 gave the two Irenas: Sources universally state that the two Irenas received passes. Elsewhere, Irena indicates there were five people who received passes, growing to ten. Interview with Irena Sendler, "Irena Sendlerowa (1): Trudno się przejąć, jak do dzieci strzelano," [www.wilnoteka.it](http://www.wilnoteka.it), May 16, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5kAQRqIWkM&t=13s>.
- 187 "At first, I was": Sendler, "The Valor of the Young," 21.
- 187 "The first time": Lefkovits, "Heroism in the Warsaw Ghetto."
- 187 "I'd go out": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 188 "One thing is certain": Interview with Irena Sendler, "Irena Sendlerowa (1): Trudno się przejąć, jak do dzieci strzelano," [www.wilnoteka.it](http://www.wilnoteka.it), May 16, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5kAQRqIWkM&t=13s>.
- 188 "By order of Hitler": Irena Sendler, file M.31/153, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 188 "It was hard not to be": Interview with Irena Sendler, "Irena Sendlerowa (1): Trudno się przejąć, jak do dzieci strzelano," [www.wilnoteka.it](http://www.wilnoteka.it), May 16, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5kAQRqIWkM&t=13s>.
- 188 "who knowingly provides": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 134–35.
- 190 "like a ray of sun": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 190 "Why are you doing this": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 142.
- 190 "an important friend": Mayer, 142.
- 190 "Pani Sendler": Mayer, 143.
- 191 "God bless you": Mayer, 146
- 193 "I was teaching them": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 193 "doubled by the tragedies": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 193 "How many mothers": Sendler.
- 193 "Jan Dobraczyński came to an understanding": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 110.
- 194 "There had to be some record": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 194 They also needed the addresses: Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 111.
- 195 Sometimes, she would add: Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 195 In May, Irena tried: Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 106–7.
- 195 One of Irena's teenage: Mazzeo, 107, says it was rather Ala Golab-Grynberg,

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- who as chief nurse had rare permission to travel into the Jewish ghetto after curfew.
- 196 "Very quickly": Mazzeo, 132.
- 197 "We witnessed Dantesque": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 198 One day Irena took: Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 176.
- 198 Irena walked with Guta: Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 149, in great detail has this a boy saved by Jaga Piotrowska and not Irena. Jack Mayer told the author that he heard this story directly from Irena, but surmised that perhaps similar incidents had occurred throughout the ghetto.
- 198 "At last they would be able": Szpilman, *The Pianist*, 96.
- 198 "Though the storm": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 182.
- 198 "Good riddance": Mayer, 193.
- 199 Dr. Korczak "kept walking": Irena Sendler, "Irena Sendler Tells the Story of Janusz Korczak," *Gariwo Network*, July 23, 2013, <https://en.gariwo.net/multimedia/documentaries/irena-sendler-tells-the-story-of-janusz-korczak-9114.html>; Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 199 "I will stay with the children": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 184.
- 199 "It was not a simple": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 124.
- 199 "Remembering that tragic procession": Mazzeo, 124–25.
- 199 Eighty-five percent: Mazzeo, 155.
- 200 "Poland is silent": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 197.
- 201 "to lead as many Jews as possible": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 201 Irena was taken: Sendler, "Those Who Helped the Jews," 45–46.
- 201 "a man with a big heart": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 202 "You know the people": Lefkovits, "Heroism in the Warsaw Ghetto."
- 202 In the fall of 1942: Sendler, "The Valor of the Young," 21.
- 202 "Vast sums passed": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 166.
- 202 "I'm a good organizer": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 202 The penalty: Sendler, "Those Who Helped the Jews," 45–46.
- 203 "I'll come for Mirjam": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 208.
- 204 "What you're doing": Mayer, 206.
- 204 One night at three: Sendler, "Those Who Helped the Jews," 45–46.
- 205 Janina responded that Irena: Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 183; Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 213.
- 205 "I felt sorry for you": Irena Sendlerowa, "Ci Którzy Pomagali Żydom

- (Wspomnienia z czasów okupacji hitlerowskiej)," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1963), 233–47.
- 206 "The ghetto was on fire!": Sendler, "Those Who Helped the Jews," 45–46.
- 206 "Every day, every hour": Sendler, "The Valor of the Young," 21.
- 206 "There was no air": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 200.
- 207 "The former Jewish Quarter": "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/warsaw-ghetto-uprising>.
- 207 They stayed up late: Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 207 "During the occupation": Sendler.
- 208 "They came to your house": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 221.
- 208 "It went on for two hours": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 209 "As they arrested me": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*; Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 209 "The owner was arrested": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 210 "I'll tell you everything": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 225.
- 212 One day: Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 212 "Don't worry": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 231.
- 212 "They valued my work": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 212 Then, on January 20: Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 212 "Be careful": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 297.
- 213 "I remember feeling": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 213 "I was confused": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 298.
- 213 In shock, Irena: Mayer, 298; Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 214 "It was," she said: Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 298.
- 214 "Luckily I found a seat": Mayer, 299.
- 214 "I was so naïve": Mazzeo, *Irena's Children*, 231; Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 215 "I was so exhausted": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 299.
- 215 "One of the burdens": Mayer, 319.
- 215 "You are not even allowed": Sendler, "O pomocy Żydom."
- 215 "They'll be looking for you": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 329.
- 215 "There were no more children to rescue": Mayer, 321.

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- 216 One night, after Jaga's daughter: This seems to have happened during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 according to Irena Sendler's statement in Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives; Irena Sendler, "How I Rescued Children in the Warsaw Ghetto," *Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" W Polsce* [Association of Children of the Holocaust in Poland], [https://dzieciholocaustu.org.pl/szab3.php?s=en\\_sendlerowa.php](https://dzieciholocaustu.org.pl/szab3.php?s=en_sendlerowa.php).
- 216 They decided they would dig: Mayer, *Life in a Jar*; Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives, implies during Warsaw Uprising.
- 216 "In case of my death": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 216 "Almost all Warsaw is a sea of flames": Hans Frank, *Diary of Hans Frank*, vol. 37: *Tagebuch 1944*, 1944, United States National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/captured-german-records/microfilm/t992.pdf>.
- 217 "I had promised": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 311.
- 217 The two women went out: Mayer, 311.
- 217 "We now began to realize": Mayer, 312.
- 218 "It is hard to be": Rojek, "To była maka całego świata."
- 218 "You and your family": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 277.
- 219 estimate that 2,500 children: Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 219 "We think that there are many more": Sendler.
- 219 "it was a need of my heart": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 219.
- 219 "when someone is drowning": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 219 "I only did what any decent person": Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 336.
- 220 "I am a veteran of war": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 220 "I still hear mothers": Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 220 She died peacefully: Mayer, *Life in a Jar*, 351.
- 220 "I could not have achieved": Skinner, *Irena Sendler*.
- 220 "Every child saved": "Heroic Sendlerowa Dies at 98," *Jewish News*, May 15, 2008; Quetteville, " 'Female Schindler' Irene Sendler"; Schisłowska, "Polish Holocaust Hero"; Sendler, Yad Vashem Archives.

## 8. The Ivy Leaguers

- 222 "like a sage old owl": Bingham, "Hiram Bingham IV."
- 222 married shortly after: "Hiram Bingham, Jr. Marries Miss Rose Morrison at Waycross, Georgia," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 29, 1934.



- 223 A nineteen-year-old Viennese Jew: Lawrence Bodner to Robert Kim Bingham, June 29, 2008, [www.hirambinghamrescuer.com](http://www.hirambinghamrescuer.com).
- 224 "We can delay": Breckinridge Long, memo to assistant secretary of state Adolf Berle, June 26, 1940, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, RG 59 Central Decimal Files 811.111 W.R/107.
- 224 "The Germans are going to win": Hiram Bingham IV, interview by Tiffany Bingham, c. 1980.
- 224 "Visas were granted": Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, Kindle ed., loc. 794.
- 224 "getting as many visas": Hiram Bingham IV, interview.
- 224 "Fullerton took the bad way": Danny Bénédict, June 25, 1985, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 224 "The French Government": Marino, *Quiet American*, 43.
- 225 a large crowd pulled Jews: "Editor Holds Riots Inspired by Nazis," *New York Times*, July 26, 1935.
- 225 Plate-glass windows: "Editor Describes Rioting in Berlin," *New York Times*, July 15, 1935.
- 225 In a nearby café: "Editor Describes Rioting."
- 225 "We mustn't forget": Marino, *Quiet American*, 44.
- 226 "it was a complete mess": Bénédict, Exiles Film Project.
- 228 "I had my books": Feuchtwanger, *Devil in France*, 5.
- 228 "We had been celebrated": Feuchtwanger, 21.
- 228 "There was never a case": Feuchtwanger, 85.
- 229 "It lay in the sunshine": Feuchtwanger, 163.
- 229 "Plato places courage": Feuchtwanger, 175.
- 229 Feuchtwanger decided to walk: Feuchtwanger, 184.
- 230 "going to town": Feuchtwanger, 184.
- 230 "What wore a man down": Feuchtwanger, 232.
- 230 "It was a July night": Feuchtwanger, 245.
- 230 "I wanted to make sure": Feuchtwanger, 248.
- 231 Bingham's deputy Myles Standish: Both Varian Fry and Mary Jayne Gold identify Bingham as the rescuer, but most accounts refer to Myles Standish as the actual driver of the car.
- 232 "They told me that you had gone bathing": Feuchtwanger, *Devil in France*, 260.
- 232 "The good-natured, embarrassed Bingham": Lion Feuchtwanger, diary, July 21, 1940, Lion Feuchtwanger Papers.

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- 232 "Our house was pretty isolated": Hiram Bingham, August 4, 1987, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 232 "a very, very heavy heart": Golo Mann, July 23, 1985, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 233 Marta and Lion exhaled: Marta Feuchtwanger, afterword to Feuchtwanger, *Devil in France*, 266.
- 233 The vice consul told his neighbors: William Bingham, interview by author, July 19, 2020.
- 233 "The servants are bad": Feuchtwanger, diary, July 22, 1940.
- 233 "Bingham is an awkward": Feuchtwanger.
- 233 "I miss you so much": Hiram and Rose Bingham Papers, 1991.240.15, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- 233 "The whole world": Hiram Bingham IV to Rose Bingham, Institute for the Study of Rescue and Altruism in the Holocaust, <https://www.holocaustrescue.org/bingham-bibliography-and-quotes>.
- 234 "affidavits in lieu of passport": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 57.
- 234 "Bingham had a great idea": Feuchtwanger, afterword, 271; Feuchtwanger, diary, August 17, 1940.
- 234 Bohn had told Fry: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 10.
- 235 "Her name alone": Gold, *Crossroads Marseilles*, 122.
- 235 "sensuous lips": Marino, *Quiet American*, 62.
- 235 "Werfel looked exactly": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 5–6.
- 236 "The prospect of escape": Feuchtwanger, diary, August 12, 1940.
- 236 "Half the refugees in Marseille": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 54.
- 237 "All through dinner": Fry, 56.
- 237 "If you will come": Fry, 57.
- 237 "I am in a good mood": Feuchtwanger, diary, August 29, 1940.
- 237 "never went around the block": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 57.
- 237 Fry also invited Heinrich: Karel Sternberg claimed that Fry told him that also in the group were the film publicity director Egon Adler and his wife, Bertha Maria Adler, but they were cut out of Fry's memoir because they were not famous. They carried US emergency visas. Other descriptions of the event by third parties do not mention this, however. Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, Kindle ed., loc. 2788.
- 237 Heinrich Mann was extremely concerned: Hiram Bingham, Exiles Film Project.
- 238 Mahler's unfinished symphony: Mary Jayne Gold claims the Mahler

- manuscripts stayed in the luggage, although she was not present. Gold, *Crossroads Marseilles*, 137.
- 238 “the most sensible walking gear”: Gold, 132.
- 238 “on and off the train”: Rosenberg, *Art of Resistance*, 109.
- 239 “Panic seized us”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 62.
- 240 “It’s an unlucky day”: Fry, 64.
- 240 “We are obliged”: Fry, 65.
- 240 Ball and Golo had to carry him: This is according to Fry, who did not mention Rosenberg’s presence. In *Art of Resistance*, Rosenberg says he and Nelly helped Heinrich Mann and Alma Mahler, and Ball helped Werfel.
- 240 “It was sheer, slippery terrain”: Marino, *Quiet American*, 169.
- 241 “So you are the son”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 68–69.
- 243 “Once again, Bingham proved his worth”: Feuchtwanger, afterword, 273.
- 243 “Shut up”: Harold von Hofe, “About Lion and Marta Feuchtwanger,” Feuchtwanger Memorial Library, USC Libraries, Los Angeles, <https://libguides.usc.edu/c.php?g=234957&p=1559413>.
- 244 “The author spoke repeatedly”: “Flight Described by Feuchtwanger,” *New York Times*, October 6, 1940, 38.
- 244 “have repeatedly spoken”: Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 28.
- 244 “It was a great chance”: Bingham, 20–21.
- 244 he made a tour: Hiram Bingham IV, “Concentration Camps for Foreigners in the Marseille Consular district,” memorandum, December 20, 1940, Institute for the Study of Rescue and Altruism in the Holocaust, <https://www.holocaustrescue.org/bingham-letters-and-testimonies>.
- 245 Hans Schlesinger was interned: Schlesinger, “Saved by the U.S. Consul.”
- 245 “God, it was such a relief”: “Rescue in the Holocaust by Diplomats—Hiram Bingham, IV,” Institute for the Study of Rescue and Altruism in the Holocaust, <https://www.holocaustrescue.org/hiram-bingham>.
- 245 “I could write a treatise”: “Hiram Bingham, IV.”
- 246 “When he reaches paradise”: “Hiram Bingham, IV.”
- 246 “a bit of an innocent abroad”: Albert Hirschman, October 22, 1985, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 246 “knew how to do”: Davenport Ebel, “Unsentimental Education.”
- 247 “Joseph Goebbels is personally”: Gold, *Crossroads Marseilles*, 104.
- 247 He also married: Marino, *Quiet American*, 239–40; William Bingham, interview.

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- 248 The mood in Marseille: Albert Hirschman and Wolfgang Roth, October 25, 1985, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 248 "There were very often terrible decisions": Albert Hirschman, circa 1980s, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 248 "It was terribly sad": Charles Fawcett, oral history interview, June 24, 1993, RG-50.428.0006, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 248 "I saw myself": Justus Rosenberg, oral history interview, RG-50.428.0004 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 248 "a great man": Francis Zamponi, Nelly Bouveret, and Daniel Allary, *Jean Moulin: mémoires d'un homme sans voix* (Paris: Editions du Chêne, 1998), 98.
- 249 While Fry was away: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 80.
- 249 the State Department's return cable: Cordell Hull to the American embassy, telegram, September 18, 1941, in Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 81.
- 249 "in danger of becoming": Matthews to Hull, cable, September 14, 1940, in Varian Fry, file M.31/6150, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 249 "the refugees were really trapped": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 85.
- 250 "The atmosphere is the atmosphere": Fry to his mother, February 3, 1941, in Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 251 The poet waited nervously: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 173–74; Marino, *Quiet American*, 263; Walter Mehring to Varian Fry, December 22, 1947, Box 7, Varian Fry Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, New York.
- 252 "I have never before": Varian Fry to Danny Bénédict, October 31, 1941, Box 2, Varian Fry Papers.
- 252 "one of those magnificent views": Varian Fry to Arthur Fry, May 14, 1941, Box 3, Varian Fry Papers.
- 253 "a splendid, private hotel": Davenport Ebel, "Unsentimental Education."
- 253 Bingham had suspected: William Bingham, interview.
- 253 "In my experience": Albert Hirschman, Exiles Film Project.
- 254 "It will only be a short time": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 141.
- 254 "I have to admit": Fry, 143.
- 255 "I am sorry you should": Fry, 146.
- 255 "one of the most surprising": Varian Fry to Eileen Fry, December 8, 1940, Box 3, Varian Fry Papers.
- 255 "He'll find me": Miriam Davenport Ebel Papers, 1991.158.88, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.

- 255 “redouble our efforts”: Davenport Ebel Papers.
- 256 “He was just comfortable”: Hiram Bingham, Exiles Film Project.
- 256 “green, purple and red”: Wullschlager, *Chagall*, 375.
- 257 “Are there cows in America?”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 130.
- 257 “Beautiful beyond belief”: Varian Fry, “Surrender on Demand” (draft manuscript), March 10, 1931, Box 13, Varian Fry Papers; Marino, *Quiet American*, 272.
- 257 Bingham brought along his movie: William Bingham, interview.
- 258 “Thank you with all our hearts”: Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 26–27.
- 258 “If, by any chance”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 106–7.
- 258 “Through sheer audacity”: Robert Kim Bingham, “Hiram (‘Harry’) Bingham IV, Diplomat Rescuer in France,” Simon Wiesenthal Center Tribute Video to Hiram Bingham IV, June 2, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6MfzibYZFU>
- 258 “all the reluctance”: Marino, *Quiet American*, 279.
- 258 On May 7: Rosenberg, *Art of Resistance*, 134–35. Rosenberg recalled, “The American vice consul, Hiram Bingham, an admirer of Chagall’s, had him and his wife driven in a diplomatic limousine (providing a cover of diplomatic immunity) all the way to Lisbon—with only a US visa.”
- 258 Many of the paintings: William Bingham, interview.
- 259 “When you are ready”: Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, Kindle ed., loc. 8024.
- 259 “In some ways I owe”: Jacques Lipchitz, Remarks at the Memorial Service for Varian Fry, November 8, 1967, quoted in Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, Kindle ed., loc. 8055; Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 259 “Lipchitz is the best”: Varian Fry to Eileen Fry, July 16, 1941, Box 13, Varian Fry Papers.
- 260 “if all the talented people”: “The Fight against Loose Talk Spreads,” *Newsweek*, March 2, 1942.
- 260 “With all his genius”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 157.
- 260 He would never betray France: Fry, 159.
- 260 “has worked very hard”: Fry, Journal, May 7, 1941, Box 13.
- 261 On April 26: Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Marseille consul general, telegram, April 26, 1941, NARA, RG 59, Entry (A-1)205E General Records of the Department of State, Central Decimal Files, 1940–41, File 123 BINGHAM, HIRAM/196.
- 261 “His going will be”: Fry, “Surrender on Demand,” May 7, 1941.
- 261 “He was also very weak”: Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 215.

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- 261 "It doesn't make any difference": Fry, 215–16.
- 261 "Why do you have so many Jews": Marino, *Quiet American*, 298.
- 262 "The situation here is bad": Miriam Davenport Ebel Papers.
- 262 One State Department memorandum: Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 262 More than seventy-six thousand: "The deportation of the Jews from France," Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/holocaust/france/deportation-from-france.html>.
- 263 "Péron and his whole gang": Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 43–46.
- 263 "blasted": Robert Kim Bingham, interview in Lopes, *America's Diplomats*, March 1, 2016, <https://americasdiplomats.com/actors/robert-bingham/>.
- 263 "PROMOTIONS!": Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 46.
- 263 Instead, he was offered: William Bingham, interview.
- 264 In one last petty slight: William Bingham.
- 264 "a spark of divinity": Abigail Bingham Endicott, interview by author, February 10, 2021.
- 265 "Your father broke every rule": William Bingham, interview.
- 265 "I do not think": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 254; Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 265 "I felt as though": Varian Fry to Bruce Bliven, March 30, 1945, quoted in Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, loc. 8852n1505.
- 266 "like the stones left": Varian Fry to Eileen Fry, September 7, 1941, Box 3, Varian Fry Papers; Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 266 "Maybe I can become": Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 326.
- 266 "Though it is probably not the thing": Russell Maloney, "Scarlet Pimpernel, Streamlined," *New York Times*, April 22, 1945.
- 266 "He'd complain a little": Hiram Bingham, Exiles Film Project.
- 266 Over time, the two comrades: William Bingham, interview.
- 267 "a legendary hero": Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, loc. 9426.
- 267 "the more famous they were": Rosenberg, *Art of Resistance*, 132–33.
- 267 When he asked Breton: Breton's daughter Aube, who was five when they were rescued, later said, "My father always said . . . that we owe so much to Varian Fry. . . . He had very, very big admiration and esteem for [him]." Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, Kindle ed., loc. 6456.
- 267 "I think he was always": James Fry, interview by author, February 14, 2021.
- 267 "severe case of psychoneurosis": Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 267 "I think that today": Rosenberg, *Art of Resistance*, 137
- 268 He was proud: *America's Diplomats*, 2016.

- 268 "There is no question": Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 28.
- 268 "My father was all about": Bingham.
- 268 "He believed you": Bettijane Levine, "A Tie That Binds Jews and a Special Family," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 2001.
- 268 he had visions: William Bingham, interview.
- 269 "Look at what he gave": Fawcett, interview.
- 269 "He will always be the hero": Fry, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 269 "like a racehorse": Lipchitz, remarks at memorial service, recalled by Lucy Burchard, in Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own*, loc. 8055.
- 270 "loyal faithful friend": Davenport Ebel, "Unsentimental Education."
- 270 "the man for the moment": Harold Oram, August 1987, Exiles Film Project, ms. 1734, ser. 2.
- 270 "He was so proud": Endicott, interview.
- 270 "my partner in the crime": Bingham, *Courageous Dissent*, 9.

## 9. The City of Refuge

- 271 "Dreary granite facades": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 63; Trocmé Papers.
- 271 "Le Chambon was": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 64.
- 272 "When I was still a young child": Boismorand, 80–81.
- 272 "The one in the middle": Unsworth, *Portrait of Pacifists*, 31–32; Memoirs of André Trocmé, 94–95, Trocmé Papers.
- 272 "The experience was like a purifying bath": Unsworth, *Portrait of Pacifists*, 38; Memoirs of André Trocmé, 106–9, Trocmé Papers.
- 273 "If every one of us": Memoirs of André Trocmé, 86–87, Trocmé Papers; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 90.
- 274 "Her face was harmonious": Memoirs of André Trocmé, 233; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 111.
- 274 "And that was it!": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 35.
- 275 "In the case that war": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 69.
- 276 "Here, you can see forever": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 77.
- 277 the population of just under: Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 16, citing François Boulet, "Quelques éléments statistiques," [in] *Le Plateau Vivarais-Lignon: Accueil et Résistance 1939–1944*, ed. Pierre Bolle et al. (Le Chambon-sur-Lignon: Société d'Histoire de la Montagne, 1992), 287, in which it is reported that the total Protestant population of the Plateau is 38 percent

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- but both Le Chambon and Le Mazet-Saint-Voy are 95 and 94 percent, respectively; see also, Grose, *A Good Place to Hide*, 265–68, for a discussion of the population on the Plateau and the number of refugees saved.
- 277 “He is an absolutely striking”: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 148.
- 277 “eyes clouded with tears”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 77.
- 278 “I had long dreamed”: Boismorand, 72.
- 278 “He has all the qualities”: Boismorand, 64.
- 279 “a demonstration of the same spirit”: Boismorand, 78–79.
- 279 “Once more, atrocious persecution”: Boismorand, 79–80.
- 279 “No government can force”: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 147.
- 279 “diabolical forces of Nazism”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 83.
- 279 “Today, I am still”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 84.
- 280 “Let us humble ourselves”: Boismorand, 90–95.
- 280 “In the church”: Grose, *A Good Place to Hide*, 43.
- 280 “The peace that was concluded”: Bohny-Reiter, oral history interview. Gril-Mariotte, *The Plateau*, quotes André Philip as saying “It’s armistice with dishonor” (37).
- 280 “For the Pétain regime”: Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.
- 280 “The bells don’t belong”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 106; Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 96–97.
- 280 “Although we were supposedly”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 101. According to Paul Kutner, this did not actually happen in France until 1942.
- 281 recalled Gurs as “a horror”: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 170.
- 281 While the refugees starved: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 101.
- 282 Chalmers had heard: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 132–33.
- 282 they developed an inspired idea: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 135.
- 282 “Do you wish to be that community?”: Hallie, 135; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 101–2.
- 282 If André could provide: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 101–2; Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 136.
- 282 biblical “cities of refuge”: Num. 35:9–31; Josh. 20:1–9; Deut. 19:1–13; Deut. 19:7–10.
- 283 “Keep your spare rooms free”: Paul J. Kutner, “The Rescue of Jews in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon and the Surrounding Villages of the Plateau Vivarais-Lignon, France,” unpublished dissertation, Yeshiva University, New York, December 2021, 10.



- 283 “gradually persuaded”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 105.
- 283 In May 1941: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*, 15.
- 284 “Fear was our companion”: Desaix and Ruelle, 121.
- 284 “there was enough love”: Daniel Trocmé, file M.31/1037, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 284 Magda would take children: Hanne Liebman, interview by author, February 28, 2020; Nelly Trocmé, interview by author, April 24, 2022.
- 285 “It may sound stupid”: Peter Feigl, oral history interview, August 23, 1995, RG-50.999.0676, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 285 “It was a very pleasant”: Peter Feigl, interview with author, April 30, 2022.
- 285 “they kept our noses”: Feigl, oral history interview.
- 286 Two Jewish girls: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 141; Nelly Trocmé, interview.
- 288 Refugees also were hidden: Gril-Mariotte, *The Plateau*; Tracy Strong quote is in Browning, “From Humanitarian Relief to Holocaust Rescue.”
- 287 “There are no refugees in here!”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 182.
- 287 “The people of Le Chambon”: Kutner, “The Rescue of Jews,” 1. As André Trocmé put it, “So these people who do not read the papers but the scriptures do not stand on the moving soil of opinion but on the rock of the word of God.” Sauvage, “A Most Persistent Haven: Le Chambon-sur-Lignon,” 32.
- 287 “We have in our house”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 183; Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.
- 287 “It was there that we received from God”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 173.
- 288 “doing something of consequence”: Hallie, 199.
- 288 “If it had been an organization”: Hallie, 199.
- 289 “I am sending you five”: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 168.
- 289 “They were justified lies”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 96.
- 289 the seventeen-year-old daughter: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*, 33.
- 290 “In the few months”: Desaix and Ruelle, 37.
- 290 “the whole rhythm”: Elizabeth Kaufmann Koenig, oral history interview with Elizabeth Kaufmann Koenig, January 29, 1990, RG-50.030\*0111, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 290 She almost cried: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*, 34.

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- 290 "They did not understand": Elizabeth Kaufmann Koenig, oral history interview.
- 292 After the service: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 183.
- 292 "Pastor Trocmé, this day": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 103; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 110–11; Memoirs of André Trocmé, 361, Trocmé Papers, Collection: DG 107, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 183. Nelly Trocmé believes the second part of this conversation happened two weeks later, but André Trocmé's memoirs place it here.
- 292 "To the good listener, warning": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 111.
- 293 Their first stop: Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 293 "But even if I had such a list": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 107–8.
- 293 "Do the will of God": "Under the Wings of the Church," in *I Am My Brother's Keeper*, Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous/trocme.asp>.
- 294 "They searched first the houses": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 111–12.
- 294 "The entire village": Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 294 "I think we felt safe": Hanne Liebman, interview.
- 294 Rank-and-file officers: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 114.
- 295 "They didn't tell us": Feigl, oral history interview. Sometimes someone showed up in the classroom and the children were sent for mushrooms even when they weren't in season; Feigl, author interview.
- 295 Rudi Appel remembered: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*, 54.
- 295 "Those in hiding": Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 295 "This place is full of Jews": Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.
- 295 "These soldiers had gone through hell": Feigl, oral history interview.
- 295 "the head of the escape route": Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 186.
- 297 In a letter to his half-brother: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 115–16.
- 297 From Nice to Toulouse: Boismorand, 116; Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 147–48; Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 22.
- 297 "a very personal matter": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 119.
- 298 "Magda," he told her: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 19; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 119.
- 298 "I didn't do it out of generosity": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 120.
- 298 "I don't know": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 21.
- 298 They brought gifts: Hallie, 32; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 120–21.

- 298 “Things will change”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 29.
- 299 “What? Jews?”: Hallie, 30.
- 299 The encounter changed André: Hallie, 30.
- 299 On March 15: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 122; Unsworth, *Portrait of Pacifists*, 192.
- 300 “We cannot sign”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 39; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 122.
- 300 “On at least one point”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 39.
- 300 The commandant exploded: Hallie, 39; Unsworth, *Portrait of Pacifists*, 192.
- 300 “If we sign”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 39.
- 300 “So be it”: Hallie, 42.
- 300 The next morning: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 123; Kutner says compromise language was found: Gril-Mariotte, *The Plateau*, 81.
- 301 “It was a joyful scene”: Gril-Mariotte, 61.
- 302 “a place for a contribution”: Daniel Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 302 “an intellectual given to”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 206.
- 302 “like a madman”: Hallie, 206.
- 302 “I adore them”: Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 9.
- 302 “the father, as I like to say”: Henry, 10.
- 302 “Daniel Trocmé never thought of himself”: Daniel Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 303 came from fifteen different countries: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*, 206: Germany, Poland, Austria, Russia, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Netherlands, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Tonkin (Vietnam).
- 303 over a dozen armed plainclothes members: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 124, says June 23; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 199, says June 29. According to Peter Kutner, Dr. Jean Wallet claimed it was Vichy police, not the Gestapo, although all other accounts refer to the Gestapo.
- 304 “In the large dining room”: Trocmé Papers; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 200.
- 305 “What a beautiful day”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 128.
- 305 “The Gestapo is at”: Boismorand, 129; Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 212.
- 305 “By the time we got”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 130–31.
- 305 “They saw a Gestapo agent”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 131, says there were two or three agents.

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- 305 “Schweinejude!”: Boismorand, 131; Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 215. *Schweinejude* means “Pig-Jew.”
- 305 “Do not worry”: Daniel Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives; Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 131.
- 306 “He made a lot”: Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 306 “Morale is quite good”: Trocmé; Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 58.
- 306 “My thoughts are constantly”: Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 306 “I believe this separation”: Trocmé.
- 306 “One of the most beautiful”: Trocmé.
- 306 “He was just a shadow”: Trocmé.
- 307 A package sent to Buchenwald: Trocmé. He was likely gassed.
- 307 “They love him”: Trocmé.
- 307 “It is not fair”: Trocmé.
- 307 “He gave his life”: Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 201; Trocmé, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 307 “These are people to be admired”: Trocmé.
- 307 “Oh, the somber, somber night”: Trocmé. Daniel was made a Righteous Among the Nations on March 18, 1976, and a carob tree was planted along the Avenue of the Righteous.
- 308 “We have lived through many”: Unsworth, *Portrait of Pacifists*, 5.
- 309 “was one of the happiest times”: Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 224.
- 309 “It was not reasonable”: Hallie, 233.
- 309 “had changed a great deal”: Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 125.
- 310 “Le Chambon was a hot”: Grose, *A Good Place to Hide*, 156.
- 310 the great writer Albert Camus: Patrick Henry, “Albert Camus and the Secret of Le Chambon,” *Tablet Magazine*, June 22, 2020; André Chouraqui to Patrick Henry, October 10, 1999, in Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 113. Some have speculated that the character of Dr. Rieux in *The Plague* is named after Dr. Paul Riou of Le Chambon. Pierre Sauvage believes Roger Le Forestier is a more likely candidate given the probability that Camus likely consulted with him and his age is closer to Dr. Rieux’s. Email from Pierre Sauvage to author, June 5, 2022.
- 310 “I studied the theory”: Farrell, “Albert Camus’ ‘The Plague,’” *City of Refuge*.
- 310 “What’s true of all the evils”: Albert Camus, *The Plague*, trans. Stuart Gilbert, 1948 (New York: Vintage, 1991), 125.
- 310 “The teaching about”: Farrell, “We Will Do Our Best to Hide Them,” *City of Refuge*.

- 311 "He agreed with me": Memoirs of André Trocmé, Papers of André and Magda Trocmé, 323; Unsworth, *A Portrait of Pacifists*, 205.
- 312 "he was something of an optimist": Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 312 "a purehearted fool": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 246–47.
- 312 believed, the pastor André Bettex reflected: Nelly Trocmé, interview.
- 312 "We in Le Chambon resist": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 243.
- 313 "At his trial": Hallie, 246.
- 313 "The soldiers tossed out": Boismorand, *Resistance Figures*, 147.
- 313 "André had to stand up": Boismorand, 147.
- 314 "My father was always criticized": Nelly Trocmé, interview.
- 314 "like a fighter": Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*, 262.
- 315 "genuinely don't feel": "Bill Moyers Interviews Filmmaker Pierre Sauvage."
- 315 "That remains a mystery": Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 315 "You shall love the Lord": Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.
- 315 "It was a very special atmosphere": Bohny-Reiter, interview.
- 315 "We are always going to save": Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.
- 316 The French deported: Desaix and Ruelle, *Hidden on the Mountain*; Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 138.
- 316 "And I think that": Sauvage, *Weapons of the Spirit*.

## 10. Ten POWs

- 317 "They came straggling": Willy Fisher, diary, in Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 139.
- 317 "God punish Germany": Fisher, diary, 139.
- 318 "Come away quickly, Willy": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 207.
- 318 "Poor Germany—what have we come to?": Rigler and Blumfield, 139.
- 318 "To be really hungry": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, file M.31/4042a-i, Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem.
- 319 "Child, if you must": "Willy Fisher's Diary Transcribed," Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 141.
- 319 "May God be with you": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 319 "It wasn't a well thought out plan": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 54.

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- 320 "I'm hiding here": Rigler and Blumfield, 57.
- 320 "I even welcomed the cows": Rigler and Blumfield, 57.
- 321 "Who's there?": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 322 "like a rabbit": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler.
- 323 "We had a good look": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 141.
- 326 this apparent salvation: Sara Hannah Rigler, oral history interview by Lyn E. Smith, September 21, 2010, Imperial War Museum, London, 11.
- 326 "At least Germans": Rigler, interview, 12–13.
- 326 "another fateful miscalculation": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 21.
- 327 "As wonderful as my father": Rigler, interview, 10.
- 328 "Everybody just let out": Rigler, 15.
- 328 "After the war": Rigler, 16.
- 328 "You're going to see": Rigler, 17.
- 329 "I missed my father terribly": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 331 "I am the Jew R.S.": "Willy Fisher's Diary Transcribed," Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 141.
- 331 "Hannah and I would snuggle": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 49.
- 331 "The smell was truly": Rigler and Blumfield, 50.
- 332 "get through each day": Rigler and Blumfield, 51.
- 332 "We were walking skeletons": Rigler and Blumfield, 51.
- 332 "He had kind eyes": Rigler and Blumfield, 53.
- 332 "Little girl, I can save you": Rigler, interview, 22.
- 332 "Starvation makes people senseless": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 54.
- 333 "She will keep harping": "Willy Fisher's Diary Transcribed," 147.
- 334 "their *bon vivant*": Rigler, interview.
- 334 "I thought I was in love": Rigler.
- 334 One evening Alan told her: Rigler.
- 334 "So, you can sleep here": Rigler.
- 335 "They left, my surrogate family": Rigler.
- 335 "I was in agony": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 61.
- 335 Once again, she felt her father: Rigler and Blumfield, 62.
- 335 She ran into Zoya: Rigler, interview.
- 335 "I thought how strange": Rigler and Blumfield, *110 British P.O.W.s*, 62.

- 336 "Sonia," he said, "you're not Lithuanian": Rigler, interview.
- 336 "My heart was racing: Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 62–63.
- 336 "You know, Mr. Binder": Rigler, interview.
- 336 "I'm not going to stay": Rigler.
- 336 "It is strange, indeed": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 167.
- 337 "You know, Sonia": Rigler and Blumfield, 63.
- 337 "The Russians are [here]": Rigler, interview.
- 337 "Perhaps," she noted later, "he finally recognized": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 65.
- 339 "thousands of emaciated": Rigler and Blumfield, 207.
- 339 "I broke down": Rigler and Blumfield, 72.
- 340 "another jarring shock": Rigler and Blumfield, 74.
- 340 Four of her mother's brothers: Rigler, interview.
- 341 "Today is my birthday": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 82.
- 341 "I could not believe my own eyes": Rigler and Blumfield, 62–63.
- 342 "Looking at your latest photo": Rigler and Blumfield, 62–63.
- 342 ran an article: "Woman's 20-year Search for Rescuers," May 26, 1968, *Johannesburg Sunday Times*; Rigler and Blumfield, *110 British P.O.W.s*, 130.
- 342 "My joy at your being alive": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 173.
- 343 "I do not believe my country": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 142.
- 343 "It was such a moving moment": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 344 "My ten angels": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 121.
- 344 "These men risked their lives for me": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler, Yad Vashem Archives.
- 344 "If one of the ten": Rescuers of Sara Hannah Rigler.
- 345 "There is a tree firmly": Rigler and Blumfield, *10 British P.O.W.s*, 122.

## Conclusion

- 346 "I am not a hero": Gies and Gold, *Anne Frank Remembered*, prologue.
- 346 "secrecy about wartime rescue": Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*, xvi.
- 347 "It was considered": Paldiel, interview.
- 347 "more comforting to believe": Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 138.

## NOTES

- 347 “I could see that”: Hirschbiegel, *Downfall*.
- 348 “We should dream of the day”: Rosenberg, *Art of Resistance*, 273.
- 348 “It is only natural”: Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 138.
- 348 nearly seven hundred: Oliner and Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality*, 261.
- 349 interviewed three hundred: Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*.
- 349 “No man is an island”: John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, Meditation 17, 1624. Or, in the original beautiful early modern English: “No man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the *Continent*, a part of the *maine*.”
- 349 five categories: Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*.
- 350 One or more factors: Fogelman, 254.
- 350 “Some are born great”: William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019), 2.5.149–150.
- 350 Yet Yukiko Sugihara: Yukiko Sugihara, oral history interview, October 27, 1999, RG-50.494.0020, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.
- 350 “It is amazing”: Frank, *Diary of a Young Girl*, January 28, 1944, 178.
- 351 “Most of the stories”: Paldiel, interview.
- 351 “The hand of compassion”: Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*, 57.
- 352 “it was sufficient to reject”: Paldiel, interview.
- 352 “Bad men need nothing”: John Stuart Mill, *Inaugural Address at St. Andrews*, 1867.
- 353 “When bad men combine”: Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, April 23, 1770.
- 353 “tip of the iceberg”: Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage*, 149.
- 354 “Try as we might”: Henry, *We Only Know Men*, 157.
- 354 “Example is not the main thing”: Schweitzer and Mellon, *Brothers in Spirit*, xviii.
- 355 Abe Foxman once asked: Abraham Foxman, Address to the Nightingale-Bamford School, April 8, 2019, New York.
- 355 “If now we find such gems”: “Introduction to Rescue in Poland,” Institute for the Study of Rescue and Altruism in the Holocaust, <https://www.holocaustrescue.org/introduction-to-rescue-in-poland>.
- 355 “It is not your obligation”: Pirkei Avot, 2:16.
- 356 “There are stars”: Senesh, *Life and Diary*, 1.



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