

# From Where Did the French Holocaust Victims Come?

by Jean-Pierre Stroweis

In 2018, I posted an online database of the *Memorial to the Jews Deported from France*,<sup>1</sup> available as a search engine located at <https://stevemorse.org/france>. This article presents the rationale for this tool, the evolution of the memorial, the methodology and the results from the latest update.

Forty-one years ago, in 1978, Serge Klarsfeld published *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (The Memorial to the Jews Deported from France),<sup>2</sup> with practically no means and no support from either the French government or the Jewish community. It looked like a poorly printed, austere telephone book of 656 pages. Alone, reconstructing lists of names on each convoy from carbon copies given to UGIF<sup>3</sup>, he carefully traced the history and the composition of each of the 79 deportation transports that left France, most from Drancy, a suburb of Paris, for concentration and extermination camps (mostly to Auschwitz-

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Birkenau) between March 1942 and August 1944. The 1978 *Memorial* book was the first available source to shed light on the fate of some 76,000 individuals living in France during World War II, who were deported as Jews to extermination camps, who died in transit and internment camps in France or who were shot and summarily executed in France. Vladimir Jankélévitch, a renowned philosopher, commented at the time:

The Memorial of Serge Klarsfeld, perpetuating the memory of the 75,000 Jews deported from France, imposes itself first to the historian and anti-fascists by the enormity of the work involved and the merciless, methodical, careful rigor that oversaw its development. One cannot conceive a more horrible and diabolical machinery dismantled in a soberer work. Even though we knew what happened, we knew really nothing. The Memorial brought out of the night and of the cloud, calling them by their names countless anonymous ghosts annihilated by their tormentors. Naming these pale shadows is already to convene them to daylight.<sup>3</sup>

The Memorial’s alphabetical lists are arranged by convoy and include surname, (one) given name, date and place of birth and, until June 1943, the abbreviated country of citizenship,<sup>4</sup> e.g. A for Germany (Allemagne), APA for stateless (Apatride), F for France, G for Greece, P for Poland, R for Russia, RO for Romania, etc. A small dot next to the surname indicates a survivor.

The Memorial provided the first tangible trace of what happened to my mother’s brother, Nojak Resnik, deported by convoy 51 from Drancy on March 6, 1943, to Sobibor and Majdanek.

|            |            |          |                |     |
|------------|------------|----------|----------------|-----|
| LITMAN     | RECHA      | 22.10.98 | TRYSA          | P   |
| LOBI       | REGINE     | 14.05.98 | WISCHGYAN      | RO  |
| LOCHKER    | ARON       | 07.10.87 | KALUSZ         | AUT |
| LOEB       | LBO        | 12.12.81 | HASELOCH       | A   |
| LOEB       | LILLY      | 01.02.88 | HECHTHEIM      | A   |
| LOEW       | SARAH      | .84      | BUALISTOCK     | P   |
| LOI        | NISEL      | 26.11.95 | KICHINEFF      | RO  |
| LOKIEC     | ZLAWA      | .76      | WINGOROF       | P   |
| LONDER     | JOSEPH     | .00      | CELAVER        | P   |
| LOREK      | ARON       | 23.01.02 | RYCHMOL        | R   |
| LOTENBERG  | RACHEL     | 09.01.87 | LIPNO          | P   |
| LOURIE     | SOPHIE     | 06.05.84 | GENES          | R   |
| LOWENKRON  | MARGUERITE | 24.11.83 | VIENNE         | AUT |
| LOWENSTEIN | HERNA      | 10.12.86 | MAINSZ         | A   |
| LUCKS      | WOLF       | 02.12.05 | NAUVY-SACZ     | APA |
| LUFTMAN    | ABRAHAM    | 21.05.23 | RADOM          | P   |
| MAGER      | MICHEL     | 01.01.86 | CONSTANTINOPLE | G   |
| MAKIEWSKI  | JACOB      | 17.12.15 | PARIS          | R   |
| MALACROSKA | CYRLA      | .83      | KONARAWOLA     | P   |
| MANDEL     | BAJLA      | 06.03.00 | KOZONITZ       | P   |
| MANDEL     | ERNESTINE  | 26.11.07 | LEMBERG        | P   |
| MANDEL     | JOSEF      | 01.09.86 | VARSOVIE       | P   |
| MANDEL     | JOSEPHINE  | 16.02.41 | LIMOGES        | F   |

Table 1. A portion of the convoy 46 list in the 1978 Memorial. The train left Drancy for Auschwitz-Birkenau on February 9, 1943.

Over the years, Klarsfeld gathered more sources, patiently scrutinizing local archives throughout France and the rest of the world, including the remnants of the long-time hidden Tulard police files, created from the 1940 census of the Jews of Paris area who registered following a Nazi ordinance.<sup>5</sup> This ceaseless research led him to write several major books on the Holocaust in Belgium and France, to increase our knowledge about the victims and to put on trial several men responsible for the deportation of the Jews from France, including Nazis Klaus Barbie, Herbert Hagen, Ernst Heinrichsohn and Kurt Lischka and French collaborators Maurice Papon and Paul Touvier.<sup>6</sup>

Klarsfeld published two volumes of the *French Children of the Holocaust*, collecting some 5,000 pictures of children out of 11,343 child victims.<sup>7</sup> Klarsfeld was himself an 8-year-old boy when the Gestapo reached his family apartment in Nice in 1943. He witnessed from the closet in which he was hiding with his mother and sister the arrest of his father, Arno, who never returned.

In 2012, after several intermediate versions, Klarsfeld published a more definitive version of the Memorial<sup>8</sup> in an unusual format (18.9” x 12.6”, 12.6 lbs),<sup>9</sup> which probably restricted its appeal to libraries and archives. Many corrections had been made since the original 1978 version. This alphabetical version provides additional information for each victim, including their maiden name (“Nom de Jeune Fille”), age, last street address in France and transit/internment camp. It eliminated, however, citizenship and the sign indicating a survivor of the war.

Despite the pro-Nazi Vichy regime, only 25 percent of the 340,000 Jews living in France were murdered. Today’s French Jews are the descendants of the survivors, making France the third largest Jewish community in the world

Table 2. A portion of the 2012 Memorial; the leftmost column (“CV”) indicates the convoy number.

| CV | NOM         | PRÉNOM     | NOM DE JEUNE FILLE | AGE | DATE DE NAISSANCE | LIEU DE NAISSANCE | ADRESSE                | VILLE                   | CAMPS        |
|----|-------------|------------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 66 | BERESTETSKY | RENE       |                    | 38  | 01/09/1905        | PARIS             | 59, bd François Grosso | Nice(Alpes Maritimes)   | COMPIÈGNE    |
| 75 | BERETZ      | DENISE     |                    | 17  | 05/07/1926        | STRASBOURG        | Nouvel Hôtel           | Néris les Bains(Allier) | VICHY        |
| 75 | BERETZ      | JULES      |                    | 57  | 05/03/1887        | HATSTADT          | Nouvel Hôtel           | Néris les Bains(Allier) | VICHY        |
| 75 | BERETZ      | MARGUERITE | DREYFUS            | 51  | 07/03/1893        | ERNSTEIN          | Nouvel Hôtel           | Néris les Bains(Allier) | VICHY        |
| 11 | BEREZ       | SARAH      |                    | 17  | 26/11/1924        | LIVRYGARGAN       | 15, r. Bachelet        | Paris 16                | DRANCY       |
| 38 | BEREZIN     | ABRAM      |                    | 37  | 21/05/1905        | SECURINI          | 12, r. Marcel Sembat   | Montraull(Seine)        | DRANCY       |
| 38 | BEREZIN     | GHTLEA     | MILMAN             | 39  | 13/09/1903        | FRASIN            | 12, r. Marcel Sembat   | Montraull(Seine)        | DRANCY       |
| 50 | BEREZIN     | ROSALIE    | DZIZA              | 63  | 30/05/1880        | VARSOVIE          | 8, r. Pierre Haret     | Paris 09                | DRANCY       |
| 16 | BERG        | GUSTA      | HAWIN              | 28  | 27/05/1914        | L'W'OW            | 11, r. Bergère         | Paris 09                | PITHIVIERS   |
| 25 | BERG        | HELENE     |                    | 4   | 05/03/1938        | PARIS 10          | 11, r. Bergère         | Paris 09                | PITHIVIERS   |
| 2  | BERG        | MOSES      |                    | 29  | 03/07/1912        | WODNIKI           | 11, r. Bergère         | Paris 09                | DRANCY-COMP. |
| 10 | BERG        | BERNARD    |                    | 47  | 06/03/1885        | VARSOVIE          | 13, r. Nicolai         | Paris 12                | DRANCY       |
| 10 | BERG        | MARIE      | SALOMOWICI         | 34  | 09/07/1908        | PARIS             | 13, r. Nicolai         | Paris 12                | DRANCY       |

after Israel and the United States. In the path of Klarsfeld’s steps, and following President Chirac’s official recognition of the responsibility of the French regime for the deportation of the Jews from France (1995),<sup>10</sup> many private and institutional initiatives flourished in France to memorialize this tragic period. This included academic research, fiction and non-fiction books and movies, educational projects, art, museums and memorial sites. Surprisingly, the search engines of major Holocaust memorials, including Yad Vashem<sup>11</sup> (Jerusalem), USHMM<sup>12</sup> (Washington), and Le Mémorial de la Shoah<sup>13</sup> (Paris) still refer to Klarsfeld’s 1978 book and data, ignoring the large number of errors he corrected in 2012. Each archival institution has its own work pace and rules for what they consider a valid source. When I informed an archivist that his digital repository was not up-to-date, noting Klarsfeld’s 2012 book lying on a nearby shelf, the archivist replied that Klarsfeld had not provided the source for his information. In 2016, I approached Serge and Beate Klarsfeld and volunteered to place the Memorial online as a search engine. They immediately accepted the offer.

### First Steps

Upon receiving Klarsfeld’s digital information, the project entered in a long data processing phase. Transforming a table from a book into a searchable database requires a high level of standardization. For example, the forms “FRANCOIS” and “François,” “HELENE” and “Hélène,” all of which are acceptable in a printed material, must be merged into a common form for a digital database. I started a systematic review of the Klarsfeld data, column by column, applying the basic “clean-up” techniques I had used in the past,<sup>14</sup> dividing the information into basic fields, detecting values beyond their expected range, expanding acronyms and abbreviations, standardizing the usage of French accents and cedillas, detecting typographical errors and variant spellings, and classifying the records in various sort-

Table 3. Detecting and correcting variant spellings in birthplaces of members of the same family.

| CONVOY | SURNAME  | GIVEN NAME | MAIDEN NAME | AGE | DATE OF BIRTH | BIRTHPLACE | ADDRESS  |
|--------|----------|------------|-------------|-----|---------------|------------|--|
| 49     | CYMERMAN | ABRAHAM    |             | 52  | 07-Apr-1891   | Inowlodz   | 34, Boulevard de la Villette, Paris 19 (Paris) |
| 42     | CYMERMAN | ESTERA     | KIAPERCZUK  | 37  | 29-Apr-1905   | Inowlodz   | 4, Rue des Partants, Paris 20 (Paris)          |
| 4      | CYMERMAN | JOJNE      |             | 35  | 14-Feb-1907   | Inowlodz   | 4, Rue des Partants, Paris 20 (Paris)          |
| 4      | CYMERMAN | MORDKA     |             | 34  | 21-Aug-1907   | Inowlodz   | 4, Rue des Partants, Paris 20 (Paris)          |
| 40     | CYMERMAN | GITLA      | SURA        | 38  | 18-Apr-1904   | Inowlotz   | 44, Rue de Paris, Maisons-Laffitte (Yvelines)  |
| 32     | CYMERMAN | MOSZEK     |             | 38  | 16-Dec-1903   | Inowlodz   | 44, Rue de Paris, Maisons-Laffitte (Yvelines)  |
| 4      | CYMERMAN | SZMUL      |             | 42  | 16-Mar-1900   | Inowlodz   | 7, Rue du Commandant Lamy, Paris 11 (Paris)    |

ing orders in order to highlight name variants or to cluster family cells.

Then I checked each piece of information applying this simple rule: When you are not certain of the orthography of a word, search for it in a dictionary. This way I verified the orthography and existence of anything I could look up in a reference dictionary. I checked French localities against lists of French *communes* (municipalities) and *departments* (France administrative divisions), Parisian addresses against lists of Paris streets and *arrondissements* (the 20 districts of Paris) and surnames against dictionaries of Jewish surnames.<sup>15</sup> I compiled these reference lists from the Internet, downloaded them into spreadsheets and then automatically checked to see whether or not the Memorial data could be found in the reference lists.

As expected, every step in the checking process revealed typographical errors or other mistakes made either when the source documents were created or interpreted to produce the Memorial. Inconsistencies were detected by the massive usage of computer tools. I corrected the minor errors that had crept into the addresses in France, locality names (e.g. La Roche en Breuil should read La Roche-en-Brenil), street names and arrondissements (e.g., 14, r. Croix Taubin, Paris 11 should read 14, Rue de la Croix Faubin, Paris 11; 56, r. Valleray, Paris 15 should read 56, Rue d’Alleray, Paris 15), departments (e.g., Badaroux, Lozère instead of Badaroux, Lot), and invalid dates such as April 31. I updated the names of the streets (when it was possible), the communes of France and the departments to their current names.

I also used the redundancy embedded in the records to catch inconsistencies. For example, individuals sharing the same surname with different but very close last addresses or birthplaces probably lived at the exact same address and were born in the same town. Table 3 illustrates the correction of the birthplaces Tnovlodz and Inovlotz into Inowlodz for the Cymerman family.

Here is another example of embedded redundancy.

When adding the year of birth to the age of a person at the time of his/her deportation, one should normally obtain a value between or very close to 1942 and 1944. Otherwise, a contradiction exists that needs to be resolved; either the age or the year of birth is incorrect—if not both.

For surnames, I accepted variant spellings that preserve the Daitch-Mokotoff soundex values.<sup>16</sup> At this stage, I simply spotted suspect surnames and marked them for later review. Klarsfeld deliberately chose to keep intact the names with the spelling errors made while creating these lists in the internment camps, as “there is no proper criteria to correct them.”<sup>17</sup> Dictionaries of Jewish surnames now provide the missing criteria to suggest corrections. I kept both surnames, the presumably incorrect one recorded by Klarsfeld and the corrected one, separated by a vertical bar, e.g. Kolczewaks | Kolgewaks, so that entering either spelling will find the record. This turned out to be the easy piece.

### Structure of Jewish Population in France

Jews who lived in France during World War II came from a wide diversity of origins. There were about 30,000 Jews from Alsace and Lorraine, 70,000 Algerian Jews made French in 1870 by the Crémieux Decree,<sup>18</sup> and some 10,000 protected Jews from Tunisia, Morocco, and the former Ottoman Empire (e.g. Greece, Turkey, Egypt). In addition, there were 140,000 Jews who came in waves of mostly Ashkenazi immigrants and refugees leaving Eastern Europe from 1880 to 1939, 60,000 of whom obtained French citizenship. They were followed by some 50,000 German Jews who fled after Hitler came to power in 1933. In May 1940, 40,000 refugees who had fled German-invaded Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands, mostly Polish Jews, headed south to France. In October 1940, 6,500 German Jews were expelled from Baden to Gurs internment camp in southwest France near the Spanish border, so that in 1940, there were 340,000 Jews in France, equally distributed between French citizens and foreigners. As shown by the chart below, Holocaust victims were primarily foreign and recently naturalized Jews.<sup>19</sup>

### Identifying Birthplaces

Because the Jewish population was so heterogeneous, research to identify the birthplaces of deportees was correspondingly challenging. Although Klarsfeld was successful in finding the deportees’ last addresses in France, he did not try to further identify their birthplaces, explaining that:

Those who noted the civil status [of the Jews] were not embarrassed by precision. It is obvious that the small German, Austrian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian or Russian cities were noted irregularly. On the other hand, many cities have

Table 4. Distribution of Jews in France, per residence and per citizenship

|                 | Paris   | Province | Total   | Victims | % Victims |
|-----------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|-----------|
| French Citizens | 90,000  | 90,000   | 180,000 | 25,000  | 14%       |
| Foreigners      | 110,000 | 40,000   | 160,000 | 52,500  | 33%       |
| Total           | 200,000 | 140,000  | 340,000 | 77,500  | 23%       |

changed state and name several times, especially between Germany and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Hungary and Romania, Ukraine, Russia or Belarus...While it is relatively easy to establish equivalence for large cities, it is virtually impossible to do so for towns and villages.<sup>20</sup>

With the goal of complementing Klarsfeld’s work, I assigned myself the challenge of pinpointing on a map the exact birthplace of all victims, Ashkenazim, Sephardim and Oriental Jews who were in France. This information offers family historians and genealogists a pointer with which to search for cousins of the deportees. With this database, many genealogists also will learn that some of their relatives had left their former place of residence and moved to France—only to be caught and sent back to the East.

The 2012 Memorial has 14,920 distinct birthplace spellings, for an average of five persons per locality. Was this population really so dispersed? No. Many localities were listed under several, different names and variant spellings. First, I searched these birthplaces among French towns and in places known to be former Jewish communities. For this, I used a spreadsheet version of the JewishGen community database of 6,300 towns.<sup>21</sup> Despite massive migrations during the 19th and 20th centuries, I discovered that most Jews caught in the Holocaust had been born in these ancestral towns. Only occasionally was it necessary to manually look up the website dedicated to the Jews of Alsace/Lorraine<sup>22</sup> or *Where Once We Walked*<sup>23</sup> (24,000 communities).

For Jews not born in localities registered as active Jewish communities by JewishGen, I created spreadsheets of all the localities from Austria, Belgium, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Turkey and Ukraine, using the U.S. Board on Geographic Names (USBGN).<sup>24</sup> Locality names are recorded in two forms, with or without diacritic signs. I also found and gathered lists of exonyms, such as German names of places now in Alsace/Lorraine or in Western Poland, Polish names of places now in Ukraine/Belarus/Lithuania, French names of places outside of France, and so on. For geographic names, I also used extensively JewishGen gazetteer,<sup>25</sup> Google Maps<sup>26</sup> and Wikipedia<sup>27</sup> in several languages.

According to common genealogy practice, the database of the 2018 Memorial uses the current names of each locality, as they are used locally, including their accents, cedillas and other diacritic signs, e.g., Besançon, Orléans, Łódź, Chişinău. I have indicated the ancient names of these localities, however,

when they appeared on the sources, e.g., Stanisławów for Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine, Kishinev for Chişinău in Moldova. For non-Latin alphabets such as Greek, Arabic, Bulgarian, Hebrew and Russian, I use the transliteration of these places to the Latin alphabet as found on the English versions of Google Maps or Wikipedia (e.g., Thessaloniki for Θεσσαλονίκη). For each identified birthplace, also indicated is the name of the current administrative region, e.g. the French department, German land/state, Polish voivodeship, Hungarian county, Algerian wilayat, Romanian județ, Ukrainian oblast and so on; the country name in English; the former name of the locality or the name of a nearby larger city; and its name as recorded in the 2012 Memorial.

During the study, I encountered a Tower of Babel problem on Romanian diacritic signs. I found out that USBGN and JewishGen use for Romanian words the *comma-below* characters ș and ț while Google Maps and Wikipedia use the comma-below characters ş and Ț instead. Because these are different characters<sup>28</sup> a computer search may not recognize the town names Iași and Galați if they are written Iaşi and Galați. Which is right? Wikipedia's answer is, "Although the Romanian Academy standard mandates the comma-below variants for the sounds /ʃ/ and /t͡s/, the cedilla variants are still widely used."<sup>29</sup> For this reason, I use the comma-below characters. Cedilla character ș is used in Azerbaijani and Turkish languages while cedilla character ț is used in Gagauz alphabet.

Despite this massive scanning of the deportees' birthplaces, I was able to identify only 30 percent of the towns, a disappointing low percentage. Accepting Daitch-Mokotoff soundex values for the Jewish communities brought the rate to only about 50 percent.

### Inference from Additional Sources

It took me some time to realize fully that the unidentified 50 percent of the birthplace names in the 2012 Memorial were too distorted to be restored without additional information. I switched focus from town names to the individual deportation records, searching for additional resources that might provide hints on the deportees' birthplaces.

To compare and merge records from several sources, we first need to solve the "identicalness" question, i.e., how can we be sure that two sources of information apply to the same individual? In this context, I chose as unique identifier the combination "surname + first given name + maiden name + year of birth." This was essential, since the 2012 Memorial alone already contains many homonym persons, who share exactly the same given name and surname, including 23 Albert Levy, 23 Leon Levy, 22 Jeanne Levy, 19 Joseph Cohen and 12 Joseph Goldberg, to name a few. In rare cases, two people with homonym names were deported in the same convoy. Once it is established that the two sources apply to the same individual, I applied a "best guess arbitration" to merge the details or infer them when the

sources contradict.

For unidentified towns, I retrieved the deportees' nationalities from the 1978 version of the Memorial, when they were noted. Someone with a Czechoslovakian citizenship might possibly have been born in either today's Czech Republic, Slovakia or Ukraine, but this decision establishes the relevant geographical area in which to search. For example, the 2012 Memorial indicates that Armand Steinberger was born in Pacin, and deported on convoy 33. He is the only person in the Memorial to be born in this locality. Pacin could be Pačín, Czech Republic or Pácín, Hungary. With his Hungarian nationality noted in the 1978 Memorial, I opted for Pácín, Hungary.

The first additional source is the online *Journal Officiel*, the official journal of the French government<sup>30</sup> which since 1986 has published nearly 400 legal ordinances granting the posthumous mention "*mort en déportation*," i.e., "died in concentration camp" to a name list of individuals deported from France who never returned. This honorific mention, given to deportees for persecution reasons (i.e., Jews only) or repression reasons (i.e., resistance members, communists, hostages) is added to their death records. A typical ordinance entry reads as follows: *Friedman, née Kligsberg (Chaja, Ruda) le 23 avril 1888 à Varsovie (Pologne), décédée le 11 novembre 1942 à Auschwitz (Pologne)*.<sup>31</sup> These lists are compiled by ONACVG,<sup>32</sup> the *Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre* (National Office for veterans and war victims), a special unit of the French Ministry of Defense.

Thus far, because of slow bureaucratic processing, only 80,000 individuals (out of an estimated 115,000 deportees) have been honored by ONACVG. The ordinances are not exempt from minor typographical errors (e.g., my uncle Nojak Resnik is listed as Nojah Resnik<sup>33</sup>) or from monumental errors. For example, the ordinance published on August 14, 2018,<sup>34</sup> includes Marie Ben Hamou, born on March 17, 1926, in Oran, Algeria and died in Auschwitz on August 5, 1944. In fact, Marie Ben Hamou survived the deportation.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, for persons born in France, ONACVG does a fair job. It systematically searches the French metrical records for the birth or marriage events of the deportees. This is particularly useful when several French towns share the same name. By providing the full town name and the department, these records contribute to eliminate ambiguities from the Klarsfeld 2012 Memorial. "Neuilly" could stand for Neuilly-sur-Seine or Neuilly-sur-Marne; "Soultz" may refer to Soultz-sous-Forêts, Soultz-lès-Bains or Soultz-Haut-Rhin, three Jewish communities in Alsace.

For persons born outside of metropolitan France, ONACVG is supposed to contact their counterparts in other countries to search their civil records. In fact, foreign localities are spelled only approximatively and often refer to places that never existed. Nevertheless, the town and country

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names give another hint to narrow the search. The posthumous mention does not apply to the survivors of the camps, nor to the persecuted Jews who perished in internment camps or were shot in France; these categories of persons are not honored by the *Journal Officiel*. By downloading the lists, I was able to automatically compare Klarsfeld's information with the *Journal Officiel* entries. When records from the two repositories share the same unique identifier, it is often possible to deduce the real birthplace by comparing the unidentified town names in the 2012 Memorial with the *Journal Officiel*. The online Memorial now contains hyperlinks to the *Journal Officiel* ordinances for nearly 29,000 deportees. Spelling variations in names and given names, and differences in the years of birth are obstacles to a comprehensive automatic merging, but they can be overcome by manual review.

The ultimate unambiguous cross-checking is to retrieve the records of birth from the French archives, many of them accessible online. Births are recorded in the birth registers and indexed in the *Tables Décennales*, which are pseudo-alphabetic (e.g., all names starting with a D are grouped together) tables of all the civil acts of a municipality recorded during ten-year periods, e.g., 1883–1892, 1893–1902 and so on. Each department archives maintains a dedicated website,<sup>36</sup> but large cities like Paris publish the metrical records on their own municipal archives websites.<sup>37</sup> Online birth records usually are available up to the first or second decade of the 20th century; *Tables Décennales* may cover up to the 1940s. They yield all the given names, the original surname spelling, the correct birthday as well as mentions of marriages and death. I also consulted with success the *Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer*<sup>38</sup> (French Archives from Overseas Territories), which hold online inventories for civil records from Algeria from 1830 to 1917.

Due to the large number of German Jews deported from France, the German *Gedenkbuch* online memorial<sup>39</sup> is the second significant source. It records 170,000 Jewish victims of the Nazi regime considered to be German citizens or residents according to the 1937 borders of the Reich, including territories of West and East Prussia. The Bundesarchiv in Berlin sent me (partial) lists of German Jews deported from France. As German archivists master German geography better than do French archivists, the *Gedenkbuch* provided reliable answers on geographic names and complements, such as second given name and maiden name for many deportees from Germany. Although the estimate of German Jews in the Memorial is about 9,500, I was able to link to half of them, so far. Again, the match between Klarsfeld Memorial and the *Gedenkbuch* cannot be fully automatic, due to the presence of many homonyms and to the francization of German names, e.g., Möritz recorded as Maurice, Löb as Loeb, Staßfurt as Stassfurt. I proceeded similarly with the online Austrian and

Czech Holocaust memorials.<sup>40</sup>

Although the *Gedenkbuch* is rather accurate, I spotted a reported few dozen missing names and several inaccuracies. For example, in the *Gedenkbuch*, Moise Mendel was born in Bliedersdorf, near Stade, Hannover, on May 26, 1882, and was deported on April 13, 1944 from Drancy to Auschwitz-Birkenau on convoy 71. I found his birth at the same date, however, in the *Tables Décennales* of Grossblittreroff, Moselle, France. No source is exempt from errors.

One-third of the deportees from France were from pre-war or post-war Poland. Unlike Austria and Germany, Poland does not maintain a national online Holocaust memorial, so I turned to the Jewish genealogy sources, including Jewish Records Indexing–Poland (JRI-Poland), Gesher Galicia, Litvak SIG and JewishGen Ukraine and Belarus Special Interest Groups. Their databases, created by volunteers, index only a small portion of what national archival systems could publish. In the recent years, the Polish State Archives has started to release a large quantity of material on its websites, which will significantly help researchers in the future. In the meantime, apart from a few hits of birth records found on JRI-Poland, I used these repositories not to trace the individuals themselves, but simply to confirm the presence of their surnames in their native towns.

JRI-Poland's lists of town surnames compiled from metrical records not yet accessible online were quite useful. They allow one to correct the distorted surnames of persons known to have been born in a given town; they also confirm that deportees with not-widespread surnames and unidentified birthplaces were, indeed, born in that town. Here are a few examples. In the 2012 Memorial, Salka Bzegowski née Pergrycht, born in "Bewozin" in 1903, was deported with convoy 31. There is no such locality, but Bewozin looks close enough to Będzin, a large Jewish community. Indeed, Pergrycht can be found in the Będzin list of surnames,<sup>41</sup> so we infer she was born there. Idessa Krakauer née Staxski was born in Kłobuck, Silesia. Staxski is an odd spelling and thus, a suspect surname, but Staxski is among the Kłobuck list of surnames.<sup>42</sup> Simi Bialogowski from convoy 18, Jochweta Boruchowicz née Pytovska from convoy 42 and Jules Gtogowski from convoy 75 were born in "Piotrkow." Scanning JRI-Poland surname lists for Piotrków Kujawski and Piotrków Trybunalski,<sup>43</sup> two Jewish communities 200 kilometers apart, we may infer with a high degree of confidence that Boruchowicz/Pytovska was born in Piotrków Trybunalski while Bialogowski was born in Piotrków Kujawski. The surname Gtogowski does not exist in any dictionary of Jewish surnames,<sup>44</sup> but Głogowski is in Piotrków Trybunalski surname list. Clearly, the barred Ł was wrongly copied as a T and Jules' surname can be restored to Głogowski. More surnames are corrected by this technique, e.g., "Ictelbosin" is, in fact, Tajtelboim, "Inoberborczyk" is, in fact, Ingberworczyk, "Munrenmacher" is, in fact, Micenmacher, and "Cank" is, in fact, Cahn.

Similar analysis was applied to Biała (Biała Rawska versus Bielsko-Biała), Dąbrowa (Dąbrowa Tarnowska versus Dąbrowa Górnicza versus Dąbrowa Białostocka), Grodzisk (Grodzisk Mazowiecki versus Grodzisk Wielkopolski versus Grodzisko Dolne, among 20 Polish localities bearing this name), Izbica (Izbica Kujawska versus Izbica Lubelski), Janów (Janów near Częstochowa versus Janów Podlaski versus Janów Sokolski versus Janów Lubelski versus Ivanava in Belarus), Kazimierz (Kazimierz quarter of Krakow versus Kazimierz Dolny), Opole (Opole/Oppeln versus Opole Lubelskie), Ostrow (Ostrów Mazowiecka versus Ostrów Lubelski versus Ostrów Wielkopolski versus Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski), Sokolow (Sokołów Podlaski versus Sokołów Małopolski) and Wisoki (Wysokie Mazowieckie versus Wysokie Lubelski versus Vysokaye, Belarus). When surname lists are not available from JRI-Poland, JewishGen Family Finder provides a less extensive alternative. This method does not resolve all cases, and cannot be applied to widespread surnames such as Goldberg or Frydman.

Linguistics and onomastics rules help to build a profile of the deportee, and separate individuals born in former Prussia, Galicia, Kingdom of Poland and Russian Empire. According to the 2012 Memorial, 218 deportees were born in “Minsk.” Were they born in the contemporary capital of Belarus or in Mińsk Mazowiecki, a town near Warsaw, Poland? In such a case, discrimination can be made according to linguistics and onomastics criteria, even on francized names. For example, names with the letter W and the digraphs Rz, Cz and Sz are from Poland, not from the former Russia. Once this distinction is made, Beider’s dictionaries of Jewish surnames for these two regions will distinguish most of the entries unambiguously. Michel Czerwonobroda and Estera Radoszycki come from Mińsk Mazowiecki, Poland, while Ocher Grilikhes comes from Minsk, Russian Empire.

According to the 2012 Memorial, 60 deportees were born in “Mogilev.” Was it Mohyliv-Podilskyy (Ukraine) or Mahilyow (Belarus)? These towns were in the same linguistic sphere, covered by the same *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Russian Empire*. Yet, the dictionary does a great service indicating where each surname occurred. Therefore, apart from surnames appearing in many regions, it is possible to infer that, for example, Avrom Barinberg and Gerch Chvartzman were born in Mohyliv-Podilskyy while Israel Kelberine and Max Livchitz were born in Mahilyow. I submitted the reasoning to the dictionary author, Alexander Beider, who confirmed it is a valid approach.

In the 2012 Memorial, 17 persons were recorded as born in “Koch.” Despite *Journal Officiel* confirmation as Koch, Poland, as their birthplace, the village of Koch near Szczerców in Łódź voivodeship is not recorded as a known Jewish community, which makes this locality a highly unlikely birthplace. Searching the rare surnames among these individuals, e.g., Bibula, Szczeciniarz and Pieprzownik, led me instead to the town of Kock in Lublin voivodeship, home of the Kotsk hasidic dynasty.

I employed many variant profiling techniques to identify birthplaces from other countries as well. For example, Hefca Cojocarú born in 1889 in Dubbabani was deported by convoy 46. Dubbabani is an unknown location. From the surname and from the nationality listed in the 1978 Memorial, we learn that this person comes from Romania. Searching JewishGen ROM-SIG database for the exact surname Cojocarú yielded records of persons born in Darabani, which I infer as the correct birthplace name. Combining results from multiple sources can be challenging, as illustrated by this last example. Salomon Frohwein, born on June 18, 1871, was deported by convoy 68 that left Drancy February 10, 1944, for Auschwitz-Birkenau. The 1978 Memorial, the Mémorial de la Shoah, USHMM and Yad Vashem all indicate “Blerbin” as his birthplace; no citizenship was indicated and Yad Vashem has no Page of Testimony for him. The problem is that Blerbin does not exist. All these institutions refer to Klarsfeld 1978 Memorial. The 2012 Memorial says that Frohwein was born in Beyren, which I first identified as Beyren-lès-Sierck (Moselle department, Lorraine, France), until I found no trace of his birth in the metrical records of that village. According to the *Journal Officiel*, he was born in Bleilur, Germany. Bleilur is also unknown to Google Maps, Wikipedia and the JewishGen Gazetteer. Salomon Frohwein is not listed in German *Gedenkbuch* but 18 persons in this memorial share his surname; none was born in a locality with a name resembling Blerbin, Beyren or Bleilur. I decided to search the U.S. Board of Geographic Names<sup>45</sup> for all German localities whose name starts with “BL” and ends with “R” (searching the string “BL\*R” with the wild card). One match attracted my attention: Bleibuir, Nordrhein-Westfalen. Then I searched the *Gedenkbuch* to figure out if any Jews lived in Bleibuir. Indeed, five Jewish victims were listed, and one of them, Martha Falk, was born Frohwein!

### Online Memorial

The online Memorial is available as a free, bilingual searchable database on Steve Morse’s One Step Tools Website.<sup>46</sup> Its versatile search engine uses Daitch-Mokotoff soundex and phonetic matching<sup>47</sup> to run complex queries such as “find the persons below age 20, born in Greece, who lived in Marseille and were deported in 1943,” for which 11 match this description.

It is useful for mini-history (e.g., “find the Jews deported from Montauban”) or even micro-history (e.g., Which families lived in the house at 12, Rue des Écouffes, Paris). Consult the online introduction for instructions on how to use it best.<sup>48</sup> The online Memorial extends the information provided by Serge Klarsfeld in the 2012 Memorial with hyperlinks to additional sources (e.g., *Journal Officiel*, *Gedenkbuch*, French civil records, Jewish Records Indexing – Poland, Yad Vashem Pages of Testimony).

The second update of the database, planned for Spring 2019, includes more information on newly identified birthplaces, on survivors and on specific categories of persons

listed in the Memorial. Recent research and publications by Doulut, Klarsfeld and Labeau established new lists of survivors.<sup>49,50</sup> They counted 3,953 survivors, four percent of all the deportees, higher than formerly estimated.

Six hundred and forty-four Jews from the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were arrested (Klarsfeld lists 84), gathered in Lille then transferred to Kaserne Dossin internment camp in Malines/Mechelen, Belgium to be deported to the East. These two departments were attached to the Nazi military administration governing Belgium. Correlation with the Belgium deportation lists<sup>51</sup> helped to identify a few birthplaces. This update now indicates in which Belgium deportation convoy they were sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Klarsfeld list 91 includes 1,217 Jews who were executed or shot summarily in France. This update adds hyperlinks to “Le Maitron,” an online dictionary that provides detailed biographies of persons executed or shot in France during World War II, indicating the condition of their execution and their birthplaces.<sup>52</sup>

Five hundred and eighty-one Jews with a gentile spouse or with one gentile parent were deported to Alderney (known as Aurigny in French), the northernmost of the inhabited Channel Islands, off the coast of Cherbourg. Although their fate considerably differs from those deported to the East, they are now added to the Memorial.

Let me add that a resource guide about the Holocaust in France is available on IGRA website<sup>53</sup>.

## Conclusion

Creating such a single database with reference to many sources, sometimes conflicting, provides researchers a multi-faceted perspective beyond the view of any single memorial institution, including biographical details provided only by a single source. For example, the *Journal Officiel* usually reports multiple given names, the *Gedenbuch* and the Austrian memorials indicate the former residence in Germany or the former address in Wien, while the *Mémorial de la Shoah* may present a photo of the deportee, and so on. The user is invited to collect and compare the various pieces of information. We combined multiple disciplines such as information technology, history, geography, linguistics and onomastics to advance the research. The independence and freedom of not being part of any archival institution allowed me to extend the knowledge about the deportation of the Jews of France with inferred information not always supported by any strong evidence. I consider these results to be closer to the truth than keeping unknown surnames and unidentified locality names as spelled in deportation lists or other documents created during a war. For traceability, I indicated in the notes the elements which served me to reach decisions, but I was faithful to Serge Klarsfeld’s colossal work as I place my interpretations near to his own.

This work is not completed. The birthplace of 73,000 deportees (92 percent) have been identified. They come

from 6,300 distinct known places of birth, spread among 76 current countries. Largest populations come from Poland (22,600), France (19,400), Germany (9,000) and Ukraine (4,400). The number of Sephardim victims is significant, at least 5,500, without counting those born in France. A basic distribution is shown in the table below. It differs from former published statistics, not only because more places were identified but also because Germany and Poland are defined according to post-war borders. A finer distribution table, per region, will be placed on the web site with the next update. It will allow statistics according to the pre-war borders, as well.

In the Klarsfeld 2012 Memorial, 4,500 birthplaces remain unidentified, and we have no information at all on the birthplaces of 1,700 persons.

| Country        | # of Deportees | Percentage |
|----------------|----------------|------------|
| Poland         | 22,590         | 28.51%     |
| France         | 19,404         | 24.49%     |
| Germany        | 9,029          | 11.39%     |
| Unknown        | 6,067          | 7.66%      |
| Ukraine        | 4,407          | 5.56%      |
| Romania        | 2,459          | 3.10%      |
| Austria        | 2,199          | 2.78%      |
| Turkey         | 2,004          | 2.53%      |
| Greece         | 1,777          | 2.24%      |
| Algeria        | 1,285          | 1.62%      |
| Belarus        | 1,051          | 1.33%      |
| Hungary        | 910            | 1.15%      |
| Belgium        | 820            | 1.03%      |
| Lithuania      | 816            | 1.03%      |
| Moldova        | 704            | 0.89%      |
| Netherlands    | 631            | 0.80%      |
| Russia         | 562            | 0.71%      |
| Czech Republic | 340            | 0.43%      |
| Latvia         | 332            | 0.42%      |
| Bulgaria       | 227            | 0.29%      |
| Tunisia        | 214            | 0.27%      |
| Slovakia       | 198            | 0.25%      |
| Switzerland    | 187            | 0.24%      |
| Israel         | 127            | 0.16%      |
| Luxembourg     | 124            | 0.16%      |
| United Kingdom | 112            | 0.14%      |
| Morocco        | 103            | 0.13%      |
| Egypt          | 100            | 0.13%      |
| Others         | 461            | 0.58%      |

Table 6. Distribution of persons in the online Memorial per contemporary place of birth

Last but not least, the research on birthplaces was instrumental in correcting many other details, including some 400 surnames and maiden names.

## Future

The memorial is interactive and has been modified in

response to feedback from visitors. Many avenues of research and strategies were applied only partially. Collaboration with other memorializing initiatives is rewarding for both sides: this is the case for specific convoys (e.g. associations for the memory of convoys 6,<sup>54</sup> 73<sup>55</sup> and 77<sup>56</sup>), on specific regions (e.g., the deportees from the Sarthe department,<sup>57</sup> the children of a given arrondissement of Paris<sup>58</sup>), or on specific categories of victims (e.g., persons shot<sup>59</sup>). They can focus and thoroughly gather material from the archives.

Despite my best efforts given to this study, some choices may prove to be wrong. I may have introduced a few new errors, but I am confident that I restored many lost biographical details for these men, women and children for which no tangible trace exists anymore. I am the only one responsible for any error. Contact me for any additions or corrections.

### Acknowledgements

I am truly grateful to Serge and Beate Klarsfeld for their trust and support. I hope I did not distort their lifetime achievement. Steve Morse not only helped me in the design of the database, but also agreed to host the tool on his website. I consulted Alexander Beider on several occasions to submit some hypotheses which he kindly reviewed; he even suggested additional ideas. Eve Line Blum-Cherchevski provided valuable insight on the “Died in Deportation” initiative of the French government.

### Notes

1. Serge Klarsfeld, 1. 1. *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Paris, 1978 (French edition); *The Memorial to the Jews Deported from France, 1942–1944: Documentation of the deportation of the victims of the Final Solution in France*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1983 (English edition).

2. Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF), an organization created in 1941 by the Vichy regime at the request of the German authorities to replace all the Jewish institutions in France except the Rabbinate.

3. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, May 22, 1978, cited by Serge Klarsfeld in a double autobiography with Beate Klarsfeld, *Hunting the Truth: Memoirs of Beate and Serge Klarsfeld*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2018.

4. After this date, the Germans felt there is no more need to record the citizenship of the deportees.

5. For more on the Tulard files, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9\\_Tulard](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9_Tulard) and Sonia Combe, « *Les fichiers de Juifs : de la dissimulation à la désinformation* » in *Lignes 1994/3* (n° 23), p. 91-126, download from <https://www.cairn.info/revue-lignes0-1994-3-page-91.htm>.

6. Barbie and Touvier were convicted of crimes against humanity.

7. Serge Klarsfeld, *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial*, Volume 1: NYU Press, 1996; Volume 2: *Fils et Filles des Déportés Juifs de France* (Sons and Daughters of Jewish Deportees from France), Paris, 2016.

8. Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Fils et Filles des Déportés Juifs de France, Paris, 2012. The introduction to this Memorial, translated by myself, is online at [https://stevemorse.org/france/intro2012/Preface\\_Memorial\\_2012\\_english.pdf](https://stevemorse.org/france/intro2012/Preface_Memorial_2012_english.pdf)

2012\_english.pdf

9. i.e. 48 x 32 cm, 5.7 kg.

10. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacques\\_Chirac#State\\_responsibility\\_for\\_the\\_roundup\\_of\\_Jews](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacques_Chirac#State_responsibility_for_the_roundup_of_Jews).

11. Yad VaShem Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names at <https://yvng.yadvashem.org>

12. USHMM Survivors and Victims Database at [https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person\\_advance\\_search.php](https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_advance_search.php).

13. Mémorial de la Shoah: Search for a victim person at <https://tinyurl.com/ybqrpm4o>

14. See “Name Changes during the British Mandate” in *Et-mol*, Yad Ben Zvi, 2006; and “A Methodology for Error Detection and Correction of Jewish Names in Digitized Genealogical Records”, Avotaynu Fall 2011. Vol. XXVII, No. 3, pp. 4-11.

15. Alexander Beider, *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Russian Empire*, Second edition, 2008; Alexander Beider, *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Kingdom of Poland*, 1996; Alexander Beider, *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from Galicia*, 2004; Lars Menk, *Dictionary of German Jewish Surnames*, 2005; Alexander Beider, *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Maghreb region, Gibraltar and Malta*, 2017, all published by Avotaynu.

16. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daitch%E2%80%93Mokotoff\\_Soundex](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daitch%E2%80%93Mokotoff_Soundex)

17. *Ibid.* 1, in Notice Technique.

18. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cr%C3%A9mieux\\_Decree](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cr%C3%A9mieux_Decree). Fortunately, most of the Algerian Jews stayed in Algeria and not in metropolitan France, far from Vichy and the Nazis.

19. Figures above and in the chart come from several sources including Mémorial de la Shoah; Yad Vashem; Bernard Blumenkranz; Lucien Lazare: *La résistance juive en France*, Stock, 1987.

20. *Ibid.* 7, p. 11.

21. <https://jewishgen.org/Communities/Search.asp>

22. <http://judaisme.sdv.fr>

23. Gary Mokotoff, Sallyann Amdur Sack & Alexander Sharon: *Where Once We Walked, A Guide to Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust*, Revised edition, Avotaynu, 2002.

24. U.S. Board on Geographic Names at <http://geonames.nga.mil/gns/html>. It is possible to download the lists of the localities per country, with or without diacritic signs, together with the name of the 1st order administrative region they belong to.

25. <https://jewishgen.org/Communities/LocTown.asp>

26. <https://www.google.com/maps>

27. <https://www.wikipedia.org>

28. The Unicode standard defines how computers represent all the characters worldwide, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unicode>.

29. <https://tinyurl.com/y4pch995>

30. To access these ordinances published in the *Journal Officiel*, go to <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/rechTexte.do>, search the word “deportation” or “déportation” among the words of the title of the publications and click the *Recherchez* (Search) button.

31. I.e. Friedman, born Kligsberg (Chaja, Ruda) on April 23, 1888 in Warsaw (Poland), died on November 11, 1942 in Auschwitz (Poland). This entry is from the latest list published in February 2019. In the absence of additional information, the death dates

32. <https://www.onac-vg.fr>

33. *Journal Officiel*, March 4, 2012: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000025431926>

34. *Journal Officiel*, August 14, 2012: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000037311741>



35. See her 2014 testimony at <https://www.ouest-france.fr/bretagne/plouha-22580/marie-le-du-temoigne-de-ses-onze-mois-de-deportation-2446238>

36. The map provides hyperlinks to the web sites of each *Archives Départementales* : [https://fr.geneawiki.com/index.php?title=Archives\\_d%C3%A9partementales\\_en\\_ligne&oldid=1641259](https://fr.geneawiki.com/index.php?title=Archives_d%C3%A9partementales_en_ligne&oldid=1641259)

37. Archives of Paris: <http://archives.paris.fr/r/123/archives-numerisees/>

38. *Archives nationales d'outre-mer*, in Aix-en-Provence : <http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/caomec2/recherche.php?territoire=ALGERIE>

39. <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html.en>

40. The Austrian Victims of the Holocaust memorial is maintained by the Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes and is searchable at <https://www.doew.at/english/austrian-victims-of-the-holocaust>. The Czech Memorial is maintained by the Terezin Initiative Institute and the Jewish Museum in Prague; it is searchable at <https://www.holocaust.cz/en/database-of-victims>.

41. Będzin surnames: [https://jri-poland.org/psa/bedzin\\_surn.htm](https://jri-poland.org/psa/bedzin_surn.htm)

42. Kłobuck surnames: <https://jri-poland.org/town/klobuck.htm>

43. Piotrków Kujawski surnames: [https://jri-poland.org/town/piotrkow\\_kujaws.htm](https://jri-poland.org/town/piotrkow_kujaws.htm); Piotrków Trybunalski surnames: [https://jri-poland.org/psa/piotrkow\\_surn.htm](https://jri-poland.org/psa/piotrkow_surn.htm). To find a list, go to JRI-Poland's Your Town page at <https://jri-poland.org/town/index.htm>.

44. <https://stevemorse.org/phonetics/beider.php>

45. <http://geonames.nga.mil/gns/html/index.html>

46. <https://stevemorse.org>

47. <https://stevemorse.org/phonetics/bmpm2.htm>

48. <https://stevemorse.org/france/intro.html>

49. Alexandre Doulut, Serge Klarsfeld and Sandrine Labeau : *1945, Les rescapés juifs d'Auschwitz témoignent*, Fils et Filles des Déportés Juifs de France, Après l'oubli, 2015.

50. Alexandre Doulut, Serge Klarsfeld and Sandrine Labeau : *Mémorial des 3943 rescapés Juifs de France*, Fils et Filles des Déportés Juifs de France, Après l'oubli, 2018.

51. <https://kazernedossin.eu>

52. <http://maitron-fusilles-40-44.univ-paris1.fr>

53. <https://genealogy.org.il/holocaust-france-resource-guide>

54. <http://www.convoi6.org>

55. <http://www.convoi73.org/indexa1.html>

56. <http://www.convoi77.org/en>

57. <https://lesdeportesdesarthe.wordpress.com>

58. <https://comejdfrance.wordpress.com/site-internet-des-amejd/>

59. Ibid. 48

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