Two Photos make History. The 10th March 1933 in the Life of Dr. Michael Siegel

by

Isabel A.

translated into English and revised by Dr. Siegel's son

Mr. Peter Sinclair

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Introduction

Photographs may describe world events, but not necessarily so the persons depicted

Many photographs circulate around the world every day. They are often the result of chance and they capture forever situations and feelings such as anger, despair, hate or love. Every person who looks at a picture will associate it with specific feelings. Photographs can shock and stimulate reflection.
However, it is only the pictures themselves that write history, and not the persons, which are depicted. More often not even the names of the subjects are known, and even less so what happened to them during the subsequent course of their lives.
The photographs, which are the subject of this study, have circulated around the world since 1933. They are well known and still shown today in history books in schools. The photographs depict a middle aged man, surrounded by SA-men, carrying a poster around his neck with the words: "Ich werde mich nie mehr bei der Polizei beschweren" (I will never again complain to the police). The fact that man in the picture is Dr. Michael Siegel, a Jewish lawyer, who lived with his family in Munich, is however unknown to most.
The photographs illustrate the National Socialist's unscrupulous and total contempt for the dignity of man. A portrayal of the person of Michael Siegel, the origin of the photographs and the ramifications of the latter will be covered later.

Historical background to the events of 10th March 1933

Emergency decree of 28th February 1933

The assumption of power by the National Socialists marked the spring of 1933 in Germany.
The *Reichstag* building in Berlin was set alight on 27th February 1933. This event was con-

veniently used by the National Socialists to tighten certain existing laws.
On basis of paragraph 48, section 2 of the Constitution, a decree from the President of the State for the Protection of the People and the State on 28th February 1933, suspended fundamental civil rights "until further notice". This so-called emergency decree did away with Constitutional rights to free speech, the freedom of the person and the inviolability of a citizen's property. The National Socialists were able to make use of this emergency decree not only against the communists but also against unpopular opponents like the Jews.
Starting in the first few days of March 1933 politically active lawyers were taken into "Protective Custody". "From the beginning of March 1933 National Socialist party members, in particular hordes of SA, committed brutalities against lawyers and judges of Jewish origin". (1)

Political situation in Munich on 9th March 1933

Exactly what took place in Munich on the 9th March 1933, the day before the attack on Dr. Michael Siegel, is documented in the "1933 Yearbook for the State Capital of Munich":
"9th March - National Socialist Revolution. The Minister for the Interior takes charge of Bavaria's highest civil authority. He transfers this power to General von Epp, who gives Himmler, a Member of the German Parliament and SS commander, direct command over the Police Authority in Munich. General von Epp, in his capacity as delegate for the Ministry of the Interior, appoints provincial government Councillor Wagner as a new Commissioner for special purposes, Dr. Hans Frank, a Member of the German Parliament, is made Minister of Justice and Ludwig Siebert, a provincial government Councillor, is appointed Minister of Finance.
The swastika is hoisted on the Town Hall and other public buildings. Public rally held at the *Feldherrnhalle*.
War is declared on Communism, Marxism and the Jews. Protective custody announced for opponents of the National Government. Ban on the media imposed. Begin of conformity (...)". (2)

Consequences of the legislation of 28th February 1933 for Jewish lawyers

The travelling exhibition *Anwalt ohne Recht* (Lawyer without Right) in the Palace of Justice in Munich clearly demonstrates that the attack on Dr. Siegel was not an isolated instance, but the beginning of a systematic persecution of Jewish lawyers in Germany, as shown by the fate of the latter in the Third Reich.
"At the beginning of 1933 a total of 225 lawyers of Jewish origin were licensed to practise at the Bavarian High Court in Munich (...)". (3) Of these only 18 returned after 1945.
Hanns Kerrl became Minister for Justice in Prussia and, as previously quoted from the official sources, Dr. Hans Frank was appointed to this post in Bavaria. Both were radical anti-Semites. They demanded the immediate removal of all Jews from the realms of justice. On the 1st April 1933 Frank issued a decree that forbade Jewish lawyers to set foot in Courts with immediate effect. He ordered the Court managements to affix a notice reading "To ensure order and calm within the jurisdiction of the Courts and to guarantee respect for the Law, JEWISH LAWYERS (printed in capitals in the official sources) will no longer be allowed to enter these premises with effect from 1st April 1933". (4) Jewish lawyers were now required to be in possession of a pass to enable them to enter the Law Courts.
"The 'Law on the Licensing of Lawyers' of 7th April 1933 provided for the exclusion of lawyers of Jewish origin, pro tem subject to the following exemptions: Senior lawyers who had been admitted to Court prior to 1st August 1914 and those who had served in the trenches during the First World War as well as fathers and sons of fallen soldiers". (5)

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Effect on the lawyers in Munich

70% were able to produce the required evidence to allow them to continue their law practices, but 50 lawyers lost their licenses in Munich immediately.
This was an unexpected result for the Ministry for Justice, which lead to further sanctions against Jewish lawyers:
"Up to the time of the total occupational ban at the end of November 1938, a further 74 persons were eliminated from the list of licensed lawyers." (6)
The total occupational ban of 30th November 1938 affected 97 lawyers in Munich and only 6 lawyers received a restricted licence to practise as "Consultants", allowing them to work exclusively on Jewish legal affairs.
Summary: Of the 225 practising Jewish lawyers in Munich at the beginning, 35 died between 1933 and 1943. A further 37 lost their lives in extermination camps, 121 emigrated, 8 committed suicide, 12 survived the National Socialist period under uncertain circumstances whilst the fate of the remaining 12 is not known. (7)

Sequence of events around Michael Siegel on 10th March 1933

"Protective custody" of Mr. Uhlfelder, owner of a well known Munich store

Mr. Uhlfelder was interned in the Dachau concentration camp a few hours after the National Socialists had taken power in Munich on 9th March 1933.
Exactly a day later, on 10th March 1933, Dr. Michael Siegel called by appointment at the Police Headquarters in Munich, to insist on the civil rights of Mr. Uhlfelder, his client. "Dr. Siegel went to the Ettstraße [Police HQ building's address] to make a fuss about the treatment of his client." (8) He intended to obtain the release of his client and request protection for Mr. Uhlfelder's store.

Complaint at the Munich police HQ

When Michael Siegel entered the building he was informed that he was expected and directed to a room. Instead of facing the usual official he was confronted by a group of SA-men. The president of the Munich police force at that time was Heinrich Himmler, who had recruited "auxiliary policemen" from amongst the SA-thugs. (9) These proceeded to beat up Siegel, knocked out some of his front teeth, perforated an ear drum and then cut off the legs of his trousers. It is uncertain whether the SA-thugs had been expecting Siegel or whether it was a spontaneous action to serve as an example.
The climax of the intended humiliation consisted of the placing of a board around Siegel's neck. According to the majority of the available evidence the wording on the board read: "Ich bin Jude, aber ich werde mich nie mehr bei der Polizei beschweren." ("I am a Jew, but I will never again complain to the police".) [The problem of the different statements as to the precise wording on the board will be dealt with later.]

Running the gauntlet through Munich's inner city streets

Following the assault, Dr. Michael Siegel, with the board around his neck, was made to run the gauntlet barefoot through Munich's inner city streets, starting in Ettstraße, Kaufingerstraße / Neuhauserstraße to the Stachus and from there along Prielmayerstraße to the main railway station.
At the railway station his tormentors loaded their rifles and said: "You are now going to be done in!" With that they laughed scornfully and left. Michael Siegel got into the nearest taxi

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to return home to Possartstraße.

The event of 10th March 1933 seen through the eyes of the Siegel children

Dr. Siegel with his son Peter and daughter Beate (Bobby) on a Sunday stroll in the late 1920s.
(Photo: M[illegible]eter Sinclair)

Both children retain a vivid memory of this day. Son Peter was at home, back from school, when his father walked through the front door of the apartment.
"Normally, my father would whistle the customary 'Siegel greeting' when he came home. On 10th March I was in the living room - and Vati did not whistle. I went to the parents' bedroom and knocked at the door. My father called out 'wait until your mother returns'. Our mother explained after her return what had happened but without going into specifics. I was 12 years old at that time". (10)
His sister Beate was nearly 8 years old then, almost too young to comprehend the situation. She had been at home in bed with a cold that day. "I heard the key in the front door, but nobody came to see me. I got up and saw my father's blood-spattered clothes hanging on the bathroom clothes hook. It was a shock! I knocked at the bedroom door and saw my father as he drew the sheet over his head. 'Wait till your mother returns' - so far it had always been 'Mutti' - I realised that something dreadful had happened". (11)

The person of Dr. Michael Siegel

Michael Siegel's childhood and youth

Michael Siegel was born on the 14th September 1882 in Arnstein (Lower Franconia), the eldest of 7 siblings. His father ran a farm and traded in horses. As a child, he lost the thumb on his right hand in a farm machinery accident. In later years this led to him being declared unfit for military service during WW1, since he was unable to use a rifle.
In 1902 Michael Siegel passed High School finals at the Gymnasium in Schweinfurt. He went on to study law at the *Royal Bavarian Ludwig Maximilian University Munich* where he re-

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ceived his "Finals Certificate" as a law student on 1st July 1906. (12) Siegel obtained his doctorate as Dr. jur. et rer. pol. on 26th June 1907.
Dr. Siegel was granted his licence to practice law on 2nd June 1910 by the Royal Bavarian Ministry of Justice. The same year he became a partner in the law firm *Kanzlei Siegel*, which had been founded by his uncle, Privy Councillor Leopold Siegel, in 1885.

Seine Majestät
König Ludwig III.

haben Sich Allergnädigst bewogen gefunden
Dem Rechtsanwalt Dr Michael Siegel in München
das König Ludwig-Kreuz für Heimatver-
dienste während der Kriegszeit in ehrender und
dankbarer Anerkennung zu verleihen. Dies
wird im Allerhöchsten Auftrage beurkundet.
München, 15. Juli 1916
K. Kriegsministerium

Award of the King Ludwig III Cross - certificate for Dr. Siegel (1916)
(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

As mentioned previously, Michael Siegel was not called up for army service during WW1. Since he was an enthusiastic and expert sportsman, mountaineer and skier, he became a skiing instructor with officer's rank in the *Münchner Jungsturm Regiment - Wehrkraftverein* (Munich's Youth Storm Regiment - Defence Force Association).

Dr. Michael Siegel (in the middle, wearing glasses) 1917 with his comrades of the "Münchner Jungsturm Regiment"
(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

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Decorations and honours awarded to Dr. Michael Siegel for his activities during WW1; the King Ludwig III Cross is at the top of the picture on the left
(Photos: Municipal Museum Munich)

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The years of 1920 - 1940 in Munich

Dr. Michael Siegel married Mathilde Waldner (born 17th October 1893) on 22nd March 1920. They had two children, a son Hans Peter, born 27th February 1921 and a daughter, Maria Beate, born 14th March 1925.
From the 4th August 1920 until the 17th January 1939 the Siegels lived in an apartment in Possartstraße 10, in the Bogenhausen area of Munich. (13)
The event of the 10th March 1933 in no way prompted Dr. Siegel to abandon his profession or to emigrate. On the contrary: "He applied for an entry pass into the *Justizpalast* (Palace of Justice) on 12th April 1933, after Jews had been barred from this building. He sent 'reminders' on the 20th April and again on 25th April." (14)
The State Secret Police (Gestapo) confiscated his passport on January 1934, for which he reapplied and which was granted anew on 28th November 1935.
Michael Siegel stayed on in Munich in spite of the adverse situation and was "on 1st December 1938 amongst the last remaining Jewish lawyers, whose licences had been revoked. He had applied on 3rd November 1938 for a restricted licence as 'Consultant', which was refused on 2nd December 1938". (15)
"In the early morning of '*Kristallnacht*' (Night of the broken glass) on 9th November 1938, Siegel, who had many friends amongst the local farmers, received a clear warning" (16) and was able to flee to Luxembourg. He returned to Munich, unmolested, a few weeks later.

In happier times: Mathilde Siegel with daughter Beate and son Peter around the end of the 1920s
(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

For the Siegel family Munich was their home in spite of all the horrors they had witnessed. On 17th January 1939 they were instructed to leave their apartment in the Possartstraße 10 and move to Lindwurmstraße 125. (17) The ground floor of this building held the emergency synagogue, since Munich's magnificent main synagogue had earlier been razed to the ground. "The upper storeys of the house contained apartments occupied by Jewish families". (18)
Their son Peter was 18 years old at that time. A regular "trainee" visa enabled him to emigrate to England on 21st March 1939. Under the auspices of the British "Movement for the Care of Children from Germany", Siegel's daughter Beate, now aged 14, joined a group of other children on 26th June 1939 on a *Kindertransport* train from Munich, Poland for Hoek van Holland en route to England.
Michael Siegel and his wife meanwhile tried to obtain a visa to enable them to emigrate to Peru, initially unsuccessfully. But their hopes were realised through a coincidence: to prepare for emigration Michael Siegel took Spanish lessons with a Peruvian student.
During a conversation it transpired that the student was a nephew of the Peruvian Minister of the Interior - and with his help two visas materialised! (19)

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Emigration and thereafter

Mathilde Siegel, 1939
(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

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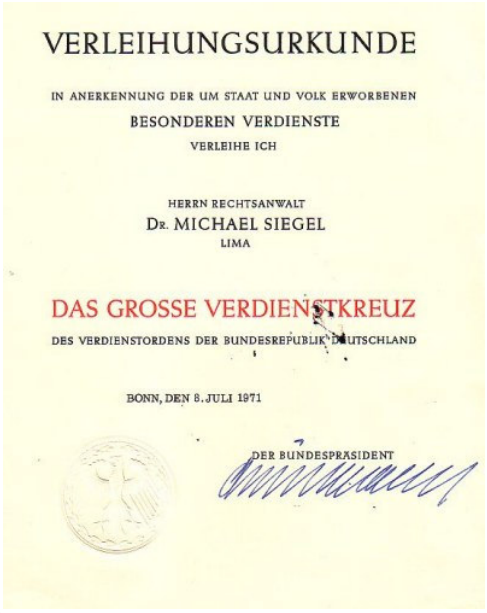
The long journey for Michael and Mathilde Siegel to Peru began on 8th September 1940 in Berlin, travelling on the Trans-Siberian Railway, via Königsberg, Lithuania, Minsk, Moscow, Omsk, Manchuria, Harbin, Fusan and Kobe in Japan. From there they crossed the Pacific Ocean to land eventually in Peru. This extraordinary journey was only possible at that time because of the then existing Non-Aggression Treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union. From then on the Family Siegel lived separate lives, the children in Great Britain and the parents in Peru. They were never able to reunite to live as a family under one roof.
Dr. Michael Siegel had to build a new existence for himself and his wife in Lima. At first he had a job in a bookstore. Following the end of the war he was actively involved in the re-establishment of the embassy of the new Federal Republic of Germany. "It was important to him to create a better understanding between the local Jewish refugee community and the new Germany". (20) During this post-war period he also became the Rabbi of the German-Jewish community in Lima.
Michael Siegel received his new licence to practise as lawyer in Germany in 1953, without having to meet the normal residential qualification. "From then on he became essentially a Restitution Expert for hundreds of Jewish émigrés (...)." (21) Dr. Siegel continued to work until the end of his days as confidential legal advisor to the Federal Republic of Germany's Embassy in Lima.
On the occasion of his 89th birthday he was awarded the *Große Verdienstkreuz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Grand Cross of Merit) in recognition of his exceptional services to the State and People (see below).



VERLEIHUNGSURKUNDE

IN ANERKENNUNG DER UM STAAT UND VOLK ERWORBENEN
BESONDEREN VERDIENSTE
VERLEIHE ICH

HERRN RECHTSANWALT
Dr. MICHAEL SIEGEL
LIMA

DAS GROSSE VERDIENSTKREUZ
DES VERDIENSTORDENS DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

BONN, DEN 8. JULI 1971

DER BUNDESPRÄSIDENT

(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

"He visited Munich every year, which inevitably included calling on the Association of Lawyers and their board. The last time was in 1977, when he was 95 years of age. He died on 15th March 1979 in Lima aged 97". (22)

How the photographs came into being and their effects

The nature of the photographs

Heinrich Sanden, born in 1908, is the photographer of both these renowned pictures. They were taken on 10th March 1933, when Sanden, who was then unemployed, was on his way to the photographic business Wissmann. (23)
Michael Siegel was being 'marched' across the Stachus, when Sanden alighted there from the tram. Being a good press photographer, Sanden always had his camera, a *Nettel 9x12*, with him. He took the first picture there. "I took two photographs, one in the Stachus and the second in the Prielmayerstraße." (24)

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Description of both photographs

The picture of Dr. Siegel which was taken on Stachus accordingly to Sanden
(Photo: Scherl/SV-Bilderdienst. This digitised photo may not be duplicated, taken out entirely or partially, altered or manipulated. Violations of these rules will be prosecuted in any case.)

The first picture taken in the Stachus shows Michael Siegel a little distant, surrounded by seven SA-men. These are clearly identifiable because of their uniforms and shouldered rifles. The cut-off legs of the victim's trousers are not clearly noticeable in this picture. The erroneous impression is created that the man is wearing white trousers and a knee-length coat. A car, a tram, two large buildings and several passers-by can be seen in the background.

The picture from Prielmayerstraße in a heavily retouched version (see writing on the board and faces of the people to the right of Dr. Siegel)
(Photo: Scherl/SV-Bilderdienst. This digitised photo may not be duplicated, taken out entirely or partially, altered or manipulated. Violations of these rules will be prosecuted in any case.)

The second photograph, shot in the Prielmayerstraße, shows Michael Siegel very clearly: he is seen walking barefoot, and it is obvious that he is not wearing white trousers but 'Long Johns' (underpants with long legs). Three cyclists are noticeable in the background, looking at Michael Siegel with distinct curiosity. Four SA-men are visible and a tram can be spotted in the top left hand corner of the photograph.
Sanden remembered the comments made by the SA-men, who were said to have been proud to lead this spectacle: "Hey, we'll get a picture of this - just bring it to Ettstraße (Police HQ) - they'll find us there". (25)

The photographs in the international press

Wilhelm Wissmann of the photographic company Wissmann, together with Heinrich Sanden developed the negatives on the glass plates.

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A first attempt to have the photos published in the Munich papers was negative. They wanted to have nothing to do with it, nor did they wish to print anything about the incident. Heinrich Sanden then approached Georg Pahl, a photographer for the American company *International News Reel* in Berlin. He was immediately interested. Sanden received his fee and mailed the negative plates to him in Berlin.
Sanden saw a picture print of his negative for the first time in the *New York Times*, after he had started to work for the Munich firm of Hoffmann. He had only previously seen the negatives, without the corresponding prints. He had therefore been unaware that the writing on the board was not clearly legible on either photograph.
Every newspaper in receipt of a print tried its utmost to reconstruct the writing on the board, based only on what was readable with difficulty. This is the reason why the picture appeared with four different versions of the words in American, Argentinean, French and British newspapers.
In the *Washington Times* of 23rd March 1933 the caption reads: "How Hitlerites treat foes". In their edition no. 16 116 the picture carries the wording: *"Ich werde nie wieder um Schutz bitten bei der Polizei"* yet an accompanying article translated this to "I will never again complain to Police". The picture in the Washington Post also shows a signature of "A. Schwartz" but the real name of Michael Siegel does not appear in the article. The paper quotes the *News Photographic Service* as its source for the photograph.
In the *Daily Mirror*, another American paper (New York) the wording on the board in the photograph reads: *"Ich werde nie wieder um Schutz bitten bei der Polizei"*.
The Argentinean paper *Noticia Gráfica* changed the wording to: *"Ich bin Jude, aber ich will mich nicht über die Nazis beschweren"* (I am a Jew but I will not complain about the Nazis).
In a French publication *"Israel denke daran!"* (Israel remember!), a cartoonist used the picture with the wording: *"Ich bin Jude, will mich aber nicht mehr über die Nazis beschweren"* (I am a Jew, but I will not complain about the Nazis any more).
The English newspaper *Daily Herald* of 24th April 1933 printed the picture with an illegible wording on the board, which could well be to be a print from the original negative.

Reaction to the photographs by the National Socialists

The National Socialists used the various versions of the photographs to claim that they were a sham.
Karl Bömer, Head of the Press section of the political bureau of foreign affairs of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) wrote a book on *"Historical Documents of the fight by National Socialism against foreign smear campaigns"* (26). He offers "another insight into the forgery method employed (...) a faked picture, circulated throughout the world (...) purporting to show a Jewish lawyer being marched barefoot through the streets of Munich, with a board around his neck allegedly reading: 'I will never again complain to the police'". (27)
Referring to the photograph in the *Daily Herald*, Bömer wrote "the board which was put around the neck (...) of the Herr Rechtsanwalt by the Daily Herald (...) had been retouched to the extent of illegibility". It is however precisely this picture which is probably the untouched original!
It is clear that Bömer is deriding Michael Siegel. Instead of naming him he refers to him sarcastically as *"Herr Rechtsanwalt"* (Mr. Lawyer). Karl Bömer makes his rationalisation of the event look totally ridiculous by saying that the *Daily Herald* put the board around his neck.
Bömer views the photograph as a propaganda weapon used by the foreign press and the "criminal World Jewry" (28) against National Socialism. The French publication "Israel remember!" is for Bömer simply a "vulgar hate pamphlet" (29) against National Socialism. For him the different versions of the wording on the board can only mean a "smear campaign".

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What was written on the board carried by Siegel?

Historians are to this day probing the wording on the board. The photographer, when questioned replied: "Look here, this was a very simple board, which had been put around this poor man's chest and on it was written: 'I will never again complain to the police' There was nothing else on it". (30)

Siegel's children maintain that, according to what their father told them, the sentence read: *"Ich bin Jude, aber ich will mich nie mehr bei der Polizei beschweren"* (I am a Jew, but I will never again complain to the police).

The difference in the wording between the father's evidence and the photographer's claims is basically the preamble *"ich bin Jude"* (I am a Jew) and the word *"aber*" (but). It could be that Michael Siegel remembered this preamble, because, suffering from the effects of the brutality of the SA-men, he could not clearly observe the words on the board. "My father always firmly maintained that the sentence began with the words 'Ich bin Jude'. It is very likely that this was actually the case, (...) my sole reservation being the possibility that he could not clearly recall what was or was not written on the board because of the physical assault, which had been carried out on him". (31)

Equally, the discriminating preamble "Ich bin Jude" - the real humiliation in the scene - might conceivably "have been removed by some editors in their objective of neutralising the inhumanity". (32)

The word *"Nazi"*, as it appeared in the Argentinean paper *Noticia Grafica*, still has to be explained. The use of this word was highly unlikely, since neither Dr. Siegel nor the photographer made mention of or remembered it. Furthermore, the Nazis themselves would have been highly unlikely of their own accord to have used the deprecating expression of *"Nazi"*.

In order to ensure accuracy, Ulrich Freiherr, director of the picture archives of the *Süddeutscher Verlag* (South German Publisher) between 1954 and 1983, made an effort to decipher the illegible wording on the board with the help of a method by the German name of *Chemographie*. "This was successful. The text was not retouched but merely intensified, enabling each individual letter to be laboriously identified, resulting in *'Ich werde mich nie mehr bei der Polizei beschweren'* (...) [I will never again complain to the Police]. One thing became clear: the word *'Nazi'* was not written on the board and there would have been insufficient space on the board for the preamble *'Ich bin Jude*' [I am a Jew]. (33)

It is arguable whether there might have been sufficient space on the board for the preamble *"ich bin Jude"* [I am a Jew] and whether the picture was really taken from Sanden's photographic negative plate. It could equally have been a copy of an already retouched picture, because "it was not possible at this time to establish when the photographs were received by the archives". (34)

The answer to the question of what was really written on the board can only be found if each individual letter on the original negative plates could be analysed with the latest methods used today in *Chemographie*.

Doubts about the authenticity of one of the photographs

Daughter Beate Green casts some doubts on the genuineness of the first picture, taken on the Stachus. She is of the opinion that the feet of the others are plainly visible, but not those of her father. The other picture clearly shows that he is walking on bare feet. His movements appear to be stilted. Nobody looks at him, contrary to the other picture. (35)

Looking at this picture, it is noticeable that nobody casts an eye on Michael Siegel, contrary to the second photograph, in which the cyclists really stare at him. The head of Michael Siegel appears to be unnaturally large in relation to his body, compared with the heads of the others in the picture. The feet look too small to belong to the legs. These could be indications of a fake picture.

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Whereas Michael Siegel's movement appears stilted, so is that of the SA-man on his immediate left, showing a very similar posture. It would depend on the distance of the photographer from the scene whether Siegel could be seen walking barefoot. On the other hand, the sole of the SA-man's boot is clearly visible, although Michael Siegel hides him.
The fact remains that Michael Siegel learnt of the existence of this photograph only in the 1970s, e.g. some 37 years after the event. Whether the then prevailing expertise was indeed adequate to retouch an entire photograph is doubtful. This would also correspond with the evidence of Michael Siegel's son, who is convinced of the existence of two genuine photographs. In addition, there is the evidence of the photographer himself who refers to two pictures.
Although doubts about the genuineness of the first picture exist, justified or not, both photographs have made a colossal impact, which can be used as a warning to ensure that nothing like this should ever happen again.

Epilogue

Michael Siegel's reaction to National Socialism and the events of 10th March 1933

In conclusion I would like return to Michael Siegel himself. I have asked myself why he did not emigrate from Germany immediately after what had happened to him. His daughter Beate answered this question as follows: "He saw himself as a German. The Siegels have lived in Germany for centuries. One does not give up one's very livelihood so easily". According to Beate, her father had no wish whatsoever to eradicate the memories of 10th March 1933 from his mind, in spite of the attempted humiliation. Michael Siegel never regarded himself as having been humiliated but claims to have learnt a lot that day.
Dr. Siegel was an individual who could not bring himself to believe that anything could happen to him. He saw Hitler and the National Socialists as a temporary phenomenon. Michael Siegel showed admirable courage and was unwilling to allow himself to be intimidated by the National Socialists, as demonstrated by an earlier episode in his life: a proposal was tabled at a meeting of the Alpine Association, which called for a membership ban on Jews. Michael Siegel rose from his chair and said: "I will not let you sh.. on my head!" With that he walked out.
One question remains to be answered: what went through Michael Siegel's mind at the moment he was beaten up and made to run the gauntlet through the city? "I'll survive all of you" (36) - which he did, after all he lived until he was 97 years old.

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Michael and Tilde Siegel, 1970
(Photo: Mr. Peter Sinclair)

February 2002
Isabel A.

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Appendix

Notes

(1) Göppinger, Horst: Juristen jüdischer Abstammung im 3. Reich. Munich 1990.

(2) The 1933 Yearbook for the State Capital of Munich (finding no.: Munich City Archives, Chronik 468 / I a).

(3) Hettler, Friedrich H., text in: Bayerische Staatszeitung no. 41, Oct 12, 2001.

(4) Ostler, Fritz, Die deutschen Rechtsanwälte 1871 - 1971, 2nd ed. 1982, p. 249.

(5) See note 3.

(6) See note 3.

(7) Numbers according to the exhibit *Anwalt ohne Recht*, presented in Munich's Palace of Justice from Oct. 4 to Nov. 2, 2001.

(8) Freudenreich, Johann: Ein Münchner als Symbol der Verfolgung. In: Süddeutsche Zeitung, April 12/13, 1979.

(9) See note 8.

(10) Peter Sinclair on Jan. 5, 2002.

(11) Bea Green on Jan. 5, 2002.

(12) Peter Sinclair on Dec. 28, 2001.

(13) All biographical details are taken from the inhabitants' registry card in the holdings of Munich City Archives. (14) Heinrich, Robert: 100 Jahre Rechtsanwaltskammer München. Munich 1979, p. 106.

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(25) See note 23.

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(35) Bea Green on Jan. 5, 2002.

(36) See note 35.

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Sources and Literature

Sources

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- Email correspondence with Mr. Peter Sinclair, the son of Michael Siegel.
- Minutes of a conversation with Mr. Uri Siegel, a second cousin of Michael Siegel.
- Munich City Archives, holding "Inhabitants' Registration Office": registry card of the Siegel family and ID-card of Michael Siegel.
- Munich City Archives, holding "Chronik" no. 468 / I a: The 1933 Yearbook for the State Capital of Munich.
- Travelling exhibit *Anwalt ohne Recht*, presented Oct. 4 to Nov. 2, 2001 at Munich's Palace of Justice.

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