

The Stars Kept Shining: The Wartime Diary of Esther Mathilda Sørensen

Larisa S. C. Neilson

A Senior Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for graduation
in the Honors Program
Liberty University
Spring 2021

Acceptance of Senior Honors Thesis

This Senior Honors Thesis is accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation from the Honors Program of Liberty University.

Benjamin T. Esswein, Ph.D.
Thesis Chair

David L. Snead, Ph.D.
Committee Member

James H. Nutter, D.A.
Honors Director

Date

Abstract

In fulfillment of the Liberty University Honors Department Thesis requirement, the following is a creative thesis in the form of an historical fiction novella diary, written in the first person. The story follows the life of Esther, a young Danish woman, as she navigates what it means to be a Jew in World War II era Europe. Though the characters are fictional, the story presents possible real-life experiences for a person living during this time.

The style of this novella is popular among middle and high school teachers and can be an important teaching tool as it is an engaging way for students to learn about a period in history. The diary form lends a real-life and personal feel which is relatable to children of similar ages.

The experience of Jews in Denmark during the Holocaust is unlike any other of the European countries. Denmark had a very small Jewish community, approximately 8,000 at the start of the war, and roughly 99% of them survived. While the majority of European Jews perished during the years of 1939-1945, the gravity of the situation in Denmark is remarkable. Even though Denmark is considered to have collaborated with the Nazi regime, they resisted in many ways, not least in her work in saving almost her entire Jewish population.

Contents

Introduction	5
Part 1–Invasion	6
Part 2–Occupation and Growing Resistance	15
Part 3–Persecution	24
Fragments of Theresienstadt Diary	29
Epilogue	31
Historical Notes	33
Appendix	48
Endnotes	49
Bibliography	53

The Stars Kept Shining: The Wartime Diary of Esther Mathilda Sørensen

Introduction

The following diary is a creative work which aims to give the reader a glimpse into the life of a Jewish, Danish teenager living in Denmark during the German occupation of World War II. It is presented as if it were a series of collected entries that have been edited and are ready for publication. Though the events and circumstances within the diary of Esther Sørensen are historically plausible, the Esther and her diary are fictional. She is a composite character, created by the author, inspired by multiple diaries from Jews during the Holocaust. I would like to give specific reference to Knud Pedersen, Gonda Redlich, Petr Ginz, Helga Weiss, and Johna Christensen whose diaries and stories formed the basis for this diary. Also, indirect inspiration came from Anne Frank's diary and her desire to never be forgotten, as well as the Dear America Series published by Scholastic, which gave me the idea to portray the history of the Danish people through the eyes of Esther Sørensen.

The diary begins just before the German invasion in April of 1940. Esther is an orphan living with her grandmother in Copenhagen, Denmark. The diary covers the occupation, the war, and the subsequent deportation/rescue of the Danish Jews through the eyes of a normal Danish teenager living her daily life. While Esther's story will unfold as she is inspired to relate events, memories, and people that come across her mind as she writes in her diary, some background information will help the reader understand her context. Esther is a Jewish girl. This means that she will reference religious observances as they may come up, such as the Shabbot dinner she mentions on page 10. More information about referenced Jewish customs can be found in the Historical Notes section.

A list of common Danish, German, and Hebrew words used in the diary is found in the Appendix.

Part 1–Invasion

Tirsdag, March 26, 1940

Mormor gave me this journal today (even though my birthday is not for another two weeks) because she wants me to be able to write about all that is happening in Denmark. She knows writing is my one true passion as I am always writing little stories and poems to read to her. Anyway, I expect I will have a lot to write now since the Germans are moving in close to Norway and Denmark. Planes and ships have been seen and heard for many days now.¹ I wonder if they will invade us...if they do what will it be like? Ever since we heard of the German invasion of Poland last September, I have had a nagging thought in the back of my mind that I keep pushing away. Now that they are getting closer it is hard to push out: the Germans will come to Denmark and life will never be the same.

Mandag, April 1, 1940

Today is *aprilsnar* so I played a trick on *Mormor*! She came to my room to wake me up, as is her custom, and found that I had several red dots on my face. She was immediately thrown in a tizzy and decided that I should not attend school. I tried my best not to giggle before she left the room to bring hot breakfast to me so I should not have to leave bed. When she came back and checked my forehead for fever, some of the rouge spots smeared and she began to smile. Realizing the joke, she laughed and then I laughed and then we could not stop laughing. As I was already late for school, she said I could wait until after lunch, which is fast approaching. I told Agathe about it at school. Since Agathe is my best friend and we have known each other since we were babies- she confided in me that she did not play any tricks yet and wishes she had as

kindhearted a grandmother as I have. She thinks *Mormor* is the best one there is. *Mormor* is my favorite person in the world! She is the best at everything. She is the best cook, the best seamstress, the best gardener- I agree with Agathe, the best *Mormor*!

Fredag, April 5, 1940

Dear journal, I realized I have not introduced you to myself yet. I was born Esther Mathilde Sørensen on 9 April 1923, in Odense, Denmark, which is exciting because it is also where Hans Christian Anderson was born. My parents were Peder and Annegrete Sørensen. My father was a pianist, and my mother was a singer. They were both quite well known, and I have been told how people came from all over to hear them perform. Tragically, they both died in a car accident when I was only two years old. Ever since, I have lived here in Copenhagen with *Mormor*. My *Bedstefar* died the year I was born so we were both alone in the world except for each other. I have no real memories of any of my other family. Only fabricated ones I have created from stories *Mormor* has told me and from the belongings she has kept for when I grow up. It has never occurred to me that my life is a sad one... I do not feel sad. I have *Mormor* and I have Agathe and my friends at school and my beloved Denmark. But now, I may even lose that.... But, I do not like to think on sad thoughts! It puts me in a mixed-up, disagreeable mood.

Tirsdag April 9, 1940

It's happened! The Germans are here! Everything happened so quickly we are all stunned. This morning I was groggily getting ready for school when the house started to shake. I looked out my window and noticed it was snowing! Or at least, I thought it was and thought how strange the flakes seemed. But it was not snow at all. Dark airplanes were flying overhead and thousands of flyers were fluttering through the air with big black letters at the top: **OPROP!**² The Germans cannot even spell correctly! The flyer was a pamphlet explaining that the Germans

had invaded Denmark and were now occupying us, and we were to be a “protectorate” of Germany. I do not really understand what that means, but I cannot imagine that I want or need to be protected by the Germans.

Selfishly, I am also rather annoyed that the Germans chose my birthday to invade. It rather put a damper on the whole thing. Still, *Mormor* made me an apple pudding, which is my favorite, and a couple friends from school gave me cards and little gifts they had made. It was nice of them to remember. Agathe came over and we had a good time but, mostly we were all just shocked by today’s events.

Onsdag, April 10, 1940

There was much excited chatter at school today and the invasion was all we talked about. It seems that King Christian X and the prime minister agreed to let Germany occupy Denmark!

There was an official announcement on the radio:

The government has acted in the honest conviction that in so doing we have saved the country from an even worse fate. It will be our continued endeavor to protect our country and its people from the disasters of war, and we shall rely in the people’s cooperation.³

I am rather upset about the whole thing. Why didn’t we fight? I know there are people who sympathize with the Nazi regime, but have they really gained that much power over us? My Denmark is such a beautiful, wonderful, magical place. We do not fight and quarrel with each other. We have a peaceful king! Not a little man who yells all the time and uses soldiers to muck everything up. How long will this last?

Lørdag, April 13, 1940

As it is *Lørdag*, went to synagogue today. *Mormor* and I are in the habit of attending services in the morning. Nothing was different except that many women were whispering in the balcony afterwards about the Germans. Some voiced concerns about rumors they have heard

about German Nazis mistreating Jews, but *Mormor* hushed them all and told them all *at hælde vand ud af ørern* and that put an end to it.

The rest of *Lørdag* is usually pretty quiet for me, but Agathe sometimes comes over and we go for a nice walk. Spring is my favorite time of year for these walks because there are flowers everywhere and the bright colors make me happy.

Fredag, April 19, 1940

There has been so much activity and it is so confusing right now, but I will try to put it down into words. Bjorn and I talked about how the Norwegians are fighting back and yet we did nothing.⁴ He explained to me that our military was too small to put up a fight.⁵ Apparently Denmark never built up much military force after our defeat in the Schleswig War against Prussia in 1864. We really believed that the Germans would honor a nonaggression pact we signed last Fall (I am not entirely sure what all that means...) and we reduced our military.⁶ Bjorn knows so much about these things. I could listen to him talk for hours...Bjorn! I have not written about him in the journal yet. He is my dream, my prince charming, my *ene ægte kærlighed!* Of course, he does not know this. We have been friends for as long as I can remember, and it was one year ago (when we were fifteen) that I realized I loved him. Just out of the blue one day it came to me. I vowed to myself that I would only ever love him and one day he would know it. It is a little secret I keep to myself, but I believe that he may love me too. He just might not know it yet.

The Americans really have the dreamiest songs about love, and I imagine myself all the time looking like Deanna Durbin or Rita Hayworth.⁷ Sadly, I am not so pretty, and my hair is straighter than a stick, which makes me incurably childish looking. Not at all like an almost seventeen-year-old woman...I think perhaps I dream too much. I mean, our country is crawling

with Germans, the whole world seems to be falling apart. I want to do something to help, to make everything go back to the way it was before Hitler and Nazis. But what can I do? I am still trying to figure out who I am ...I am still wanting to have fun. The summer holidays are not far away, and I am afraid all of my plans will be ruined.

Fredag, June 8, 1940

It has been a tragically long time since I have written. It seems that, even during a German occupation, children must still go to school and prepare for exams... I absolutely loathe biology and mathematics. I do not really understand why I should have to know all about microscopic organisms or how to figure out complex abstract problems when I will become an author and an artist.

Godhed! It has been two months! To be honest, not much has changed here since the invasion. In fact, in some ways we are getting used to the German soldiers all around. Many people are not happy with their presence. Sometimes it bothers me when a young soldier smiles at me in a store, but it also makes me wonder if they are so evil. Most of them are not much older than me and Agathe. She finds them quite good looking and is not afraid to tell me so. But she also says that if they try so much as a wink, she'll send them straight back to where they came from. Agathe is the sort of girl that is as funny and witty as she is pretty. Bjorn tells me we must not be friendly to them. They are enemies, invaders. Bjorn wants to become a professor of Danish history. He knows all about the early history of Denmark. About the Vikings, about how we have had conflict with the Germans, who keep trying to invade us, for centuries.

Today our history lesson (I joke with him because when he starts talking, he often makes me feel like I am back in my history teacher's, Professor Nielsen, classroom) went like this:

Bjorn: Did you know that the Danish king, Canute the Great, grandson of Harald I, conquered England and extended his rule over Denmark, England, Norway, *and* Sweden around AD 985-1014)??

Me: (feigning mock surprise) No! However, did he manage to do that??

Bjorn: Very funny. It doesn't matter anyway I suppose as he was unable to make a lasting empire...but it is still neat that we Danes have been around for so many centuries.⁸

He knows I like to tease, and he is a good sport. Danish, Viking history is not my expertise, but I do like to listen to him. He gets so passionate about what he believes in. He told me he has something really neat to show me but that it is a secret, and I must swear not to tell anyone. Not even Agathe, which will be difficult as we tell each other everything. I hope he shows me soon! *Mormor* is calling me. It is time for Shabbat dinner and today we are eating with Agathe's family.

Mandag, June 11, 1940

Today, I have been bursting to write down this secret: Bjorn has joined the Resistance! He showed me a pamphlet he and some classmates made on the day the German's invaded. They have created ten commandments of Danish resistance. They are as follows:

1. You must not go to work in Germany or Norway.
2. You must work badly for the Germans.
3. You must work slowly for the Germans.
4. You must spoil their production machines and tools.
5. You must spoil whatever helps the Germans.
6. You must delay all German transports.
7. You must boycott all German and Italian films and papers.

8. You must not buy or trade with the Nazis.
9. You must treat all traitors as they deserve to be treated.
10. You must defend every person persecuted by the Germans.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR DENMARK'S FREEDOM!⁹

This is all very exciting, but also very scary! I mean, we're still just kids. How can we resist the Pact of Steel? The Italians and Germans have made such a huge force and they are gaining so much control of Europe. I know better than to tell Bjorn what to do, but I will be praying the Shabbat Psalm for him that the Almighty will shelter him and keep him from all harm.¹⁰

Onsdag, June 20, 1940

I wrote a poem today in school. I am ready for the summer holiday to begin next week and was distracted by the smudges in my workbook as I wrote my exercises. It goes like this:

My pencil is my downfall
For in each written phrase
In which I leave a piece of me
Will one day leave the page.

For graphite fades and smudges
It cannot withstand time
And every page I write on
Will lose its little rhyme.

My left hand smears each word
And makes a sooty mess
But I cannot write in inkpen
Which causes my distress!

So every hope I have
Of living on this way
Is ruined by my pencil,

And that's the price I pay.

I thought the poem was rather amusing until I realized I write in my journal with a pencil, and it made me sad to think that it will fade as time goes on. I do hope to "live on" through my writing. Perhaps I should write in ink... or maybe one day I will type it all up and make a memoir of my life. I can see it now, best-selling novel *My Golden Youth- The life of Esther Sørensen*. I say this jokingly, but it would be quite glamorous to be a published author.

Onsdag, September 4, 1940

Dear Journal, can you forgive my absence? To be honest, I have been busy and surprisingly fulfilled! I look back on my dramatic writings bemoaning the ruination of my childhood and summer break, and I must update you and say that life is quite normal. I suppose we are "occupied" now, but it really has not changed much. Summer holidays came and sadly they have gone. But they brought some welcome changes to the life of yours truly.

The highlights of this summer are as follows: As always, I traveled with Agathe and her family to Fredensborg. It is a long trip, but well worth it. We love the little summer cottage near Lake Esrum! We swam and spent hours sunbathing. There was, of course, also Fredensborg Palace, which is beautiful! I have made a new summer dress, which I think is quite chic (my word of the summer).

p.s. I think it is funny that the last time I wrote was also on *Onsdag*.

Torsdag, September 20, 1940

School is in session and I am once again occupied by papers and homework and events. I have decided I will not apologize any longer for long absences in my writing for two reasons: first, it makes me feel bad and sometimes makes me think of writing in here as a chore instead of

as my special place to release the thoughts that build up in my mind. Second, I write funny anecdotes and stories and poems and musing in lots of other places and therefore cannot be redundant and waste paper here on thoughts I have already released.

Onsdag, October 2, 1940

Today marked the beginning of Rosh Hashanah. The New Year! (at least for Jews). I love this holiday because I do not have to go to school and, my favorite part, we eat apples dipped in honey.¹¹ I am very grateful that we have apples and honey! The war will never seem so bad if we still have all my favorite things to eat! I helped *Mormor* with the *challah* bread, and I must report that my efforts show little improvement since last year. I am afraid I will never make a husband very happy with my cooking skills. I almost forgot to make a resolution! But as I am thinking of it now, I will resolve to get higher marks in the subjects I detest.

Onsdag, October 30, 1940

I am already failing in my resolution. I am staring at my report card and I have hardly improved at all in mathematics. I just cannot seem to apply myself to things that I have no interest in. *Mormor* tells me this a bad quality and that I must try harder. She says “*Elskede*, there will be many things you do not like in this world, but God did not make you to give up when things are not to your liking. He made all things to display His glory and you must learn to see things as God sees them.” I would like to see things as God sees them, but I cannot seem to convince myself that mathematics displays any glory. Agathe seems to glory in the glory that is hidden from me. Her marks have always been high in arithmetic and I do believe she actually enjoys it! I wish her knowledge would rub off. I will try not to give up, but frankly, I do not expect my resolve to last long!

Torsdag, November 14, 1940

The first flurries of snow fell today. I love the beginnings of the seasons. It is like a peek into what is to come, and the first days and weeks seem to throw the world into an excited frenzy. I like to watch as animals start to make their preparations and even plants know to change. The turning of the seasons fills me with a sense of belonging to the earth. I like to close my eyes and absorb all of the sounds around me. It makes me feel a part of something much larger. There are moments when my being here seems only for the purpose of watching the rest of creation around me, to show me that everything knows its place and its purpose too.

Mandag, November 25, 1940

A curious thing happened today. Agathe, Agathe's boyfriend, Peder, Bjorn, and I went to a play in the Glass Hall Theater at Tivoli Gardens today. We have been planning this for some weeks now and we had a splendid time. There was a moment when I happened to look over my shoulder and found that Bjorn was staring right at me with an expression on his face I had never seen before. He seemed to be immediately embarrassed and lowered his eyes. This made me smile as I have never seen him flustered or anything other than confident and breezy. He bought me peanuts for the show during the intermission and told me that I looked pretty today. I must say there is a flutter in my heart still. He thought I looked pretty. I do believe he must be in love!

Part 2—Occupation and Growing Resistance**I. 1941****Onsdag, January 1, 1941**

Happy New Year! I had such fun last night! The New Year's Eve party hosted by Peder's parents is all Agathe and I had been looking forward to for weeks! There was wonderful food and games, and all of our friends were there. Of course, there were some interesting reflections

this year as it is our first year of occupation. There were many wishes for the new year that we might again become free, but there were also toasts of thankfulness that our lives have been able to carry on. The highlight of the evening was jumping into the new year!¹² As the new year approached, we all stood on chairs and as their big clock struck 12, we all jumped off shouting: *Hav et godt nytår!* It is bad luck not to jump into the new year, and we need all the luck we can get!

Lørdag January 18, 1941

Bjorn has been learning disturbing news through his connections with the Resistance. He does not wish to frighten me, but I ask him to let me know. Part of me is curious and part of me is terrified to know. He says that Jews are being put into ghettos and labor camps in Poland.¹³ They do not have enough food and the living conditions are terrible. Many are dying! I do not understand...

I am so glad nothing like that is happening in Denmark!

Mandag, February 3, 1941

I am learning new German words without even realizing it. In fact, I have begun to keep a little notebook in my pocket so that when I hear a new word or phrase, I can write it down and add it to my collection. I have so far, *Bitte*, *Entschuldigung*, and *Das Hundewetter*. Some of the soldiers are really quite friendly and I cannot help but talk with them while waiting in line at the grocers. I know Bjorn would not approve, but perhaps he just lumps all Germans together as Nazis. I am starting to think this is not the case.

Søndag, February 16, 1941

It is very, very cold today! Overall, though, I think that this winter has not been as harsh as last year.¹⁴ I like the snow well enough, but I will be happy when Spring comes around once

again. Hopefully soon! As it is Sunday, I do not have school and I stayed inside all day with *Mormor*. I snuggled up with my Hans Christian Anderson collection of fairy tales. I have had this book since I was a child, but I never grow tired of reading his fascinating stories. Especially on a cold, snowy day like today! There is nothing quite like a warm fire and a good book!

Lørdag, March 1, 1941

Today was a quiet Shabbat. The services went long today so we were at the synagogue for almost three hours! I do not mind as much as I used to, but it is still difficult for me to keep concentration the entire time. I have been thinking of Spring and all the exciting things coming up. I think I will ask Agathe if she would like to make new dresses for the Spring dance!

Mondag, March 10, 1941

Agathe is indeed interested in the prospect of making new dresses. We have determined we will spend our Sunday afternoons working on our creations. I believe I will make mine in a soft lilac color I saw at the market. Agathe is planning on bright pink with light blue chiffon flowers around the shoulders.

Torsdag, April 11, 1941

Today was a wonderful day! First of all, my birthday was two days ago. It was a lovely day. I had a wonderful time with my friends at school, and *Mormor* gave me a beautiful necklace. It is a silver Star of David with a small diamond in the center, on a string of red and white glass beads. The red and white represent the colors of our nation's flag. She said that when I wear it, I should remember that I am Jewish and Danish. It has been a year now since the Germans invaded and I think sometimes she is nervous that there will be trouble. I do not think there will be any. Nothing has been different so far. She worries too much!

Anyway, tonight! The spring dance for the *gymnasium* was a dream.¹⁵ Agathe and I finished our dresses on time and we are quite pleased! There were so many fresh flowers, and the dancing was such fun! They band played new American music and of course, our favorite Danish songs. The best part of all was when Bjorn walked me home. We were both in high spirits, retelling our favorite parts of the night and laughing. When we neared my house, he got serious and nervous. He said that he had a really nice time this evening and hoped that I did too. I said that of course, I did. He shuffled his feet and little and then said, “Esther, you are really special. I can talk to you about anything, and you are fun to be around. I know we have been friends since forever, but I want you to know that I think of you as more than a friend. I think of you a lot actually... anyway, I have been wanting to do this for a long time”– with that he bent down and kissed me right on the lips! I was so shocked I think I just stood there looking at him while he said goodnight and started down the sidewalk. He looked back over his shoulder and grinned. I smiled and waved, then practically floated into the house. It was a dream. I will never wash my lips again!

Tirsdag May 6, 1941

Being in love is quite nice. I think Spring is the absolute most wonderful time to be in love. Bjorn has started a habit of brining me fresh flowers every *Tirsdag*. He says it is something he wants to do forever. Forever... I think it is nice that he thinks of me and him forever. Agathe is rather jealous, because even though she very much likes Peder, he is not half so romantic as Bjorn.

Onsdag, May 14, 1941

We are finally in the last weeks of school until the summer holiday! I think this will be a wonderful summer. Bjorn has been talking about the development of the war, but it seems so far

away. We have the food we have always had, we have full shops, summer holidays, and life is just going on. Sure, we have German soldiers about, and we have to ship supplies to Germany, but we still have enough. I am eternally grateful to live in Denmark!

Fredag, May 16, 1941

Shabbat dinner at Agathe's tonight. I listened intently this evening as I watched Mrs. Pressmann light the candles and recited the blessing: *Barukh atah Adonai, Elohaynu, melkh ha-olam...* I felt like such a small piece of this big world.¹⁶ God is so big that he created all things and has been there since before the world began, and yet He is there to listen to our prayers and to bless our Shabbat. I am glad I am a part of this world. I am glad that I have my friends and family. And I am glad I have Shabbat!

Onsdag, June 25, 1941

Hitler's forces have invaded Russia. I thought that they had some agreement. I am beginning to notice a theme that Adolf Hitler does not keep his word when it comes to invasions! Bjorn told me that this campaign promises to be the largest in military history!¹⁷ He said that already millions of people have died. I cannot imagine millions of dead people... War is so tragic.

Mandag, July 7, 1941

I heard a group of little kids singing a rather amusing song today. It went like this:

*First we rake Goebbels, by one of his legs,
Next we take Göring and beat him with a stone,
Then we'll hang Hitler from the noose,
Right next to Herr von Ribbontrop,
The big Nazi swine, the Big Nazi swine.¹⁸*

It is all absurd. I told it to Bjorn and he laughed, but I wonder if it isn't sad that children are singing such things? I wonder if they really understand what it means. I do not like the Nazis

anymore than anyone else, but are we even better if we think we should treat them in such a way?

Fredag, September 5, 1941

Another summer has come and gone. It is strange. I feel as if I am holding my breath in a way. Nothing has changed very much. Of course, there are occasional activities by the Resistance which garner attention. And occasionally there are violent disputes between Danish Nazis and other Danes.¹⁹ And yet, I feel as if life is not quite right. Not quite the way it was before the war. I hope that it ends soon. I am tired of this feeling and the weight of life being stilled. I want to be rid of the nagging fear that things could always get worse.

Søndag, September 21, 1941

Today is the beginning of Rosh Hashanah. I cannot think of anything to be my resolution. My marks in school have really improved and my will to apply myself has become stronger. Perhaps this year I can resolve to be a better person. I will try not to think about myself so often and I will try to keep my heads out of the clouds and be of more help to people.

Torsdag, November 27, 1941

Bjorn found out some very comforting information which he passed along to me and Agathe today. He said that the Foreign Minister, Eric Scavenius, has said that there is “no Jewish question in Denmark” and that as long as the government has anything to say about it the Jews in Denmark will have no grounds for fear.²⁰ There have been some terrible rumors about the treatment of Jews in many other countries. There has been terrible talk of mass killings and things I do not even want to write down! I do not want to believe these rumors. I hate what the Nazis are doing. I am so grateful that I am safe here. Even though German soldiers are on our doorsteps, at least it is peaceful and we are free. I cannot imagine living anywhere but Denmark.

II. 1942**Torsdag, February 12, 1942**

I saw King Christian today riding in town!²¹ It really swells my heart with pride to see our King out among the people. He seems so reachable and concerned about his people. I do not think we have much to fear while he is on the throne and can advocate for us Danes.

Mandag, February 16, 1942

Several girls at school have started to see German soldiers. Part of me is angry when I see them walking down the street arm in arm or picnicking in the park.²² But another part of me sees why they do it. Some of them have been here for almost two years now, and most of them are our age anyway. There is a sort of dashing look about them in their crisp, grey uniforms. I never bring this up with Bjorn (it infuriates him), but sometimes Agathe and I will talk about it. Of course, the girls at school brag about how they have caught the eye of so-and-so soldier and how he buys her pretty gifts and promises grand adventures to Germany when the war is done.

Søndag, May 3, 1942

Last night, a group of boys in Aalborg blew up a German freight car on a train filled with airplane wings and paper plans!²³ I pray that they have not been caught. Bjorn knows some of the boys involved and said that this is a major blow to the Germans. He was so excited today and said that he cannot wait to do something as big as this. It is so dangerous!

Onsdag, July 7, 1942

Bjorn told me that he and his friends are almost ready to print their first underground newspaper *Studenternes Efterretningstjenste*.²⁴ His work is so exciting! I fear for him, but I am also so proud that he is standing with loyal Danes for our country. I do little bits here and there. Of course, I do not watch German films or listen to German music anymore. I listen to the British radio sometimes with Bjorn and I am going to help with printing.

Mandag, July 12, 1942

The first paper is fresh off the press! I am very proud of us. We hope that one day we will get out paper all over Denmark!²⁵ I am not authorized to know where the information comes from (for safety), but I am glad that I got to help in some way. It is nice to feel a part of something so important!

Mandag, August 23, 1942

My very last year of school began today. In my mind, I still feel like a schoolgirl. But time is moving on even I do not want to follow. *Mormor* remarked that I am a grown woman, looking more and more like my mother every day. I like the thought of looking like my mother. But I want to hold on to my childhood, for just a little longer. More and more lately, I have found myself looking at pictures of my parents, and me when I was a baby. I want to freeze time and live in this moment where everything is safe and lovely and comfortable. I feel like my life fits, as a worn pair of shoes, and I do not want a new pair. Sure, the next thing might be nice and might fix some problems, but just like new shoes, the next step is unfamiliar and stiff. If I could suspend the world and stop it from spinning I would!

Fredag, September 11, 1942

Rosh Hashanah began today! Bjorn and I discussed resolutions, now that we are seeing each other we try to take more of an interest in each other's customs, and I have decided to make mine a very serious one. I am resolved to join the Resistance. I am determined to help in any way I can to subvert the Nazis. Bjorn has trusted me for a longtime now with information on what he and countless others are doing and I have kept their secrets, but I can no longer sit by and watch him risk his life for the Denmark we both love. I can no longer sit by and act as an ignorant child while the world is threatening to crumble around me. I am resolved to make a difference this year.

III. 1943

Søndag, January 3, 1943

The old has passed away and a new year has come again. I have let months of my life slip by, but as the new year begins so will I start anew in my efforts to write. We are now in our third year of occupation. It seems unreal that so much time could have passed. I wonder what this one will bring. Surely the end of the war must come soon. Though we have not faced many terrible things, there are so many people around the world that have.

I will finish school this term. I would love to go to college. I want to be a real writer and travel to get inspiration for my riveting tales. I also see a life with Bjorn. We talk often about life after the war and what we want. Right now he is just so busy with Resistance work and I have school, of course.

Onsdag, March 10, 1943

The Resistance is staging bigger and bigger sabotage. I am nervous to write as often as I used to. I do not wish to write something down that could get me into trouble should things get worse here.

Mandag, April 12, 1943

Bjorn told me today that some of the boys who have been in Nyborg prison for sabotage were released. I am glad for them and their families.²⁶ But it is so scary that kids near our own age have gone through something so terrible just for standing up for Denmark. I pray that Bjorn does not get in any serious trouble. I admire him and everyone who takes part in the Resistance. But I am afraid... I try not to be, and I will endeavor to do all that I can for the cause.

Lordag, August 28, 1943

Bjorn told me that the Germans have demanded the government impose the death penalty for those caught in sabotage. The government refused. Of course they would! Could you imagine allowing our own soldiers to kill Danes! I cannot imagine that this defiance will not be met with some consequence. I think the Germans are getting uneasy with the larger Resistance activity. They should be. Loyal Danes will not stop until Denmark is free!

Sondag, August 29, 1943

The bombing at the German barracks was successful, however, the Germans have declared a state of emergency!²⁷ Now the Danish government no longer has any power. King Christian has been placed under house arrest and several prominent Danes have been taken hostage! We heard the announcement on the radio today. The announcer said that everyone who cooperates will be protected, but anyone who hurts those collaborating will be violating new laws.²⁸ The news will also be censored now by German authorities. The punishment for anyone caught in an act of sabotage or possessing a weapon will be immediate death! I fear for Bjorn! And all of us in the Resistance...

Part 3–Persecution

Tirsdag, September 14, 1943

The synagogue was broken into last night by Nazis dressed like civilians! That is not the worst part. All the records were stolen from the records office. Those lists contain the information for every Jew living in Copenhagen who attends synagogue and contributes their tithe.²⁹ This means addresses, names, everything! If the Nazis want information on all the Jews this can only mean one thing: they mean to round us up as they have done all over Europe! I was working at the newspaper when I heard about it and ran straight home. My mind was racing with thoughts that had no answers and ends. My head swirled until I was dizzy with nightmares that I have pushed from my mind for so long. The streets went by in a blur as I tried to find my way back home. With every step I felt like I was unattached from my body. When I retched on the sidewalk, I was brought back to reality. The thoughts that are running through my head are making me sick. I have heard the rumors. I know what the Germans are doing. *Mormor* would not live through a camp. These thoughts are too much to bear. God do not let this happen to us.

Torsdag, September 16, 1943

There seems to be an influx of Germans soldiers. When I was walking from the market, I noticed a parade of soldiers. German tanks were rolling down the street and there have been more planes overhead.³⁰ This is making all of us nervous. Especially after what happened in the synagogue I am beginning to worry if something might happen to us Jews. I had convinced myself that we were safe and were going to make it to the end of the war, but the months keep going by and the Germans are still here, and the war is still raging. I pray that God will end this. I pray for our safety. I pray that we can last and not be sent away.

Mondag, September 20, 1943

Nothing has changed yet. The strange activities of last week seem to have been forgotten and life is as it has been. Perhaps I overreacted. Of course, I have always had an overactive imagination and I was silly to let it run wild. We have been safe for three years. Why change now when the war is finally changing for the better? I hate this feeling of awareness. I had never felt the distinction of being Jewish any more than I thought of Bjorn or Agathe as being a Christian or a Jew before the Germans. We are all Danish and we have our beliefs. Why should it matter so much? Why should the Germans care if I have brown hair instead of yellow, or that I light a menorah instead of a Christmas tree? In Denmark it is our little differences that make us individual pieces of the whole Danish people. We love our differences and I truly believe that we are better united for it! Why can't life be as it was? I will not despair! I will not let my imagination run wild. I will be strong, and I will have faith that God will deliver us.

Onsdag, September 29, 1943

Disturbing news! When we arrived at the synagogue today, Rabbi Melchoir addressed the congregation with these words:

“There will be no service this morning, instead, I have very important news to tell you. Last night I received word that...the Germans plan to raid Jewish homes...to arrest all the Danish Jews for shipment to concentration camps...The situation is very serious. We must take action immediately. You must leave the synagogue now and contact all relatives, friends, and neighbors you know are Jewish and tell them what I have told you... You must also speak to all your Christian friends and tell them to warn the Jews. You must do this immediately, within the next few minutes, so that two or three hours from now everyone will know what

is happening. By nightfall tonight we must all be in hiding.”³¹

I spent the afternoon and evening warning as many Jews as I could find.

Mormor cannot travel or hide somewhere! She has been suffering from a cold and I fear it will get worse. She thinks I should leave and hide with my friends. I cannot leave her. She is all the family I have in the world and I will not leave her alone. I do not know what will happen... God help us! I have constantly been praying the *Hashkivenu*.³²

Torsdag, September 30, 1943

I feel as if I am living in a dream. The streets are quieter, and many Jews have gone into hiding. Most of us did not even get to say goodbye. Bjorn came today to tell me what was happening and to urge me to leave. The Resistance has been working urgently to get the Jews out of the cities and then out of Denmark. So many Jewish families have already been smuggled across the Kettegat to Sweden. All types of fishing vessels are being used for transport. Some are charging a fee and some are not, but many, many Jewish families are being saved. Of course, there are many still waiting and hiding with families in the city and on nearby farms. He knows I cannot leave *Mormor*, and she is stubborn. She is afraid to die while traveling and would rather it be in her own home. It's as if she had already given up! He is trying to find a way to get us both, but time is running out. I am afraid. I have heard of what it means for a Jew to be on a “transport”. I know that they do not come back. I have learned about the Nazi camps and death machine. I am afraid for my world to end. I am afraid of what I might have to face.

Fredag, October 1, 1943

It is Rosh Hashana. The Nazis are pure evil. There is no coincidence that they choose today to be the day they try to capture all of us Jews. They knew we would be home celebrating

this beloved holiday. They thought it would be an easy catch. They do not understand us Danes at all! If they ever thought we were of the same stock, they are mistaken. We Danes know what it is to be a community and to care for one another. I never felt *Jewish* until the Nazis came. And even though they are trying to kill us they will never be able to kill the spirit of loyal Danes! I feel trapped. I know I am just sitting here waiting for something terrible to happen. But perhaps we will be ok. After all, what harm can one old woman and her granddaughter do to the Reich? I wish Bjorn were here... I pray he makes it back safely from his escort tonight and that I can see him one last time if anything happens...

Later this night

The telephone lines have been cut!³³ Now we are truly on our own. I don't know what will happen to us now. I have no idea what is coming next. For the first time in my life, I am seeing *Mormor* as the old woman I guess she is. I no longer see that immeasurable strength I always saw. She looks frail and frightened, and I wish Bjorn were here to rescue me. To tell me what to do. To make this terrible nightmare end. I will make a resolution tonight in honor of the New Year. I will resolve to not give up, to not give in to fear, and to survive whatever may come. I am resolved to shine as star worthy of Denmark and my name.

Fragments of a Diary Esther kept in Theresienstadt**[Fragment 1]**

I am lost...I do not know this world I am living in. I was unable to write until now, but because I remember all that I have seen and experienced, I did not need to. I doubt I will ever forget. Today, however, one of the women in the camp here was kind enough to give me some scraps of a notebook and I still have some pencils hidden away that were not taken. Now I long to write. *Mormor* has changed. It is as if her spirit broke when we were transported from Denmark...she seems lost too. All these years she was so strong and trying to protect me from what was happening outside ... I was protecting her from my involvement in the resistance and she was shielding me from all the horrors of this war, and all the time we never knew that we understood more than we let on. It all seemed like a game back then. A dangerous game, but removed from reality somehow ... I could still pretend that life was normal even with all the secrets I had to keep. But now, nothing is normal about this life.

[Fragment 2]

This camp seems unreal. Everywhere around me I see the false realities of my situation and I do not know what to believe anymore. It is unsettling...my mind is raw. My heart is numb. I do not know what to fear and who to trust. Is it safe here? Or is it all a pretense? I do not know what to think anymore ... I think that is part of the point: they do not want us to think. ...[We] attended a lecture today. I could not live without the others here who know so much of the beauty and truth of the world outside the camp and outside of war. I long to be free to learn about the poetry and art and literature that so many of these educated people cling to and pull on as a stream of life transcending our reality and bringing them into a world beyond.

[Fragment 3]

I am Esther Mathilde Sørensen. I am the daughter of two people who loved each other very much and who loved me. I am named for the great queen of the Persians who stood up for her people and was a shining star fearlessly illuminating the darkness around her. I will not be trampled in this place. I will not be shamed and discarded by the Germans. I will fight and I will live. I will not let them win by killing me and destroying my soul. I will live for all the people who are deported each day and who will never return... I cannot die here... this cannot be all that my life is.

[Fragment 4]

More and more Jews are being transported. My heart breaks as I see familiar faces one day and they are gone the next. The horrors they must be facing even as I write these words. There is often talk of what is found at the end of the train tracks...most of us believe it is death. Many say that they are gassing Jews in the camps and burning their bodies, but others refuse to believe this is true. Some think that it is just hard labor and if you keep your head down and follow orders you will make it the end. The Danish Jews feel that our brothers will not abandon us and that we will be preserved until liberation arrives. I pray this is so. Every night I pray that I will live to see my Denmark again. I pray I am spared the agony of the unknown.

Epilogue

Esther and her grandmother were among the approximately 472 Jews deported from Denmark to the model camp, Theresienstadt, within the Reich's interior.³⁴ Though this was a better fate than deportation to one of the infamous death camps, the Danes found themselves in a desperately overcrowded, disease-ridden, famished, and lice-infested situation. The Danish Jews were allowed the privilege to write home and were able to convey the need for food.³⁵ While the Danish government succeeded in providing Red Cross packages to supply their Danish Jews with needed supplies, some 50 Jews died in Theresienstadt. Mathilde Sørensen (*Mormor*) was among them.

Esther was finally alone in this world and her despair is apparent in the fragments of a diary she kept in the camp. She experienced a variety of emotions during this time as she dealt with the grief of her loss as well as the direness of her situation, but also the strong urge to survive and to persevere with the hope of liberation. Esther was able to use her talents as a writer in the camp and took advantage of the opportunities of secret lectures by many famous Jewish scholars and professionals at Theresienstadt.³⁶ Her spirits were lifted when the Danish Red Cross visited the camp on June 23, 1944 and she reunited with her best friend, Agathe. She was unable to express the truth of the camp's condition at this time, but she was filled with a renewed hope seeing her friend and the letter she carried from Bjorn. As the war progressed, many transports began leaving Theresienstadt for extermination in Nazi death camps such as Auschwitz. With the continued protection not afforded to other European Jews, Esther lived to see liberation. After eighteen months in the camp, Esther was on her journey home with the other surviving Danes in a "goodwill" effort on the part of German officials.³⁷ When Soviet troops liberated the camp on

11 May 1945, they found an overcrowded camp rampant with diseased refugees from death marches.³⁸

Esther and the 400+ Danish survivors travelled to Sweden. Esther reconnected with the Resistance and made her way safely to her homeland on May 29, 1945 along with 2,500 Jewish refugees.³⁹ After almost two years, she was home. Bjorn and her other neighbors had maintained her apartments, and like many other Danish Jews, her property was intact and ready for her arrival. Denmark was free at last and they celebrated the return of their Jewish neighbors. While Esther was interned at Theresienstadt, Bjorn had continued work in the Resistance until British troops liberated Copenhagen on May 5, 1945. Esther soon set about trying to live her life once more. She and Bjorn picked up where they left off and they both had many stories to tell.

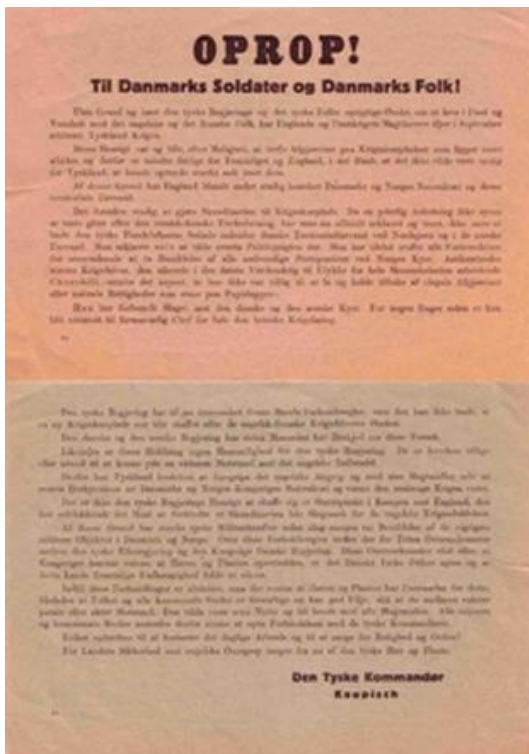
When things settled down, Esther and Bjorn attended college to pursue their dreams. Upon graduation, they married in the Spring of 1948. Esther dedicated her life to writing about individual experiences Jews across Europe faced during the Holocaust as well as uplifting novels and poetry about the resilience of human nature and redemption. Bjorn became a professor of Danish history and taught at the University of Copenhagen for the rest of his life. They navigated raising three children with Esther's Jewish heritage and faith and Bjorn's Christian faith, but they were all Danish, and this was a bond that stood the test of time and strengthened their family as it had strengthened their country in the past.⁴⁰ The star that was Esther Mathilde Sørensen shone brightly through her entire life as she clung to her faith and refused to succumb to the trials of her life.

Historical Notes

Many historians have posited that had it not been for the governments and individuals who collaborated with the Nazis, they never would have succeeded in their goal of exterminating millions of European Jews during the Holocaust. Six million Jews were killed at the hands of the German Nazis and their collaborators, and yet, only a handful of Danish Jews are counted in the death toll.⁴¹ Not only were the Danish Jews saved, but the tiny Baltic country of Denmark led the most well organized and successful resistance operations in all of the occupied countries, earning the official credit of helping to win Europe's freedom.⁴² The answer to this amazing phenomenon can be found in the story of the Dane's refusal to collaborate with the Nazi death machine. The Danish people succeeded in saving the lives of ninety-nine percent of its Jewish population through their efforts during the German occupation, the war, and its aftermath.⁴³

Several factors contributed to the successful preservation of the Jews. On 9 April 1940, the German Wehrmacht invaded Denmark. Violating their nonaggression pact, the German army overpowered the small Danish military forcing a surrender of the government in a matter of hours. Its peninsular configuration allowed for the Germans to invade from the one land entrance bordering Germany and is significantly smaller in land mass. Militarily, Denmark was not prepared to combat the German forces. In fact, beginning in September 1939, just months before to Germany's invasion of Poland, Denmark reduced its armed forces by 50 percent, the only European country to do so during a time of imminent danger.⁴⁴ The Danes were also psychologically unprepared to confront the Germans. In 1939, Denmark signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in hopes that they could remain neutral as they had done in World War I. Their hopes for peace perhaps account for the reduction of their forces and lack of military training, making them an unthreatening yet vulnerable target.

The invasion followed a meticulously laid plan. The Germans sent civilian clad officers into Denmark to spy on the military and border defenses. General Kurt Himer, the chief of staff of the military task force for Denmark, disguised himself to confirm previous reports. After spending a day in the capital city, he informed headquarters that indeed no steps had been taken to reinforce the city’s defenses.⁴⁵ When the Germans invaded on April 9, they met virtually no resistance. Borders were left unguarded and Danish soldiers quickly abandoned posts and surrendered. Less than sixty men were killed or wounded for both sides.⁴⁶



Leaflet dropped over Denmark
 Creative Commons Attribution-Share-Alike License.
 Retrieved from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/OPROP!>

The pamphlets that Esther mentioned on page 5 were propaganda leaflets written in broken Danish which the Germans dropped by plane over several cities in Denmark. The Oprop, or *opraab*, (trans. proclamation), stated that the Germans were coming to protect the Danes against British aggression and that the people should not resist German presence until the they had a chance to speak with the government.⁴⁷

The Danes were given an ultimatum: they could cooperate with

Germany and be left in a semi-autonomous environment to govern themselves, or they could resist, and their major cities would be bombed. Left with no real choice, the Danish government agreed to their terms. They surrendered their military installations to the Germans, broke off all ties with the Allied countries, and allowed German control of the media (press, radio, external

communications). Germany was aware of the valuable agriculture and manufactured goods that Denmark offered, and the needs of their failing economy. So, in an effort to maintain a peaceful relationship which could benefit both parties, it allowed Denmark to retain an active-duty Army and Navy, respected her neutrality, and permitted the Danes to have total control of their internal affairs.

Danish agriculture prospered during the occupation, supplying enough food for the Danish population as well as sending exports above and beyond the required quota into Germany. From October 1942 to October 1943, Denmark provided a 7.5% increase in meat and a 6.5% increase in meat and butter exports respectively.⁴⁸ These Arrangements and those for manufactured goods, like parts for airplanes, diesel engines, and tanks protected Denmark in a way as the Germans avoided enforcing undesirable policies on the Danish people so as to not lose the invaluable resources the Danish cooperatively gave. In return, the Danes were given a degree of freedom to resist the Germans and have their own way.

The Danish cooperation moved Hitler to consider Denmark as “a *Musterprotektorat*, or model protectorate.”⁴⁹ Because the Danes had acted with friendliness and respect towards the Germans, the Germans were considerate of the Danes and thus an anomalous relationship governed the dealings between the two countries which is in part the reason why the Danish Jews were left in peace. Danish King



Portrait of King Christian X of Denmark.
Available to use for research purposes.
Retrieved from
<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1099652>.

Christian retained his monarchical position, and the Parliament was still active. This ruling power kept the Nuremburg Laws out of Denmark and away from the Danish Jews.⁵⁰

Denmark's "light" treatment also resulted from an historic racial background. Hitler deemed the Danish people "pure Nordics" descended from the same stock as the Germans; "blood brothers", according to the philosophy of the National Socialists.⁵¹ This blood kindred relationship stems from the very roots of the Danish and Germanic races reaching back into the Stone Age.⁵² One historian posits that the Nazis sought a strategy of indirect rule for the Danish people because of the Aryan kinship they shared with Germans, and because of the Nazis' "delusional racial anthropology," Danish protests against the poor treatment of the Jews were largely heeded.⁵³

Danish people are referenced in writings as far back as the six century; however, "the name Denmark is first used by Wulfstan, archbishop of York (931-56), and occurs again later in the 10th century, on the two royal stones at Jelling" (large carved runestones found at the town of Jelling, Denmark).⁵⁴ The Danes were seafaring people in the Viking group, originating in the far north of Europe in what comprised Scandinavia: Denmark (Jutland), Norway, and Sweden. Conversion to Christianity appears to have solidified in Denmark in 965 under the leadership of Harald Bluetooth, son of King Gorm, who also claimed to have unified Denmark and Norway.⁵⁵

Germanic tribes may have originated from the area of the Danish peninsula, Sweden, and northern Germany, with references about their established peoples from writings by Julius Caesar as early as the second century B.C. The Germanic peoples were divided among many tribes in many places throughout western Europe including the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Vandals, the Semnones, the Lombards, and the Lugii. Some of the Germanic tribes were within the Roman Empire and some were on the outside. This played an important role in which

German tribes were converted to Christianity, and when. It would appear that the conversion happened over a period of several hundred years depending on the tribe, with the last of the Germanic tribes converting in the later eighth century, those being the Old Saxons.

In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler discussed the degradation of the German race over the centuries. However, he also talks about the “treasure” that the German nation has in its possession of some “unmixed stocks of Nordic-Germanic people”.⁵⁶ He goes on to say that the German Reich has the responsibility of not only preserving the “most valuable stocks of basic racial elements in this people, but...[also] raising them to a dominant position.”⁵⁷

Another notable factor of the Danish experience, was the lack of support the non-Jewish populations showed towards Nazi anti-Jewish policies. As the Germans invaded each country, they took into account observations of how the people reacted to the Jews and to Nazi policy. In most European countries, not only did the Germans encounter little resistance to their persecution, arrests, and deportations of Jews, but they often found support.⁵⁸ This was not the case in Denmark.

At one point in her story, Esther mentions that she did not feel like her Jewish heritage and religion set her apart from the rest of her Danish community. This is an incredible testament to the unity of Danish culture.

The first official laws in Denmark are known as the *Jutland Code*. This code of law was drafted by a royal committee and sanctioned by King Valdemar Victorious around 1240-41. These laws were unlike others in Europe at the time in that they did not provide for serfdom and were not supported by status, or position.⁵⁹ After centuries of wars and power changes, finally a peace settled and for the greater part of the 18th century the Danes experienced a prosperous and

stable environment. Two of the greatest resources in determining what prompted the Danish people to act the way they did towards the Jews under German occupation are the Constitution of



Grundloven-1849-forside.

This work is in the public domain.

Retrieved from

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Denmark.

Denmark written in 1849 (which has changed very little from its original form), and one of Denmark's most prominent figures: Nicolai Frederik Severin (N.F.S.) Grundtvig. A constitutional monarchy was formed on 5 June 1849. The Danish Constitution has a detailed provision for the freedom of religion and the Danes have engrained in their culture strong views of personal rights not dependent or changeable by creed or race. Part VII of the constitution states, on religious freedom that:

67. The citizens shall be entitled to form congregations for the worship of God in a manner consistent with their convictions, provided that nothing at variance with good morals or public order shall be taught or done.

68. No one shall be liable to make personal contributions to any denomination other than the one to which he adheres.

69. No person shall for reasons of his creed or descent be deprived of access to complete enjoyment of his civic and political rights, nor shall he for such reason evade compliance with any common civic duty⁶⁰,

and in Part VIII the inalienable rights of Danish citizens include but are not limited to:

71. i. Personal liberty shall be inviolable. No Danish subject shall in any manner whatever be deprived of his liberty because of his political or religious convictions or because of his descent.

72. The dwelling shall be inviolable. House searching, seizure, and examination of letters and other papers as well as any breach of the secrecy to be observed in postal, telegraph, and telephone matters shall take place only under a judicial order unless particular exception is warranted by Statute.

77. Any person shall be entitled to publish his thoughts in printing, in writing, and in speech, provided that he may be held answerable in a court of justice.⁶¹

The Danes, even in the tumultuous 19th century, had very strong views on the rights of all of citizens and believed that all citizens were equal despite differences in race and creed. These thoughts were further promulgated by the writings of Grundtvig (1783-1872), a bishop, writer, historian, and educator who is credited with revitalizing the Danish Lutheran Church. As an educator, he “stressed the need for the thorough knowledge of the Danish language and of Danish and biblical history...founding residential folk high schools...and inspiring adult education throughout Scandinavia and several other countries.”⁶² These folk schools were created to further develop the true culture of the Danish people and to strengthen the Danish spirit that was being trampled in the 19th century.

When Bismarck invaded Denmark (1864) and swiftly overpowered her military, taking the southern provinces of Holstein and Schleswig, the Danish people witnessed growth in the folk school and exhibited the feelings expressed in the slogan: “What is lost outwardly shall be won inwardly.”⁶³ The Danes understood themselves in this nonaggressive way and defined themselves not by military might and what they could gain outside of themselves, but came to realize who they were and that they had what they needed within their own nation.

Grundtvig believed in a national identity that manifested itself in its own spirit; the spirit of the “folk” or nation must have a living memory and without the memory “man is nothing.”⁶⁴ His view also excluded any thought of antisemitism or racism, a belief not unprecedented for a Dane. Opposition to Antisemitism was a tradition reaching back into the late 17th century. In 1690, a Copenhagen police chief was relieved of his duties for suggesting that a Jewish ghetto be erected in the city. The Danish Parliament condemned the idea with a resolution stating that a ghetto was “an inhuman way of life,” and in 1814 passed a bill “making *all* racial and religious discrimination punishable by law.”⁶⁵

Resistance

Seventeen-year-old Arne Sejr distributed copies of a pamphlet he and some friends had prepared. Paraphrasing the Ten Commandments it contained ten “musts” that the Danish should or should not do to defy the Germans.⁶⁶ Boycotting Italian films was included in the list due to the *Pact of Steel* Germany and Italy signed on 22 May 1939, formalizing the alliance with military provisions.⁶⁷ Though Denmark as a whole capitulated to the German government, resistance found many forms in the lives of individual Danes.

There were many soldiers who felt that they had not fought back enough, and a stigma did arise towards the Danish Navy who gave up before the fight began. But across the nation subversive acts were done by individuals and groups who opposed the Germans, waging their own quiet wars. In the beginning, there were not harsh repercussions for acts of defiance. Many Danes sought to resist the Germans by harmless pranks, embarrassments, and communal gatherings designed to keep alive the traditions and identity of their people.

As the war progressed, however, resistance became more pronounced. After Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, the Germans began to enforce anti-communist measures in Denmark. This violated the constitution’s provisions for freedom of religious and political belief. Many students participated in protests which were violently suppressed.⁶⁸ Underground newspapers and pamphlets, began to appear in the winter of 1940-41. These contained news, uncensored by the Germans and anti-German satirical works. Resistance groups such as the Churchill Club formed. Groups of teenagers committed such acts of resistance and sabotage as stealing weapons, setting fire to railway cars, and sabotaging German engines and fuel tanks.⁶⁹ As time moved forward, resistance grew. The Danes became embittered towards the Germans and their

antisemitic views.⁷⁰ Bigger and more overt acts of defiance were seen. Resistance groups blew up railway lines, sacked factories, and formed fighting groups who were ready and waiting to rise up when the time came.

In the summer of 1943 the climate began to change in Denmark. As the war dragged on, the Germans became increasingly more aggravated by those in the Resistance. The Resistance was no longer a true underground movement, but rather had become blatant in its opposition to German control. Up to this point, the king and government had “opposed any acts of Resistance groups,”⁷¹ but the tides were turning, and action was necessary. When the news of growing Danish resistance reached Berlin in 1943, Hitler decided that Denmark would no longer enjoy the protection and freedoms he had afforded her. In August, the Germans delivered an ultimatum to the Danish government: give up freedom of movement, speech, and, or Germany would seize total control. The government responded with silence and as a result the Reich forces declared martial law and took over control of Denmark. No longer would the king be able to protect the Jewish population from the Nazi regime and their plans to deport all Jews to their camps in the interior of the Third Reich.⁷²

Small incidents such as the arrests of Chief Rabbi Friediger and the president of the Danish Jewish Community, barrister Carl Bernhard Henriques, on August 29, and the breaking into of the Copenhagen synagogue for the acquisition of membership lists, were just the beginning. And yet, these warning signs were “ignored by the majority of Danish Jews, who

chose to believe...the Jewish community was not in danger.”⁷³ However, less than a month later, no one could deny the danger that imminently faced the Jewish community.

On Tuesday, September 28, 1943, Georg F. Duckwitz, a German Naval attaché who was living in Denmark and worked closely with Werner Best, the governing German general in control of Denmark, learned of the plan to round up the Jews for a mass deportation into Germany’s eastern regions. This information, and these two men who received it created an anomaly in Nazi practice. From the time Best received the plan from the Führer himself, he knew it was a bad decision and returned to Denmark “pale and shaken.”⁷⁴ Being the plenipotentiary, Best was in no position to resist Hitler’s commands to enforce antisemitic practices in Denmark, even though there is strong evidence suggesting that he was virulently opposed. However, he commented to Duckwitz that he would like to “build a bridge” so that the Jews might escape.⁷⁵ There was no way for him to foretell what Duckwitz would do next.



Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz.
 Copyright © Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
 Use allowed for educational purposes.
 Retrieved from <https://jfr.org/rescuer-stories/duckwitz-georg-ferdinand/>

Duckwitz had many Danish and Jewish friends and was distraught over Germany’s plans. He wrote in his diary that night: “I know what I have to do.”⁷⁶ He called a meeting with leading Social Democrat, Hans Hedtoft (a personal friend) and the Danish Socialist Democratic Party to convey the news of the deportation. The ever methodical and astute Germans picked the night of October 1, Rosh Hashanah, as they assumed that almost every Jew in the country would be home celebrating the holiday and therefore complete surprise and efficient roundups would be

achieved. They planned to continue through the morning of October 2 when the Jews would be driven to the coast. The operation was to begin with the cutting of telephone wires, as Esther mentions at the close of her diary. Once communication had been severed, the Germans planned to round up Denmark's roughly 7,500 Jews and take them to the coast where several ships waited to take them to Theresienstadt concentration camp.

Duckwitz implored them to pass the news to the Jewish community and warn as many Jews as was possible. This meeting triggered a chain of telephone calls and meetings to relay the news. Inga Bardfeld, a Danish woman working as "a secretary in the party's publications department" and married to a Jewish man, was chosen to inform Rabbi Marcus Melchoir.⁷⁷ By the evening of September 28, three influential men "had been warned of the impending action- Rabbi Marcus Melchoir, acting chief rabbi for the Danish Jews; barrister C. B. Henriques, the respected head of the Jewish Community; and Julius Margolinsky, under whose guidance more than a thousand Jewish agricultural pioneers had received training on Dutch farms..."⁷⁸ From these men, the information went out to warn the Jews in Denmark. On September 29, Rabbi Melchoir addressed his congregation, as Esther talks about in her diary.

By midnight, most Jews had heard the news and fled from their homes. Interestingly, hospitals became a place of refuge. Doctors had a unique opportunity to aid those in the resistance movement during the occupation. Bound by a vow of silence and a dedication to people's well-being, doctors were instrumental in helping people escape from the clutches of Nazi brutality.⁷⁹ When the Germans came for the Jews, many who had fled sought asylum in hospitals. The staff quickly organized a system to account for all the Jews hiding under their protection and to secure safe passage into Sweden. On more than one occasion, hundreds of Jews at a time were smuggled under the Germans noses in mock funeral processions organized by

hospital staff.⁸⁰ Trusted drivers were hired in rented cars to smuggle the Jews to the coast. In Copenhagen alone, hospitals saved around 2,000 Jews and safely removed them to Sweden.⁸¹

Because the waterway between Denmark and Sweden is only a few miles wide, Denmark's location, which had proved to be detrimental in regards to the German invasion, provided a relatively easy and safe escape route for the Danish Jews when the time came. Over the course of the next few weeks and months, Danish fisherman risked their lives to ferry Jews across to Sweden.

The round-up was a failure. In all, over the next several weeks the Germans arrested and sent to Theresienstadt approximately 470 Jews who either had not received the warnings, or for whatever reasons



Jewish Refugees Flee to Sweden in Fishing Boats
Available to use for research purposes. Retrieved from
<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa106693>

9

decided not to act upon them. There were also cases of drowning in the crossing to Sweden, suicides during the weeks after the attempted round-up, and few instances of shootings. Those who were arrested were mostly old or infirm. Danish support did not cease for those who were captured, and their support was indeed the Jews lifeline.

Theresienstadt was a model concentration camp. It had all the features of the death camps scattered throughout the Reich, gas chambers, crematoria, as well as labor divisions. For the majority of European Jews, Theresienstadt was a temporary stop on the way to death in Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Auschwitz, and other camps. For the Danish Jews and approximately 10,000 other Jews, it was the final destination.⁸² Upon arrival, the Danish Jews were treated relatively well with a formal dinner and supplies to write home informing relatives and friends of their safety. They were quick to find out that this was a ruse and not at all the reality of life in a

German concentration camp. Within the first weeks, over thirty Danish Jews died of starvation or complications caused by malnutrition.

Even before the Jews arrived at the camp, Danish officials made inquiries about the Danish Jews' condition in the camp. Permission to send care packages to the Danish Jews was requested on October 22. Within a month, actions were put in place for the Danish Red Cross to provide packages containing clothing and personal correspondence. Food, vitamins, and medicine were prohibited, but efforts on the part of the determined Danes found a way to circumnavigate the restrictions. The much need supplies were sent in packages disguised as personal correspondence which the German efficiently delivered to the Danish Jews.⁸³ The Danish people stopped at nothing to preserve their fellow Danish brothers, and because of their efforts only fifty-three Danish Jews perished in the camp.⁸⁴ After tireless efforts, the Danish Red Cross was allowed a visit to inspect the conditions of the camp, in June of 1944. The Germans had recreated the scenery, making Theresienstadt look like a sort of paradise, a happy, clean, well-maintained refuge for the Jews. The ruse seemed to mollify the Red Cross, or at least satisfy them enough to write a favorable report, if only to ensure their continued permission to aid their Jews.⁸⁵

By March of 1945, Germany was fast losing the war. The Red Cross organized a transport of white buses to rescue Scandinavian Jews from concentration camps. On 13 April, an order was signed releasing the Danish Jews from Theresienstadt. Within a week, the Danish Jews, minus the fifty-three who had perished, returned home where thousands of Danes stood to welcome them, cheering wildly and lining the streets with flags.⁸⁶ Many of the Danish Jews returning from Sweden and Germany found their neighbors had taken care of rent payments, the upkeep on properties, and protection of their possessions.⁸⁷ This was a blessing most Jews who

survived the Holocaust did not experience. With six million of Europe's Jewry murdered, and hundreds of thousands more forced to immigrate, face displacement, and experience terrible conditions in the post-war years, the approximate 7,000 Danish Jews truly were an exception to the rule.⁸⁸

Culture



Rita Hayworth
Creative Commons Attribution-Share-Alike License. Retrieved from:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rita_Hayworth

Deanna Durbin and Rita Hayworth were both identified in personal accounts as being American movie stars of some prominence in Denmark in the 1940s.⁸⁹ Hollywood made an impression throughout Europe and many actors and actresses contributed to the war effort by performing for soldiers



Deanna Durbin
Creative Commons Attribution-Share-Alike License. Retrieved from:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deanna_Durbin

at home and abroad in USO shows.

Esther also mentions going to the Glass Hall Theater at Tivoli Gardens. This is an amusement park and pleasure garden in

Copenhagen and the world's third largest operating amusement park.⁹⁰ It opened on August 15, 1843, and boasts many amusements including rides, concerts, human exhibitions, plays, and more. On June 26, 1944, Danish Nazi-sympathizers from the Schalburg Corps, retaliating to a fireworks display put on by the Resistance the night before, blew up Tivoli's concert hall, arena, fun fair, dance pavilion, and Glass Hall Theater.⁹¹



The Glass Hall at Tivoli Park
Creative Commons Attribution-Share-Alike License.
Retrieved from:
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_\(Copenhagen\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_(Copenhagen))

Jewish Customs

Throughout her diary, Esther mentions several Jewish customs she

observed throughout her week. Shabbat is a Jewish custom of celebrating the Sabbath, or seventh day of the week. For Jews, this is Saturday, and the celebration begins with the Shabbat dinner at sundown the day before. Jews are not permitted to work or engage in any creative activity such as cooking, sewing, or building.⁹² They spend this day in prayer, eating special foods (such as the *challah* bread Esther mentions), attending the synagogue, and in leisure activities. The table is set with two candles representing the commandments to remember and observe the sabbath. The woman of the house says a prayer after the lighting of the candles, and the challah bread and wine are eaten before the man of the house says the Kiddush (prayer) beginning dinner.⁹³

The *Hashkiveinu* is a prayer said at night for protection; to sleep peacefully during the night and return to life the following day.

הַשְּׂכִיבֵנוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְשָׁלוֹם וְהַעֲמִידֵנוּ
מִלְּכָנוּ לַחַיִּים.
וּפְרוֹשׁ עָלֵינוּ סֶפֶת שְׁלוֹמָךְ
וְתַקְּנֵנוּ בַּעֲצָה טוֹבָה מִלְּכָנֶיךָ
וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ
וְסַגֵּן בַּעֲדֵנוּ. וְהַסֵּר מִעָלֵינוּ אוֹיֵב דָּבָר וְסָרֵב
וְרָעָב וְיָגוֹן
וְהַסֵּר שִׁטּוֹן מִלְּכָנֵינוּ וּמֵאֲסָרֵינוּ
וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ תִּסְתַּיְרֵנוּ
כִּי אֵל שׁוֹמְרֵנוּ וְלְשָׁלוֹם מַעֲתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם.

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ הַפּוֹרֵשׁ סֶפֶת שְׁלוֹם עָלֵינוּ
וְעַל כָּל עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל יְרוּשָׁלָּיִם.

Hashkiveinu Prayer Text.
Creative Commons Attribution-Share-Alike
License. Retrieved from
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hashkiveinu>.

Appendix

Aprilsnar–April Fool’s Day (Danish)

at hælde vand ud af ørern–idiomatic, you’re talking rubbish (Danish)

Barukh atah Adonai, Elohaynu, melkh ha-olam–Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe (Hebrew)

Bedstefar–Grandfather (Danish)

Bitte–Please; thank you (German)

Challah–traditional Jewish, white, leavened bread, typically in a braided loaf (Hebrew)

Elskede–darling (Danish)

ene ægte kærlighed–one true love (Danish)

Entschuldigung–Excuse me; I am sorry (German)

Fredag–Friday (Danish)

Godhed!–goodness (Danish)

Hav et godt nytår!–*Happy New Year!* (Danish)

Das Hundewetter–“dog weather”, describes vicious wintry weather (German)

Lørdag–Saturday (Danish)

Mandag–Monday (Danish)

Mormor–Grandmother (Danish)

Onsdag–Wednesday (Danish)

Søndag–Sunday (Danish)

Studenternes Efterretningstjenste–roughly, ‘Students’ Enlightenment Service (Danish)

Tirsdag–Tuesday (Danish)

Torsdag–Thursday (Danish)

Endnotes

¹ NORTH SEA BATTLE HELD DEVELOPING: Norwegians Report Hearing Heavy ... Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES. New York Times (1923-Current file); Apr 4, 1940; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times pg. 6. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/docview/105373741/7CA21DC8E77C4BDCPQ/27?accountid=12085->

² The pamphlets dropped that day were written in poor Danish. More information is found in the Historical Notes.

³ Philip Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*. (New York, NY: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2015), 10.

⁴ Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 15.

⁵ See Historical Notes for more information on Danish Military Expansion.

⁶ Richard Petrow, *The Bitter Years*. (New York, NY: William Morrow & Company, Inc, 1974), 45.

⁷ Reference to these actresses was found in Johna Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*. (Bellingham, WA: Christensen Publishing Company,2000), and Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*.

⁸ Niels Lund. *Denmark-History- The Viking Age*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. (get in Turabian format)

⁹ David Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*. (London: Frontline Books, 2010), 1.

¹⁰ Psalm 91 talks about God being a faithful shelter and protection for His people. Typically prayed on Shabbat and at funeral services according to https://www.jstor.org/stable/43740775?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents, 2.

¹¹ Rosh Hashanah: History and Overview at jewishvirtuallibrary.org.

¹² More unusual Danish customs can be found here: <https://www.visitdenmark.com/denmark/highlights/history-and-culture/danish-traditions>

¹³ Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990), 168.

¹⁴ Danish weather report for February 16, 1941 can be found here: <http://www.seaclimate.com/d/d.html#:~:text=%E2%80%9CThe%20winter%201940%2D41%20was,record%20of%20the%20low%20temperature.>

¹⁵ The Gymnasium is the secondary school in Danish and German school systems. Fairly equivalent to high school in the United States.

¹⁶ Ruggiero, *Religions and Religious Movements: Judaism*, 93.

¹⁷ Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 63.

¹⁸ Emmy E. Warner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 27.

¹⁹ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 98-100.

²⁰ Norman J.W. Goda, *The Holocaust: Europe, the World, the Jews, 1918-1945*. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: 2013), 278.

-
- ²¹ Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 45.
- ²² Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 45.
- ²³ Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 86.
- ²⁴ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 2.
- ²⁵ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 2-3. By 1943 the paper was published in regular bi-weekly intervals in thirteen Copenhagen editions and in cities all over Denmark. By 1944, the paper had a circulation of 120,000.
- ²⁶ Hoose, *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*, 132.
- ²⁷ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 278.
- ²⁸ Johna Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*. (Bellingham, WA: Christensen Publishing Company, 2000), 52.
- ²⁹ Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*, 36.
- ³⁰ Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*, 48-49.
- ³¹ Harold Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*. (New York: NY, Simon and Schuster, 1963), 15.
- ³² See Jewish customs in the Historical Notes.
- ³³ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 68-69.
- ³⁴ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 280.
- ³⁵ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 281.
- ³⁶ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 248. See also Peter Ginz's diary.
- ³⁷ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 281.
- ³⁸ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 321.
- ³⁹ Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*, 182.
- ⁴⁰ According to Andrew Buckser, *Keeping Kosher: Eating and Social Identity among the Jews of Denmark*. (<https://doi.org/10.2307/3773813>), there was a drastic rise in interfaith marriages up into the 1990s. Defining "Jewishness" became more and more difficult as Jews integrated into Danish society.
- ⁴¹ Goda, *The Holocaust*, viii.
- ⁴² Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 176; 226.
- ⁴³ Herbert Pundik, *In Denmark It Could Not Happen*. (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1998), 85.
- ⁴⁴ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 45.
- ⁴⁵ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 46.
- ⁴⁶ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*.

-
- ⁴⁷ More information on the invasion of Norway and Denmark can be found here:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20131015025325/http://www.milhist.dk/besattelsen/9april/9april.html>
- ⁴⁸ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 161.
- ⁴⁹ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 25.
- ⁵⁰ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*.(page number, or use ibid)
- ⁵¹ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 26.
- ⁵² Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*,26.
- ⁵³ Michael Ignatieff. *The Surprising Truth about Denmark*. New Statesmen, 3 January 2014.
- ⁵⁴ Richards, Julian D. *Vikings: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 25
- ⁵⁵ Richards, *Vikings: A Very Short Introduction*., 25
- ⁵⁶ Adolf Hitler. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), 396.
- ⁵⁷ Adolf Hitler. *Mein Kampf* (1925), 398.
- ⁵⁸ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 26.
- ⁵⁹ Lester B. Orfield. *Scandinavian Law*. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), 15.
- ⁶⁰ Denmark's Constitution of 1953. Page, 12. Note: "The Constitutional Act of Denmark is one of the oldest constitutions in the world. It has only been amended a few times since it was enacted in 1849. This is partly because making an amendment is a rather complex procedure, requiring that both the Danish Parliament and the Danish people agree to it. However, another important reason is that the wording in the Constitutional Act is so general that it can still be applied today, despite major changes in society and political life over the past 160 years. In its present form, the Constitutional Act is from 5 June 1953, but the principal features of the Act go back to 1849. It originally contained 100 sections, which have now been reduced to 89 sections, grouped in eleven chapters." (<https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/democracy/the-constitutional-act-of-denmark>).
- ⁶¹ Denmark's Constitution of 1953. constituteproject.org. Page, 12-13.
- ⁶² The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "N.F.S. Grundtvig." Encyclopædia Britannica.
- ⁶³ Leni Yahil. "*National Pride and Defeat: A Comparison of Danish and German Nationalism.*", 454.
- ⁶⁴ Yahil. "*National Pride and Defeat: A Comparison of Danish and German Nationalism.*", 462.
- ⁶⁵ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 30-31.
- ⁶⁶ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 1-2.
- ⁶⁷ More information on Arne Sejr and the *Ten Commandments of the Danish Resistance* can be found here:
<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/axis-alliance-in-world-war-ii#:~:text=On%20May%2022%2C%201939%2C%20Germany,known%20as%20the%20Axis%20alliance>
- ⁶⁸ Ellen Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*. (New York, NY: Holiday House, 2000), 31-33.
- ⁶⁹ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 38.

-
- ⁷⁰ Christensen, *The Red Umbrella*, 54.
- ⁷¹ Judith S. Goldstein, *The Danish Exception*. (East Greenwich, RI: Meridian, 2018), 63.
- ⁷² Goldstein, *The Danish Exception*. (page number or consider using ibid, which would be cleaner)
- ⁷³ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 204.
- ⁷⁴ Flender, *Rescue In Denmark*, 39.
- ⁷⁵ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 203.
- ⁷⁶ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 68.
- ⁷⁷ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 206.
- ⁷⁸ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 207.
- ⁷⁹ Pundik, *In Denmark It Could Not Happen*, 38-39.
- ⁸⁰ Pundik, *In Denmark It Could Not Happen*, 41-42
- ⁸¹ Pundik, *In Denmark It Could Not Happen*. #
- ⁸² Flender, *Rescue In Denmark*, 215.
- ⁸³ Petrow, *The Bitter Years*, 308-309.
- ⁸⁴ Flender, *Rescue in Denmark*, 219.
- ⁸⁵ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 321.
- ⁸⁶ Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark*, 136.
- ⁸⁷ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Denmark." Holocaust Encyclopedia. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/denmark>. Accessed on 5 April, 2021.
- ⁸⁸ Goda, *The Holocaust*, 277.
- ⁸⁹ Reference to these actresses was found in *The Red Umbrella* and *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler*.
- ⁹⁰ More information on Tivoli Park can be found here: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_\(Copenhagen\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_(Copenhagen)).
- ⁹¹ Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary*, 98.
- ⁹² Adam Lewinsky, *Major World Religions: Judaism*. (Broomall, PA: Mason Crest, 2018), 52-54.
- ⁹³ Adriane Ruggiero, *Religions and Religious Movements: Judaism*. (Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2006), 93.

Bibliography

Primary

Axelssonby, George. "Sweden Offers Aid to Denmark's Jews." *The New York Times*, October 3, 1943: 29.

Christensen, Johna. *The Red Umbrella: Danish Resistance and John's Escape from Nazi Occupation*. Christensen Publishing Company, 2012.

Ginz, Petr. *The Diary of Petr Ginz, 1941-42*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007.

Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.

Hoose, Philip M. *The Boys Who Challenged Hitler: Knud Pedersen and the Churchill Club*, New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2015.

Redlikh, Egon. *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.

The Danish Parliament. "The Constitutional Act of Denmark." *FOLKETINGET*. n.d.
<https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/democracy/the-constitutional-act-of-denmark>
(accessed May 3, 2020).

The Sun. "Purge of the Jews in Denmark is Underway, Germans Say." October 3, 1943: 2.

Secondary

Banke, Cecilie Felicia Stokholm. "Copenhagen- Refugees and Rescue: The Ambivalence of Danish Holocaust History." *Humanity in Action*. 2013.
https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/copenhagen-refugees-and-rescue-the-ambivalence-of-danish-holocaust-history/ (accessed May 4, 2020).

Boekler, Annette M. "THE LITURGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PSALMS IN JUDAISM: Demonstrated with Samples from Psalms 90-106, with a Special Focus on Psalm 92,

-
- Mizmor shir leYom haShabbat." *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe*, 2015: 70-82.
- Buckser, Andrew. "Keeping Kosher: Eating and Social Identity among the Jews of Denmark." *Ethnology* 38, 3 (1999). 191-209. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3773813>.
- Flender, Harold. *Rescue in Denmark*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.
- Goda, Norman J.W. *The Holocaust: Europe, the World, and the Jews 1918-1945*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2013.
- Goldstein, Judith S. "The Danish Exception." In *Beyond the Shadows: The Holocaust and the Danish Exception*, by Judy Glickman Lauder, 61-65. East Greenwich: Meridian , 2018.
- Hall, David Ian. "Wagner, Hitler, and Germany's Rebirth After the First World War." *War In History*, 2017: 154-175.
- Ignatieff, Michael. "The Surprising Truth about Denmark in the Holocaust." *NewStatesman*. January 3, 2014. <https://www.newstatesman.com/europe/2014/01/surprising-truth-about-denmark-holocaust> (accessed May 3, 2020).
- Jespersen, Knud J. V. *A History of Denmark* . New York: Palgrave Macmilan, 2004. *Jewish Virtual Library*. n.d. [jewishvirtuallibrary.org](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org) (accessed February 14, 2020).
- Lampe, David. *Hitler's Savage Canary: A History of the Danish Resistance in World War II*. Yorkshire: Frontline Books, 2010.
- Levine, Ellen. *Darkness Over Denmark: The Danish Resistance and the Rescue of the Jews*. New York: Holiday House, 2000.
- Lund, Niels. "Denmark-History-The Viking Age." *Internet Archive Wayback Machine*. May 2003. <https://web.archive.org/web/20060510174200/http://www.um.dk/Publikationer/UM/English/Denmark/kap6/6-2.asp> (accessed May 4, 2020).
- Marrus, Michael R. *The Holocaust in History*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987.
- Moritzen, Julius. "Denmark's Jews." *JULIUS Contemporary Jewish Record*, May 1, 1940: 274. *National Archives Museum*. n.d. <https://museum.archives.gov/> (accessed September 22, 2020).
- Orfield, Lester Berhardt. *The Growth of Scandinavian Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.

Petrow, Richard. *The Bitter Years: The Invasion and Occupation of Denmark and Norway April 1940-May 1945*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1974.

Pundik, Herbert. *In Denmark It Could Not Happen*. Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1998.

Stone, Andrew. *Denmark*. Oakland: Lonely Planet, 2008.

Warner, Emmy E. *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Yahil, Leni. "National Pride and Defeat: A Comparison of Danish and German Nationalism." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1991: 453-478.