

**Clandestine guiding to the Franco-Spanish border during
the Holocaust:
the work, accomplices and solidarity-focused
resistance**

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One of the ways in which Jewish refugees escaped the Holocaust was to travel from France to Franco's Spain.¹ From there, or from neighbouring Portugal, they would go by ship to Palestine, the Americas, or North Africa.² Some 37,500, or 23,000 in another estimate, are thought to have fled from France to Spain between the start of the Second World War and the autumn of 1944.³ Spain was feasible as country of transit because its dictator, General Francisco Franco, was not persecuting Jews, although his government and members of the Falange, Spain's only political party, did sporadically act or speak in antisemitic ways.⁴ It was not a safe haven, however. Shortly after arriving there, many refugees were arrested by a police force called the Civil Guards for not having a Spanish transit visa or other required travel documents. They were put in prison, normally for several weeks, and in small, overcrowded cells, they endured hunger, vermin, poor sanitation and minimal health care.⁵ Male refugees tended to be sent from prison to prison and then to the detention camp of Miranda de Ebro if they were of military age. There, they continued to

¹ Alternative escape routes included taking a ship from Marseille to Martinique (see Jennings, *Escape from Vichy*) and clandestinely crossing the border into Switzerland. The Swiss border was heavily guarded, and border guards turned back many refugees, however. On the other hand, one did not require several visas to enter Switzerland, and if one had to enter without a visa, guides could be found. Moreover, in places, the crossing did not involve a climb. Some tried Spain after having tried Switzerland or because they considered the Swiss crossing too dangerous because of the risk of the police catching them and sending them back. For refugees who tried escaping via Switzerland but then chose Spain, see Bennoun, Benjamin. Interview 9688. Interview by Gene Moffett. *Visual History Archive*, Shoah Foundation, December 6, 1995. Accessed 13 June 2024. <https://vha-usc-edu.libproxy.berkeley.edu/testimony/9688?from=search&seg=3> ; Lande, Bertold. Interview 16963. Interview by Ted Yasi. *Visual History Archive*, Shoah Foundation. July 2, 1996. Accessed 13 June 2024. <https://vha-usc-edu.libproxy.berkeley.edu/testimony/16963?from=search&seg=3> ; Werner Barasch, *Survivor: Autobiographical Fragments 1938-1946*. Frankfurt am Main, 2001: 41-49. On escape to Switzerland, see Fivaz-Silbermann, *La fuite en Suisse*; Dwork and Jan van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich*, 198-217; Bartrop and Lakin, *Heroines of Vichy France*.

² Avni, *Spain, the Jews, and Franco*; Calvet, *Huyendo del Holocausto*, 267-271; Kaplan, *Hitler's Jewish Refugees*; Samuel, *Sauver les Enfants*, 128-131. By mid-1940, most of the ships bound for the United States or Latin America left from Lisbon; see Kaplan, *Hitler's Jewish Refugees*, 37. There were Jewish refugees who hoped to join de Gaulle's or the British army, and so travelled to London and North Africa; see Adams, "Why Jewish Refugees Were Imprisoned," *Journal of Modern European History*, 110-132; Belot, *Aux Frontières de la Liberté*, 9.

³ Avni, *Spain*, 91, 127; Bernd Rother, *Franco y el Holocausto*, 158.

⁴ The Spanish Government and the Axis: No. 15. Notes on Conversation Between General Franco and Ambassador Dieckhoff 15 December, 1943. Website: [The Avalon Project: The Spanish Government and the Axis \(yale.edu\)](https://www.theavalonproject.com/spain/15/), accessed 11 January 2021; Marquina and Ospina, *España y los judíos*, 14; Álvarez Chillida, "La eclosión del antisemitismo español," 190, 203; Rother, *Franco*; Avni, *Spain*, 69-70, 133, 142, 195, 217, 218; Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews*, 123; Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, 479-517.

⁵ Adams, "Why Jewish Refugees Were Imprisoned," *Journal of Modern European History*, 110-132. On the efforts of the Franco government to claim that Spain had, on the contrary, been a safe haven and saved thousands of Jews, see Correa, "Franco, Savior of the Jews?" 195-218.

experience hunger and very bad conditions, usually for several months, and saw their visas to final destinations expire, if they had them. Women and children tended to be released from prison after a few days or weeks.⁶ Spain held the additional risk that the police might hand over individuals on the “wanted” list to the Gestapo, which was present there. Some were afraid to enter the country for this reason.⁷

Refugees needed an exit visa in order to leave France, and officials on trains and roads going to the border asked for their travel documents and looked for it. Consequently, only those with exit visas, as well as Spanish transit visas, braved the border crossing by train or car.⁸ Probably most of those who left France for Spain did not have one of these visas. They did not apply for the French exit visa because the government would not issue exit visas to people who were not legally in France, because it stopped issuing exit visas altogether for periods of time, or because applying for one meant informing the authorities of their whereabouts and thereby risking internment in a French detention camp. Some applied but did not receive one.⁹ The Spanish transit visa was also difficult to obtain, as it required showing that one had a transit visa for Portugal. The Portuguese visa required proof of a visa for a final destination beyond Portugal, and ship passage. Refugees without exit visas or Spanish transit visas attempted to leave France clandestinely. Most of them made their way to the Pyrenees, along which the border lies, and walked over the mountains. They knew that if they took a bus, train or car to Spain, encounters with border officials were inevitable, and if they were caught without their documents in order, they might be sent to a camp.

Refugees wanting to cross the Pyrenees on foot faced challenging and dangerous trails, and police patrols. The patrolling police units and customs men were mainly looking for smugglers of goods; men who wanted to reach London and fight for the Allies; political dissidents; and young Frenchmen escaping the Compulsory Work Service that began in February 1943. But if they found refugees in the mountains without the necessary travel documents, they would question them and might arrest them.¹⁰ In the days immediately after the mass roundup of 26 August 1942, the police

⁶ Adams, “Jewish Refugees who Fled Europe,” 414-441.

⁷ Fittko, *Escape through the Pyrenees*, 150; Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 6, 9, 14, 83, 95; Rohr, *The Spanish Right*, 83, 102; Payne, *Franco and Hitler: Spain*, 70.

⁸ For refugees who took the train to Spain, see Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies interviews with Lydia C., 1997, EAD ID mssa.hvt.4063; Lucy Weinstein, March 11, 1980, EAD ID mssa.hvt.0006; Sarah W., November 06, 1989, EAD ID mssa.hvt.1293; Walter P., May 03, 1992, EAD ID mssa.hvt.2055; and Zoltan G., November 16 & 17, 1986, EAD ID mssa.hvt.0795. For refugees who crossed the border in a car with valid visas and passports, see Interview with Rosy S., September 28, 1993, EAD ID mssa.hvt.2684, Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies. For a refugee who reached the border by car and walked from there, see Interview with Ruth D., April 30, 1990, EAD ID mssa.hvt.1588, Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies.

⁹ Fry, *Surrender*, 187; Seibel, “The Holocaust in Western Europe,” 224. The French Statut des Juifs of 3 and 4 October 1940 allowed regional and departmental governors to intern foreign Jews in special camps or areas of forced residence.

¹⁰ Walter Meyerhof, ‘An Episode Missing from ESCAPE THROUGH THE PYRENEES by Lisa Fittko,’ Documents 12-14, Collection of Hans Fittko, Righteous collections, YVA; Marcel Gallon, ‘Notes concernant mes activités dans la RÉSISTANCE pendant mon séjour au

in the Pyrenees did hunt specifically for Jews.¹¹ The refugees also knew that the trip could be a long one: it took from a few hours to three days to reach Spain, depending on the topography, weather, and presence or otherwise of snow on the ground.¹² Consequently, very many of them looked for someone who could lead them safely up to the border. Although not all refugees turned to border guides for help,¹³ these guides were very important for the success of, probably, thousands of Jewish refugees who escaped persecution by crossing the Pyrenees.¹⁴

The nature of border guides' (*passeurs*) work with Jewish refugees, and their experiences of it, are the subjects of this article. These topics are relevant to both Jewish and European history. Guides were important actors in key events in Twentieth Century Europe. As well as serving as rescuers during the Holocaust, they played a role in the Second World War, enabling Allied pilots, servicemen and would-be servicemen to reach the British or other Allied armies based in England. They helped endangered members of the Special Operations Executive and French Resistance escape France. They conveying to safety scientists, writers, artists, anti-Nazi activists and leftist politicians fleeing from Nazi-dominated countries.¹⁵ As such, they were important actors in forced migration, a central feature of Twentieth-Century European history.¹⁶ Some border guides were part of resistance groups in France, in which they contributed to undermining the occupying forces.¹⁷ *Passeurs* worked in many parts of Europe. They took people from France to Italy and Andorra; from France, Italy and Germany to Switzerland; from Holland to Belgium, and Belgium to France; From Germany to Holland, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland; across the Demarcation Line in France; from Denmark to Sweden; and across many other European borders.¹⁸ They are a phenomenon not just of the Twentieth Century, but also of earlier periods. During and after the

Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales), 19 March, 1983, Documents 11-12, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹¹ Jeanne's account in Nadouze and Rogalle, "Jeanne," 13, 14; Rogalle, interview.

¹² Samuel, *Journal 1939-1945*, 263; Fittko, *Escape*, 106, 108-110, 127.

¹³ For refugees who walked through the mountains without a guide, see Colen, Joseph. Interview 5428. Interview by David Brotsky. *Visual History Archive*, Shoah Foundation, August 14, 1995.

Accessed June 16, 2024. <https://vha-usc-edu.libproxy.berkeley.edu/testimony/5428?from=search&seg=76> ; Piller-Greenspan and Branting, *When the World Closed*, 2006.

¹⁴ Kaplan, *Hitler's Jewish Refugees*, 47, 49.

¹⁵ Belot, *Aux Frontières*, 9; Fry, *Surrender*; Ottis, *Silent Heroes: Downed Airmen*.

¹⁶ On refugees in the Twentieth Century, see Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* and Kushner, *Journeys from the Abyss*.

¹⁷ Fittko, *Escape*, 101, 105, 122-123, 154. On the resistance in France, see Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.

¹⁸ On the Franco-Italian border, see Zuccotti, *Holocaust Odysseys*, 94; on fugitives fleeing to Switzerland, see Fivaz-Silbermann, *La fuite en Suisse*; Dwork and Jan van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich*, 198-217; Bartrop and Lakin, *Heroines of Vichy France*; Koreman, *The Escape Line*. On the German-Czech border see Fittko, *Solidarity and Treason*, 77-79; on the German-Dutch border, see Fittko, *Solidarity and Treason*, 113. On *passeurs* who took refugees from France to the principality of Andorra, from where they would continue on to Spain, see Benet, *Passeurs, Fugitifs et Espions: L'Andorre*, 49-68 and 131-142; Viadiu, *Andorra: Cadena de evasión (1942-1944)*, 61-62, 135, 137.

French Revolution, for example, Madame de Staël, a political theorist and woman of letters from Paris sought refuge in Vaud, a region that became part of Switzerland in 1803. From there, she paid shepherds in the Jura mountains that divide Switzerland and France to bring French aristocrats to safety.¹⁹ Today, the massive migration of refugees into Europe still involves guides taking individuals across borders clandestinely. Hence this study of Pyrenean border guides will shed light on the broader phenomenon of the clandestine guiding across borders of individuals whom the powers that be consider undesirable, deviant or dangerous.

The *passeurs* who led escapees through the Pyrenees from France to Spain during the Second World War were significant in number. In the Pyrénées-Orientales, the easternmost Pyrenean province (*département*), there were 96 *passeurs* during the war.²⁰ There were about 200 in the central Pyrenees, that is, 300 km of border in the *départements* of Ariège, Haute-Garonne and Hautes-Pyrénées.²¹ Although *passeurs* were both numerous and important for escape from France, surprisingly little is known about the different facets of their work or how they experienced them. Earlier historical research on border guides in the Pyrenees has been quantitatively oriented and informative regarding routes taken, the terrain traversed, payment, dangers and certain aspects of guiding.²² It has relied mostly on police and government correspondence and reports, judicial documents and secondary sources. Scholars have drawn on only a handful of interviews.²³ It tells us little about the guides' experiences of their work, analyses guides as a collective, and is mostly devoid of rich description. Moreover, it focuses on *passeurs* who charged a fee.²⁴ Another body of research, on escape lines, of which guides were a part, does not analyse the guides' work in any detail.²⁵

This article offers an in-depth analysis of the work of five guides who led Jewish refugees to the Franco-Spanish border without charging a fee, and it briefly discusses a sixth for whom there are fewer primary sources available. Its contention is that guides' work consisted not just of guiding, but also of extensive and varied preparatory work, and that by recruiting helpers for the preparatory work, each *passeur* created a circle of accomplices that constituted a resistance cell. We may call the resistance of non-charging *passeurs* and their accomplices *solidarity-focused resistance*, as its purpose was to help others with whom the resisters were in solidarity.²⁶ It was

¹⁹ Staël, Madame de (Anne-Louise-Germaine), *Lettres à Narbonne*.

²⁰ Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 82.

²¹ Eychenne, "Le Franchissement clandestin, 102.

²² Eychenne, *Montagnes de la peur*; Eychenne, *Les Portes*; Eychenne, *Les Pyrénées de la Liberté*.

²³ The doyenne of research on *passeurs*, Emilienne Eychenne, for example, uses mostly official correspondence and reports in archives, with a handful of interviews and secondary sources. See, for example, her book with the most footnotes, *Les Portes*, 71, 92, 115, 179, 235-236. The same is true for Belot's chapter on border crossings in *Aux Frontières*, 81-110, 708-709; and of Ferrer's *Passeurs et évadés*. Sandra Ott, writing about *passeurs* in the Basque Country, relies mainly on statements made to the police and on judicial documents; see Ott, *Living with the Enemy*, 158-191.

²⁴ Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 79-82.

²⁵ On *passeurs* in escape lines, see Koreman, *The Escape Line*, 46, 58-62; Ferrer, *Passeurs*, 86-112; and Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 93-116.

²⁶ Solidarity-focused resistance has been important in other anti-dictatorship struggles as well; see Adams, *Surviving Dictatorship*, 163-173.

also a form of transnational resistance. In addition to shedding light on guides' work and resistance cells, this article suggests that guides were more demographically heterogeneous than the historiography has led us to believe. Lastly, to focus on *passeurs* who did not charge a fee is to focus on a minority of *passeurs* in the Pyrenees during the Second World War. However, such *passeurs* are perhaps more numerous than expected.²⁷ Among the residents of Pyrenean villages and towns were many who helped Jews in varied ways.²⁸ Some, like Jean-Pierre and Jeanne Aegouau, described below, would have guided Jews to the border. Moreover, there were many resistance groups active in the area, assisting escapees without charge.²⁹

The five guides on which this article focuses were chosen because of the rich and varied primary sources that exist for them, produced by many different authors. These sources are numerous enough and detailed enough to make it possible to understand several facets of their work, their subjective experiences of it, and their work-related networks. They include the guides' memoirs, unpublished accounts, a diary, letters, oral history interviews, an interview with a guide's son, and personal correspondence with a guide's daughter. They also include Jewish refugees' and the guides' work associates' unpublished accounts, memoirs, postcards, and letters.³⁰ A further set of sources consists of official correspondence and reports, produced by municipal and regional civil servants, heads of police and senior military men in the *département* of the Pyrénées-Orientales, and correspondence sent to these individuals by men in the same roles in other *départements*. These official documents were analysed with a focus on understanding surveillance and efforts to track down *passeurs* and groups crossing the Pyrenees. Lastly, the records on a *passeur* and his helper in the French Lasallian Archive served as sources of biographical information on one of the *passeurs*.

Several of the letters and accounts by guides, work associates and refugees are held in the Yad Vashem Archive's Righteous among the Nations collections for the guides Johannes Fittko, Marcel Gallon, Jeanne Rogalle, Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Jean-Pierre Aegouau and Jean Ané Prince. Some of these letters and accounts were produced in support of the guides' nomination as Righteous among the Nations. Many, however, were written for another purpose. For example, the collections contain letters between Jewish refugees and their guides, and these include descriptions of aspects of the work and mention of the emotions that the guides recall experiencing. There are also first-person accounts written by the guides for personal reasons, for publication in a local journal or in answer to a researcher's questions. Such accounts contain descriptions of multiple facets of *passeurs*' work and some mention what the guides felt while guiding or engaging in

²⁷ Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 79-82.

²⁸ The Yad Vashem Archive's Righteous among the Nations collections include many such individuals.

²⁹ For an oral history interview with a refugee whom a resistance group helped without charge in the Pyrenees, see Rickner, Willy Rickner. Interview 37544. Interview by Laure Kressman. *Visual History Archive*, Shoah Foundation, October 28, 1994. Accessed June 15, 2024. Website <https://vha-usc-edu.libproxy.berkeley.edu/testimony/37544?from=search&seg=11>.

³⁰ Research on *passeurs* who charged a fee would be compromised by the dearth of memoirs, first-person accounts, letters, and diaries by such *passeurs*, and by there not being a wealth of varied documents on a single person, as one finds in the Righteous collection.

preparatory work. Letters by escapees and work associates are valuable as well, in that they mention aspects of the guides' work.

Using accounts, interviews, letters and other ego-documents produced years after the Holocaust can be problematic. Scholars have shown, for example, that testimonies are narratives constructed out of the need to create a story. The narrator's awareness of what the audience will find acceptable influences the narrative. So, too, does knowledge about the concentration camps, acquired *a posteriori*.³¹ Narratives are also shaped by interventions by the interviewer; the approach that the archive adopted when collecting the testimony; and norms associated with the format of the testimony.³² The repression of memory also impacts narratives. Painful memories and communal memories sometimes appear in modified form or are not disclosed. Memories may be altered by well-known Holocaust tropes such as the selection at Birkenau.³³ Narratives may omit mention of events or people when the memory is so painful or guilt-ridden that it has been repressed.³⁴ In addition, they may contain mistakes where dates, times, distances and similar "hard facts" are concerned. However, a "core memory" remains stable despite the passage of time.³⁵ Moreover, testimonies are mostly reliable as far as the recalled emotions and feelings are concerned.³⁶ Oral history interviews are often compared unfavourably to written sources, yet interviews concerning politically repressive contexts may offer more useful evidence than contemporary diaries and letters, which are self-censored.³⁷ Diary writing also involves imposing

³¹ Henry Greenspan, *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Beyond Testimony*, (St. Paul, Minn.: Paragon House, 2010), 42, 45; citation in Zoë Vania Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust: Identity, Testimony, Representation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56.

³² Henry Greenspan, "From Testimony to Recounting: Reflections on Forty Years of Listening to Holocaust Survivors," in *Beyond Testimony and Trauma: Oral History in the Aftermath of Mass Violence*, ed. Stephen High, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2015), 140-167; Anna Sheftel, "Talking and Not Talking about Violence: Challenges in Interviewing Survivors of Atrocity as Whole People," *Oral History Review*, 45, no. 2, (2018), 278-293; Noah Shenker, *Reframing Holocaust Testimony*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 151-152.

³³ Christopher R. Browning, "Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi slave-labor camp," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 311-319, 316-317; Mark Roseman, "Surviving Memory: Truth and Inaccuracy in Holocaust Testimony," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 320-333.

³⁴ Tim Cole, "(Re)Placing the Past: Spatial Strategies of Retelling Difficult Stories," *The Oral History Review*, 42, no. 1, (2015) 30-49.

³⁵ Christopher R. Browning, "Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi slave-labor camp," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 311-319, 316.

³⁶ On the access that oral history interviews provide to narrators' anguish, difficulties, and understandings of the situation, see Rebecca Clifford, "Families after the Holocaust: between the archives and oral history," *Oral History*, 46, no. 1, (2018), 46-51, 42-54.

³⁷ Orlando Figes, "Private Life in Stalin's Russia: Narratives, memory and oral history," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 354-369. On the value of oral history in research, see Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," 33-39, and Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," 48-58,

order on experiences, and diary entries have themes “derived from diarists’ own reading and earlier experiences.”³⁸ As this suggests, even written testimonies produced very soon after the events are mediated accounts. In sum, all ego-documents are constructed and flawed representations of what was lived, but many are valuable for the insight that they provide into subjective experiences.

On the basis of the analysis of the above-mentioned documents, I show in what follows that *passeurs* were demographically more varied than suggested in the historiography; their work consisted of both guiding and extensive preparatory work; when guiding, their main challenges were avoiding patrols and encouraging the refugees to keep walking; in most cases, they recruited helpers; and in doing so, they created what were, in essence, resistance cells.

Passeurs: A Heterogeneous Group

The *passeurs* that are the focus of this article were a diverse group. They were drawn from a variety of occupations, including farming, journalism, secretarial work and Christian brother. Some were from small villages in the Pyrenees, while others were communities in other regions of France, or from large cities abroad. Some were long-term residents in the mountains, while others were recent arrivals from Nazi-dominated countries or from distant regions of France. Some were French, but others were refugees from fascist persecution elsewhere. Some were Catholic, whereas others were not religious but originally Protestant or Jewish. Some were antifascist activists to the core; others were not politically active. Exhibiting such heterogeneity, they do not fit historian Jacques Semelin’s description of *passeurs* as locals who could perform their work successfully thanks to their familiarity with the area next to the border and their knowing inhabitants who might offer escapees shelter.³⁹ Emilienne Eychenne does list a variety of occupations in her research on *passeurs* the Pyrénées-Orientales, but mentions only France, Spain and Andorra as national origins of *passeurs*.⁴⁰ Regarding *passeurs*’ gender, Semelin acknowledges that there were women *passeurs*, such as the daughters of farmers,⁴¹ while Thomas Ferrer claims that very few women were *passeurs* and leaders of escape lines, and that women were primarily

both in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

³⁸ Gambarini, Alexandra, “Diaries, Testimonies, and Jewish Histories of the Holocaust,” in *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches*, ed. Norman J.W. Goda (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2017), 94.

³⁹ Semelin, *La survie*, 271.

⁴⁰ Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 73-83. She finds that in the Pyrénées-Orientales, the *passeurs* fit into four main groups: French smugglers, Spanish refugee-*maquisards*, Andorrans, and Frenchmen who worked as guides because of their political ideas or so as to do someone a favour. The latter included priests, brothers, customs officers, policemen, men who make coal, bakers, butchers, teachers.⁴⁰

⁴¹ Semelin, *La survie*, 268; Fittko, *Escape*, 122. On *passeurs* who charged, see Eychenne, ‘Le Franchissement,’ 97-104, 101 (the years are not mentioned) and Eychenne, *Les Pyrénées*, 186-188; see 189-226 for other findings. On *passeurs*’ smuggling of goods as well as people, see Eychenne, *Montagnes*, 210.

involved in providing lodging for the fugitives.⁴² While probably true with respect to *passeurs* in the *Département des Hautes-Pyrénées* --Ferrer's focus-- and in the Pyrenees as a whole, this article demonstrates that there were some very effective women *passeurs*.



Figure 1: Lisa and Hans Fittko departed from the right side (in the photograph) of this village, Banyuls-sur-Mer, and led escapees into the mountains at the top left of the photograph, via the hamlet of Puig del Mas, a dense grouping of houses in the middle distance, at the base of the closest, central hill that is almost devoid of trees.⁴³

Lisa and Hans Fittko were a married *passeur* couple very different from the *passeurs* described in the historiography on border guides. They were intensely committed antifascists from Berlin, born in 1909 in Ungvar in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and in 1903 in Finsterwalder,

⁴² Ferrer, *Passeurs*, 108-112.

⁴³ https://www.tourism-mediterraneanpyrenees.com/sites/www.tourisme-pyreneesorientales.com/files/styles/large_retina/public/thumbnails/image/banyuls-20079_1l.jpg?itok=9_TWM7Z0 accessed 26 August 2023. I thank photographer Jean-Christophe Milhet for having granted permission to publish this photograph.

Germany, respectively.⁴⁴ Lisa was Jewish but not observant, while Hans was a Protestant. In 1933, they had fled to Prague, where they smuggled people and documents over the border with Germany. They continued this work in Switzerland and Holland before moving to Paris. After the start of the Second World War, they were imprisoned in French concentration camps as ‘enemy aliens.’ They escaped and eventually became *passeurs* in the village of Banyuls-sur-Mer, at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, in the *Département des Pyrénées-Orientales*. They took over 100 Jews and non-Jews across the border in the autumn and winter of 1940-1941. Most were sent to them by an American organisation called the Emergency Rescue Committee. This organisation helped noted scientists, intellectuals, writers and artists reach to the United States and had dispatched Varian Fry, a young American journalist, from New York to Marseilles to find such individuals. Fry recruited the Fittkos as border guides in early October 1940.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Letter from Merle K. Gross to Maureen Roin, 18 Jan. 1999, Yad Vashem Archive, Righteous Collection of Hans Fittko, item no. 4014840, Doc. 2; Metadata from Lisa F. Holocaust Testimony, interview mssa.hvt.1669, 18 November 1990, interviewed by Elizabeth Jacob and Raya Shapiro, Fortunoff Archive.

⁴⁵ Lisa Fittko Holocaust Testimony, Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies (FVAHT), Yale University Library; Fittko, *Escape*, 117-120; on Lisa Fittko’s background, see Fittko, *Solidarity and Treason*; on numbers rescued and frequency of crossings, see Fittko, *Escape*, 111, 126; Fry, *Surrender*, 124. On the Emergency Rescue Committee, see Fry, *Surrender*. On the Fittkos’ trajectory, see Adams, “On Becoming a Rescuer.”



Figure 2: The high plain known as the Cerdagne, in the Pyrénées-Orientales. The terrain through which the *passeeur* Marcel Gallon took escapees was gently rolling. He left from Angoustrine, the village depicted in the photograph, and did not have to cross the mountains to reach the Spanish enclave of Llívia.⁴⁶

Marcel Gallon was another *passeeur* very unlike those depicted in research to date.⁴⁷ He was from a village in the Auvergne region of central France and was a brother in the order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. He had been ill and in bed for eleven months in northern France when, in May 1940, he was sent to the Brothers' sanatorium in the Pyrenees. The sanatorium stood next to a village called Angoustrine, in an area called the Cerdagne, in the Pyrénées-Orientales, 136 kilometres along roads to the west of Banyuls. The sanatorium's director put Marcel in charge of the sanatorium's food storage room-cum-shop as soon as he arrived. This work required that he cross the border frequently to go to the tiny Spanish enclave of Llívia and fetch food and drink from another community of brothers of the same order. Llívia was about half an hour's walk from

⁴⁶ <https://www.turismo-pirineosorientales.es/vallee-dangoustrine/angoustrine-villeneuve-des-escalades/pnalar066v50ukqn> accessed 26 August 2023. I thank the Town Hall of Angoustrine for having granted permission to publish this photograph.

⁴⁷ He is referred to in Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 80.

the sanatorium. He had a travel permit (*laissez-passer*) allowing him to move around in the area. Abbé Ginoux, who was the chaplain of the nearby sanatorium of Ur and the priest of Dorres, just west of Angoustrine, would help people who approached him about fleeing France. He put them in contact with a local escape line that took them to the nearby town of Puigcerdà, in Spain proper. He had recruited Marcel Gallon into the escape line soon after Marcel's arrival at the sanatorium.⁴⁸ Marcel also began assisting the escape line of the *Deuxième Bureau*, the intelligence service of the French military, in Toulouse. In addition, he took escapees, mostly Jews, to Llívia for the escape line of the *Pères dominicains de Marseille* (Dominican priests of Marseille). Father Ricaud, the chaplain of the sanatorium, was the person to whom this escape line sent its escapees. Marcel Gallon would take them to Michel Elias, a man in Llívia, who would lead them to Puigcerdà.⁴⁹ Working for these different escape lines, Gallon took over 100 Jews and non-Jews across the border between 1940 or 1941, and April 1943.⁵⁰ In parallel, he smuggled documents to Llívia so that they might be sent to London.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 9, Righteous collections, YVA.

⁴⁹ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 9, 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

⁵⁰ Marcel Gallon was born on 8th May 1903 in Beurières, Puy-de-Dôme; see 'Frère GALLON Célestin MARCEL,' dossier 10D1089, Archives Lasalliennes de France. Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 9-10, Righteous collections, YVA. For information on Marcel Gallon's trajectory, see Adams, "Becoming a Rescuer."

⁵¹ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 11, Righteous collections, YVA.



Figure 3: The regional governor in Toulouse sent Jews to the village of Aulus-les-Bains, in Ariège, where some felt hemmed in by the high mountains on three sides.⁵²

The last *passeurs* whom this article studies closely are Jean-Pierre Acgouau and his daughter Jeanne (later called Jeanne Rogalle). They were farmers in the foothills of the Pyrenees, in the village of Aulus-les-Bains, in the *département* of Ariège, 111 kilometres to the northwest of Angoustrine along roads. They raised sheep and grew vegetables. Some 587 Jews were living in Aulus in 1942, nearly all of them having been forced to move there in the spring by the regional governor (*préfet*), who selected Aulus as one of several villages to which he sent Jews.⁵³ A few

⁵² Photograph on website <https://lareleveetlapeste.fr/a-aulus-les-bains-le-maire-a-dejoue-une-fraude-et-redonne-a-leau-son-statut-de-bien-commun/> accessed 26 August 2023. I thank the editors of “La relève et la peste” for having granted permission to publish this photograph. For a refugee who felt trapped by the mountains, see Weening, Florry. Interview 31172. Interview by Genie Glucksman. *Visual History Archive*, Shoah Foundation, July 14, 1997. Accessed June 4, 2024. Website <https://vha-usc-edu.libproxy.berkeley.edu/testimony/31172?from=search>

⁵³ Aulus became a *centre d’assignation à résidence* at the beginning of 1942. Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains Auschwitz*, 33, 39.

months later, on 26 August 1942, the French police conducted a mass roundup in Unoccupied France. They took many of the Jewish refugees in Aulus to the nearby detention camp of Le Vernet, from which they were sent to Drancy and then Auschwitz. After the raid, several of those left behind in Aulus wanted to escape to Spain. Jean-Pierre Acgouau guided three groups to the border between the end of November and mid-December 1942; Jeanne accompanied him on the trip of 5 December, 1942.⁵⁴ She had just turned 21 and Jean-Pierre was 61.⁵⁵ The Acgouaus were not the only *passeurs* living in Aulus. Jean Ané (Prince) was a local farmer, born in the village in 1903. He was married to Marianne Ané, née Galin, also a farmer, and had two sons.⁵⁶ He hid two Austrian Jewish sisters called Nechama and Sarah Melzer and took them to the border on 7 December 1942.⁵⁷ The Acgouaus and Jean Ané, being local farmers, knew the mountain paths well, and they knew whom they could trust in the village.

GUIDING AND ITS CHALLENGES

The *passeurs*' work consisted of both guiding and extensive and varied preparatory work. Guiding to the border normally involved a long walk uphill to a pass with a group of two to nine refugees, except for in the Cerdagne where the walk was over undulating countryside. The central area of the Pyrenees has high mountains reminiscent of the Alps, whilst at the western and eastern edges, the mountains are far lower and the slopes less steep. The *passeurs* did not find the walk challenging; they were fit and had done it before. Starting out from the village of Banyuls-sur-Mer on the Mediterranean, Lisa and Hans Fittko, if walking alone, could reach the border in two hours.⁵⁸ When travelling with refugees, the trek took longer than this, as the refugees tended to be less strong and sometimes in poor health, or not self-disciplined when faced with the difficulty of the climb.⁵⁹ Lisa remembers the walk as an easy to moderate climb with just one very steep area.⁶⁰ She found the slipperiness of the path tricky in places, however, and it was with some consternation that she discovered on her first crossing that the trail petered out, making it easy to get lost. She recalls, 'The term "path" gradually proved to be an exaggeration. Now and then there was a path to be seen, but increasingly it was just a barely recognizable, gravelly track between boulders.'⁶¹ In Aulus-les-Bains, Jeanne and Jean-Pierre Acgouau could reach the border in five hours if alone, because they were used to long, uphill walks, as they would take sheep to pasture by the border in

⁵⁴ Nadouce and Rogalle, *Jeanne d'Aulus*, 16-31.

⁵⁵ Nadouce and Rogalle, *Jeanne*, 4.

⁵⁶ Carte du Combattant of Jean Ané, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Document 16; Certificat de domicile de résidence of Marianne Ané, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Document 15.

⁵⁷ Letter from Nechama Melzer to Mordecai Paldiel, 23 Jan. 1984, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Documents 2-5.

⁵⁸ Fittko, *Escape*, 106, 108-110, 127.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 108-110.

⁶⁰ Fittko, *Escape*, 106, 108-110, 127.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 109, 110.

summer.⁶² With exhausted refugees, however, the walk took twelve hours.⁶³ Their slopes were moderately steep and peppered with boulders near the pass. As it was winter, they had to be careful of icy patches that could be difficult to see in the dark.⁶⁴ Marcel Gallon's terrain was much less challenging. He only had to negotiate very gentle slopes between Angoustrine and the Spanish enclave of Llívia, and the walk took him under an hour.⁶⁵ All the *passeurs* turned back at the border so as not to be caught by Spanish border guards, except for Marcel Gallon, who could enter the enclave because he had the required travel permit.⁶⁶

While guiding, the *passeurs* sometimes experienced discomfort because of the weather. Winter in the Pyrenees can bring very low temperatures, wind, snow, rain, and a fog that makes it hard to see. Lisa Fittko 'was freezing' on windy autumn days, partly because she did not have much to eat.⁶⁷ In the early autumn, by contrast, she found the sun a little too warm for comfort.⁶⁸ Jean-Pierre Acgouau felt worried when some rain drops fell at dawn, as they were climbing.⁶⁹ A Spanish employer of *passeurs* who led fugitives from France to Andorra recalls walking through deep snow as exhausting; it made one hot and sweaty. When it was very cold, to stop could be fatal and one could get frostbite, which could result in gangrene and amputation.⁷⁰ For a Jewish refugee by the name of Jacques Samuel, from Strasbourg, deep snow together with steep slopes made for an extremely long and difficult walk while being guided through the central Pyrenees.⁷¹ Snow could cause avalanches as well; the *passeur* Jean Ané (Prince) feared avalanches and so dared not walk to the border after December, with the Melzer sisters.⁷²

⁶² Nadouze and Rogalle, *Jeanne*, 4-14; Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains*, 70.

⁶³ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA. All translations by Jacqueline Adams.

⁶⁴ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, Document 70.

⁶⁵ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, item ID 4042838, Document 10.

⁶⁶ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, item ID 4042838, Document 10; Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, Document 69; Fittko, *Escape*, 111-112.

⁶⁷ Fittko, *Escape*, 124, 127, 130.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 110, 124, 127, 130.

⁶⁹ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA.

⁷⁰ Viadiu, *Andorra: cadena de evasión*, 90, 94, 103-105.

⁷¹ Samuel, *Journal*, 263.

⁷² Letter from Nachama Melzer to Mordecai Paldiel, 23 Jan. 1984, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Documents 2-5; Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled

One of the challenges of guiding, from the *passeurs*' perspective, was refugees' not coping well with the climb. Jeanne Acgouau found guiding arduous because the refugees became extremely tired. It took twelve hours for the group to reach the border. She helped them clamber over boulders and during the last stretch, she carried a couple's baby.⁷³ Refugees who complained and lacked self-discipline frustrated the Fittkos. Lisa notes in her diary entry of 7 December 1940 that she and Hans guided a woman with a disability, whom they and the other two refugees brought up the steep vineyard by holding on to her arm or pushing her from behind. The woman complained constantly, asking how much higher they had to go, and if there wasn't an easier route. She then demanded an apple and was unhappy about their not having brought one.⁷⁴ Lisa would compare escapees like her with Walter Benjamin, whom she admired because he had heart problems and had to climb slowly but only allowed himself breaks every ten minutes and did not complain.⁷⁵ For the Fittkos, an additional source of frustration and anger was some refugees' starting out on the climb with a bulky bundle, contrary to their instructions. Such baggage made them conspicuous, endangering them all. On one occasion, customs guards approached and questioned Hans because a refugee in his group was carrying a fur coat in a bag; Hans was angry. On another occasion, he felt frustrated when a family wanted to take along a suitcase. Lisa empathised with the family but remained firm about the suitcase's risk to them all. The Fittkos approached the mayor and arranged for the luggage to be forwarded to Spain.⁷⁶ Their having guided many refugees across other borders in previous years would have exposed them to individuals who did not complain when faced with constraints or challenges, and this may explain their frustration with refugees who did. In sum, the extent to which refugees had difficulties, were self-disciplined and followed instructions could make the experience of guiding pleasant, or less so.

'1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA.

⁷³ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA.

⁷⁴ Fittko, *Escape*, 136.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 109, 136.

⁷⁶ Fittko, Lisa, *Escape through the Pyrenees*, (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 106, 109-110.



Figure 4: Lisa Fittko, Passport photo, Havana, Cuba, 1942⁷⁷

⁷⁷ https://www.varianfry.org/fittko_photos_en.htm last visited on 16 August, 2023. I thank the Varian Fry Institute for having granted permission to publish this photograph.



Figure 5: Hans Fittko in Havana, Cuba, 1946⁷⁸

Lisa and Hans were very pleased when the refugees reached the border quickly. They thought that this could only be done with strong, young people who were disciplined.⁷⁹ They were also appreciative when they had refugees who did not give them trouble and who adjusted easily, such as German resistance members whom they warned, ‘The route isn’t easy,’ and who replied, ‘No matter, we haven’t had it easy for a long time.’⁸⁰ Hans felt elated when a trip went well. As Lisa wrote, immediately after one of his trips, ‘When it goes so easily, said Hans later, so trouble-free, one can sometimes forget about the goal and purpose; one is joyful about everything, as if one were on an outing, a normal everyday excursion.’⁸¹ A refugee’s positive attitude could cancel out the discomforts caused by physical challenges. On Lisa’s first crossing, she was ‘in a good mood’ even though she had to cope with the sun’s heat, a slippery path, and Walter Benjamin’s heavy briefcase.⁸² Time and time again while guiding, she delighted in the view of the sea from the top of the mountains.⁸³

⁷⁸ https://www.varianfry.org/fittko_photos_en.htm, last visited 16 August, 2023. I thank the Varian Fry Institute for having granted permission to publish this photograph.

⁷⁹ Fittko, *Escape*, 131.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 141. She refers to his taking ‘Hermant’ (Albert O. Hirschman) over the border, in her diary on 20 January 1940.

⁸² Fittko, *Escape*, 110.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 126.

For guides, the main challenge involved in their work was, arguably, the presence of customs officials and the police in their village and in the mountains.⁸⁴ The French Pyrenees were peppered with patrolling police force units and customs officials. After Germany invaded the Unoccupied Zone on 11 November 1942, there were German patrols as well. If a patrol caught a *passeur* and his or her group, the escapees could be sent to a detention camp and the *passeur* could be imprisoned, interrogated, treated roughly, fined, deported, or also interned in a camp. The Fittkos were imprisoned and taken to court but released, and Marcel Gallon was interned for a week, suffering ill-treatment at the hands of a Gestapo chief.⁸⁵ As it was illegal for foreigners to leave France without an exit visa and to travel outside their locality without a travel permit, to help them do these things was considered a criminal act.⁸⁶

The *passeurs* coped with the danger by choosing departure times and paths that made them less likely to encounter police and customs officers on patrol. They still experienced unpleasant emotions due to the risk, however. Lisa Fittko guided British soldiers as well as Jews and recalls, for example, ‘We can pretty much depend on the customs officers not being at their posts between three and four in the morning; we discovered that fact a long time ago. Hence, I meet the Englishmen at half-past three and carefully guide them out of the village (by now I’m used to the scary two minutes on the bridge) and up through the houses and trees of Puig del Mas.’⁸⁷ She was always nervous on the bridge because the customs officers tended to wait next to it, partly hidden by bushes. Although she chose a time when they were not usually there, there was a chance that they might be.⁸⁸ She and the other *passeurs* were aware of the places along their route where they were more likely to meet a patrol and were careful to warn the refugees to be quiet in these spots. Hans was angry when, at a very dangerous spot where the path ran close to the road, and just after he had said that they must be silent, a refugee threw herself to the ground, refused to go further, screamed and cried.⁸⁹ He and Lisa, like the other guides, found out about which times and places were safer and less safe, acted accordingly, and warned the refugees about dangers.

⁸⁴ Adams, “Becoming a Rescuer in the Pyrenees: Border Guides Who Took Jews from France to Franco’s Spain (1940–1943),” in press, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. On claims by the Franco government that Spain had, on the contrary, been a safe haven and saved thousands of Jews, see Correa, “Franco, Savior of the Jews?” 195-218.

⁸⁵ Walter Meyerhof, ‘An Episode Missing from ESCAPE THROUGH THE PYRENEES by Lisa Fittko,’ Documents 12-14, Collection of Hans Fittko, Righteous collections, YVA; Marcel Gallon, ‘Notes concernant mes activités dans la RÉSISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),’ 19 March, 1983, Documents 11-12, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

⁸⁶ Fittko, *Escape*, 96, 119, 120.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁸ ‘Ariège Pyrénées. Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s’échapper,’ <http://www.ariège.com/histoire/jeannefr.html>, Documents 68-70, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Righteous collections, YVA.

⁸⁹ Fittko, *Escape*, 131-132.



Figure 6: Jeanne Rogalle outside her home in Aulus-les-Bains, Ariège⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Collection of Jeanne Rogalle, Archive Item ID 5220030, file number file number 14487177, YVA, Righteous collections. I thank the Yad Vashem Documents Archive for having granted permission to publish this photograph.

In the autumn and winter of 1940-1941, when Lisa and Hans were guiding, Germany had not yet invaded the Unoccupied Zone, in which Banyuls-sur-Mer was located. Consequently, there were no German patrols there at the time. The authorities whom they worried most about meeting were the local French customs officers, who would patrol along the road that ran parallel to the Fittkos' trail and stand watch at the upper edge of Banyuls, looking for suspicious activity.⁹¹ Once in the mountains, Lisa was relatively relaxed.⁹² By contrast, in the last few months during which Marcel Gallon served as a *passeur*, the Cerdagne was German-occupied. Marcel took the precaution of arranging for a fellow *passeur*, Brother Roland, to wait by the path and look out for patrols, while Marcel went into Llívia.⁹³ Similarly, when Jean-Pierre and Jeanne were guiding refugees, in December 1942, they were very aware that there were both French and German police units in the village and mountains. They were wary of them as they began their climb, walking through the village.⁹⁴ Jeanne recalls, 'The Germans had been occupying Aulus since 16 November [...] German patrols had begun doing their rounds in the village and surrounding area and it was 5 December. We had to reach Spain; we could not go back. It was very hard for everyone, and we were relieved when we found ourselves on Spanish soil.'⁹⁵ These words make clear that she recalls feeling under pressure to keep the refugees progressing steadily upwards, despite their exhaustion, because of the German patrols. Her relief indicates that she was worried during the climb. Yet the refugees asked for more and longer breaks and walked more and more slowly as they neared the border. Jean-Pierre and Jeanne had to encourage them to keep walking because it was dangerous to linger.⁹⁶ Jeanne's description of the trek evokes the fear and tension caused by the need to avoid patrols while refugees asked for longer rests. It is so vivid and conveys so well how she remembers experiencing guiding refugees through the mountains during the German occupation, that it merits quoting in full, despite its length:

On 29 November 1942, my father, Jean-Pierre Acgouau, successfully led two Dutch Jews to the border. He returned to Aulus with a letter whom someone came to fetch that very evening.

On 3 December, we again had a visit from the man who had come to fetch the letter a few days earlier. He asks my father if he might be willing to accompany nine people to the border: five men, three women and a boy of twelve. I hear this conversation and suggest that I could be a second guide. My father agrees; he knows that he can count on me because in the summer, I often accompany him to the high summer pastures near the border.

⁹¹ Ibid., 106-112.

⁹² Ibid., 108-110.

⁹³ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 8 and 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

⁹⁴ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Document 66.

⁹⁶ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled '1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s'échapper,' Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA.

The departure is planned for the following day, during the night of 4 to 5 December, at 3 A.M. It is agreed that people will not be carrying baggage: a bag for the mountains and a bit of food and drink, and they should dress warmly and above all, take good shoes. Everyone comes together at the Rue du Moulin, in front of the barn next to our house. My father, in a quiet voice, recommends that they do not bang their sticks on the path, and says to follow closely, each person stepping in the footsteps of the person in front.

It's me who is at the head of the group; my father is behind. In front of the houses at the top of the village, a dog barks. It is important that the Germans, French border guards, or even someone else from the village do not see us. In the shadows, we pass in front of the Cross of the Stream; I cross myself and pray God that we will have a good day and that our expedition will be successful.

Once across the Riou bridge, I feel less scared of meeting someone. The stars are shining but it's not too cold. From the Artigou onwards, the path becomes steeper, and we don't move forward quickly, but the hardest part is next to the Ars waterfall. We need to explain to the group how to walk: on the path, at night, the frozen puddles become white patches. One tends to step on them, thinking that they are rocks, whereas one should in fact step on the dark areas, where there is grass. In some places, to cross the frozen streams, we have to lead people, one by one. We are advancing slowly but always moving upwards. The sun has just risen. A gust of wind scatters some raindrops; my father gets worried, but the cloud passes, and the sky is clear again.



Figure 7: Jeanne, Jean-Pierre and the refugees had to climb up the slopes that flank the waterfall of Ars. The steep gradient would have contributed to the refugees' exhaustion.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ <http://candie-pyrenees-passion.blogspot.com/2011/08/la-cascade-dars-en-circuit-avec-letang.html> accessed 26 August 2023. I thank Candie for having granted permission to publish this photograph.

At Lake Cabanas, to our surprise, we come across another group. It is led by Jean Baptiste Rogalle Matiélot, who was not yet my husband at the time, and its members are a family of four: the father, the mother, their little boy of eight months and the grandmother, all of whom were staying at Cabailé's place. We didn't know that Baptiste was doing this crossing. He explains that he had left at midnight but had advanced only very slowly. We all stop to eat next to the lake.

It's light now; we cannot delay, we must continue. It's impossible to describe the effort required. Everyone is already tired; we progress only very slowly. The women sit down more and more often, begging us, "Just a minute, just a minute." My father replies that we must keep moving forward. "You'll manage it, we cannot go back down, the Germans are there. Up there, if the weather gets bad, we cannot stay."

When we arrive above Troun d'Ars, he keeps urging them on, pointing out the pass, which seems to be very nearby. But they know how much further we must travel.

We take a break and set out again among the fallen rocks, towards the Guillou Pass. My father and I go from one rock to the next, holding our hands out to these men and women, who are now exhausted. Baptiste takes care of the mother and grandmother of the baby. It's the father who holds the baby, in a duvet tied around his neck with a strip of cloth, resting against his belly. He too is exhausted, and I have to take the baby, with whom I am the first to cross the border.

On the pass, a rock has been marked with the letters "F.E." [France-España]. Now that it is safe, I put the baby in his duvet on the short grass. A few moments later, a man from the group reaches me, so I can help my father and Baptiste bring everyone up.

The sun lights up the rocks. We don't hang around and instead go down on the Spanish side directly towards the Romedo pond, stopping above it on a bit of flat land.

We take the remaining food out of the haversacks: bread, cheese, some pieces of sugar, now rationed. This little snack and rest raise everyone's spirits. The baby is fed a bit of milk from a thermos flask that his mother has brought.

A lady takes out a mirror and powders her nose. "I see that you are feeling better," my father jokes. One of the men asks me how old I am and thanks me for what I am doing for them. It is almost 3 o'clock and it is time to go our separate ways. My father shows them the path that goes down to the pond, and the path with the hoof-prints of the Spanish animal herds, that goes into the valley towards Tabescan.

We are going to part ways. Someone gives my father a letter that they have written hurriedly, telling us that someone will come to fetch it at our home this evening. We leave, it is almost 4 P.M., and we go back up towards the Guillou Pass. When we get to the pass,

we turn around and see the two groups going around the Romedo Pond in single file, following the well-marked path. “They’ve made a good start,” says my father.

We go down the pass towards Aulus, almost running, stepping from rock to rock. When we reach the base of the waterfall, it’s almost dark, and we slow down. At Gouttes de Pey, we go down towards the footbridge. In our house, my mother has not closed the shutters, and we soon see the lamp in our kitchen. We arrive and are about to sit down and eat when the man who had asked us to accompany the group comes for news.⁹⁸

Jeanne’s words suggest that for her and her father, the most difficult part of the guiding was not their own tiredness but the refugees’ difficulty with the climb when it was imperative to keep up a good pace because of the risk that the patrols might find them. The group advanced slowly because of the tricky terrain and because the effort involved tired them out. Jeanne writes elsewhere, ‘Progress was very slow, as each person had something that they were carrying. The father of the baby was exhausted, so I took the baby and carried it across the border.’ The tension between the danger of a patrol finding them and the refugees’ needing to rest and walk slowly made Jeanne anxious, and Jean-Pierre as well, we sense. They were focused on keeping the refugees moving upwards. They kept them going by telling them that the border was not far away, warning them of the dangers of delaying, physically helping them climb, helping carry the baby, suggesting a rest and sharing their food with them.⁹⁹ They joined forces with the other *passeur* and his group, thinking that this would increase their chances of reaching the border.¹⁰⁰ This suggests that the risk that they might not was present in their minds. The account also suggests that with the Germans in Aulus, Jeanne experienced fear and tension during much or all of the climb to the border, and at some points more than others. She felt that the beginning of the climb, as they left the village, was a very dangerous moment, as they might be overheard by Germans or the French authorities. She felt safer in the mountains. The account shows, as well, that she and her father were concerned to protect the refugees from physical dangers. They tried to prevent them from slipping and falling on icy patches on the trail. Jeanne kept the boy of thirteen close to her, as they were walking in the dark.¹⁰¹ What Jeanne describes in the excerpt is what she remembers rather than a reflection of exactly what happened. She wrote the account many years after the event. However, it is likely that it approximates closely what she experienced because this was an extraordinary event, and unusual events are, arguably, remembered in more detail than everyday events, provided that the trauma is not so great as to cause amnesia or distortions of memory.

It was not just Jeanne and Jean-Pierre who felt anxious during the trip; the refugees did too. Elias-Willy Zomerplaag, a young Dutchman, recalls the climb in the following way: ‘My

⁹⁸ Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled ‘1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s’échapper,’ Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA. Translation by Jacqueline Adams.

⁹⁹ See also Letter by Jeanne Rogalle to Alain Zipper, 6 July 2002, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Document 27.

¹⁰⁰ Handwritten statement by Jeanne Rogalle, 4 February 2004, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, Document 65.

¹⁰¹ Letter by Jeanne Rogalle to Mr. and Mrs. Zipper, 20 May 2003, YVA, Righteous Collections Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Document 40.

father made an appointment with a guide, through one of the Dutch refugees. That very evening of the 5th December 1942, at about 11 p.m. (???), the group that was going met in the main road of Aulus (???). We were nine people and I did not know everyone. [...] We had to be very quiet [...] We set out, in single file, with one guide in front and another at the back. The guide in front was dressed like a man, but was probably a girl.’¹⁰² His words suggest that he felt nervous and afraid, because he focuses on having to behave in ways not customary, that is, being quiet and walking in single file, and because he remembers the unfamiliar and disconcerting, such as not knowing everyone, and the guide’s not being what she seemed.

How many people did the guides take to the border, whom did they take, and how often did they make the trip? The guides who worked for escape lines took more people to the border, and more frequently, than those who did not. The Fittkos and Marcel Gallon made many trips because they had escape lines or resistance groups sending them people. The Fittkos, as mentioned above, were part of Varian Fry’s escape line. Fry had asked them to work as *passeurs* for him when he heard that Lisa had taken Walter Benjamin to Spain.¹⁰³ He had promised that he would help them obtain their visas. Hans had asked him only for enough money to ensure that everything ran smoothly, with a reserve for emergencies. Fry had agreed and let Lisa and Hans have a free hand in supplying the refugees with funds for the journey, each according to need.¹⁰⁴ The Fittkos guided groups once, twice and sometimes three times a week, throughout the autumn and winter of 1940-1941, rescuing more than a hundred people.¹⁰⁵ They negotiated with Fry’s committee for there to be two or three refugees at a time, and the most-endangered as soon as possible.¹⁰⁶ The refugees were Jewish and non-Jewish and included anti-Nazi, mostly German, ex-senior officials; political party members; editors; intellectuals; and in March 1941, British pilots.¹⁰⁷ Marcel Gallon took over a hundred Jews and non-Jews across the border, alone, in pairs and possibly in slightly larger groups.¹⁰⁸ They came to him via at least three escape lines, as described above.¹⁰⁹ Marcel’s escapees were mostly Belgian and French military men, and Christian religious leaders. He saved

¹⁰² ‘Fuite de France vers l’Espagne le 5/12/1942’ by Elias-Willy Zomerplaag, 14 April, 2004, Berchem (Antwerp), translated by Eliane Maneles, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Document 80.

¹⁰³ Fittko, *Escape*, 118-120.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 111, 126; Lisa Fittko Holocaust Testimony, Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies (FVAHT), Yale University Library; Fry, *Surrender*, 124.

¹⁰⁶ Fittko, *Escape*, 134.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 132, 142-144, 157-159.

¹⁰⁸ Gallon once took nine people across the border in one night, but his wording suggests that he did this in several trips. Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, ‘NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),’ YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, item ID 4042838, Documents 9, 10; Letter by Marcel Gallon to Henri Dunajewski, 10 October 1983, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, item ID 4042838, Document 27; ‘Frère GALLON Célestin MARCEL,’ dossier 10D1089, Archives Lasalliennes de France.

¹⁰⁹ Letter by Marcel Gallon to Henri Dunajewski, 10 October 1983, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Document 27.

a dozen or several dozen Jews.¹¹⁰ In Ariège, Jeanne and Jean-Pierre Acgouau were not part of an escape line. Jean-Pierre Acgouau took two Dutch Jews to the border on a first trip on 29 November 1942, and nine Dutch and Polish Jews on a second together with Jeanne (5 December 1942). He attempted to take more people to the border a few days later, but the group was caught. The Jews whom he and Jeanne guided were in forced residence in Aulus.¹¹¹ After all the Jews were taken away from Aulus, the Acgouaus guided Frenchmen who wanted to avoid the Compulsory Work Service, most of whom would have been non-Jews.

SUBSTANTIAL AND VARIED PREPARATORY WORK

Preparatory work was as much part of what guides did as leading refugees up the mountains. Much of this work required recruiting and working with accomplices. Marcel Gallon and the Fittkos provided many of their fugitives with food and a place to sleep. This required that they search for providers whom they could trust and make arrangements with them before the refugees' arrival. In Banyuls-sur-Mer, Lisa and Hans found a hotel owner who would house their fugitives without asking for papers or demanding food stamps.¹¹² They were especially careful when the refugees stood out among the locals, renting an out-of-the-way villa or rooms from a railway employee and fisherman, in such cases; on one occasion, they turned to friends.¹¹³ The Aulus-les-Bains farmer Jean Ané hid the Austrian sisters, Nechama and Sarah Melzer, for weeks in two of his barns in the mountains, then in his attic in the village, and then at Aulus' Hôtel de France, whose owner he knew. A woman in the village helped him.¹¹⁴ He also brought the sisters milk and meat.¹¹⁵ All the *passeurs* fed the refugees before or during the trip. Marcel Gallon

¹¹⁰ Letter by Henri Dunajewski to Yad Vashem, 8 May 1983, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Marcel Gallon, item ID 4042838, Document 16.

¹¹¹ Jeanne Rogalle's account in Nadouze and Rogalle, 'Jeanne,' 16-28. Nadouze and Rogalle, *Jeanne*, 4-14; Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains*, 70. On the groups of refugees, see 'Personnes ayant séjourné à la prison de Sort et qui pourraient correspondre aux passages des 29/11 et 5/12/1942 relatés par Jeanne Rogalle dans le Bulletin no. 17' February 2002, YVA, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, Document 24. Spanish prison entries suggest that on the 5 December crossing, there were two Dutch brothers, one of whom was 16 (Joseph and Philip Meljado); a Polish couple of 40 and 33 (Hena and Szyja Moskowitz), a man of 40 (Abraham Shilansky), a Dutch family in which the husband was 41, the wife 40 and the son 13 (Gerrit, Dora and Marcel van Geuns), and a Dutchman of 17 (Elias Zomerplaag). « Passage en Espagne du 5 decembre 1942 » by Jean-Louis Deschamps in Aulus, written in May 2003, YVA, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, documents 37 and 38.

¹¹² Fittko, *Escape*, 129, 141.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 131, 156.

¹¹⁴ Letter from Nechama Melzer to Mordecai Paldiel, Yad Vashem, 23 Jan. 1984, YVA, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Documents 2-5; Fittko, *Escape*, 156; One of the Melzer sisters quoted in Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains*, 100.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Nechama Melzer to Mordecai Paldiel, Yad Vashem, 23 Jan. 1984, YVA, Collection of Jean Ané Prince, Document 2-5; Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains*, 100.

sometimes provided a substantial meal at his sanatorium, while Lisa, Jean-Pierre and Jeanne provided snacks during the climb.¹¹⁶

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
Frère		AIME - EDMOND										H4: 01				
Nom et Prénoms		GALLON Célestin Marcel										H4: 40				
Fils de																
Né le		8/05/1903					à BEURRIERES					Comr				
Canton		arlane										68 Dépar				
Naturalisé le												N° de				
N° du passeport												Date				
Ecoles fréquentées																
Entré au Juvénat de							le					Au				
Entré au Noviciat de		HAL					le					1923				
Premiers vœux à		Hal					le					1924 20.04.25				
Scolasticat (lieu et date)		Hal														

Figure 9: Marcel Gallon and the biographical data produced by his order.

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Planning and organising were also part of the preparatory work. The guides found ways to take the refugees to Spain as soon as possible after being entrusted with them. Marcel Gallon, for example, worked out an efficient system for taking Jews to Llívia, whereby they were fed at the sanatorium and given a chance to rest while the person who was the next link in the escape line was notified. He recalls,

As soon as Father RICAUD had met the people coming from MARSEILLE, he would have someone fetch me, and entrust me with them. Some would say, “We are Jewish,” so I would act quickly, knowing that they were in danger. They were served a substantial meal and while they were regaining their strength, Brother ROMAIN or I would go to Spanish

¹¹⁶ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, ‘NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),’ Document 10, Righteous collections, YVA; Account by Jeanne Rogalle on webpage entitled ‘1942: Une jeune Ariègeoise aide une famille juive à s’échapper,’ Document 68, Collection of Jean-Baptiste Rogalle, File M.31.2/10490, YVA; Fittko, *Escape*, 107.

¹¹⁷ Form for Marcel Gallon, Répertoire des Grandes Fiches, Archives Lasalliennes. Beurrières should be spelt with one “r.” I thank Bruno Meillet for having granted permission to publish this document.

territory to speak with our contact, who would take charge of them and guide them to PUIGCERDA. This contact's name was Miche[l] ELIAS. He lived at his parents' in SAREJA, a village in LLIVIA, and sometimes in ANGOUSTRINE, where he had an apartment. [...] I once took across the border up to nine in a single night. Two hours had been sufficient to feed and take these Israelites to LLIVIA.¹¹⁸

These words suggest that Gallon performed at least three kinds of preparatory work very efficiently, when his refugees were Jews: going to meet them, arranging for them to be fed, and contacting the next link in the escape line, in Llivia, or arranging with Brother Romain that he would do this. Gallon's description also indicates that he worked closely with his colleague, Romain. Brother Romain also lived at the sanatorium and worked with Marcel at the sanatorium's food storage room-cum-shop. His civil name was François Romain Léonard Rousselin, and he was born on 7th April 1909 in Reclesne, Saône-et-Loire, in eastern France.¹¹⁹

Guides' preparations involved many different activities. Gallon, for example, provided the escapees with forged documents.¹²⁰ He made these in his room at night, while the fugitives were eating and sleeping.¹²¹ If he was unable to take the escapees across the border quickly, he had them wait and made arrangements for them to be housed 'at our home, at Dr Mons', at the Hôtel des Violettes, at Hôtel Aspero [both in Angoustrine], or in the countryside.'¹²² A few hours before a crossing, he would meet with his escapee and go over details about the upcoming walk, sometimes in the hotel in which he had arranged for them to stay.¹²³ He lent some fugitives a habit as a disguise, immediately before the crossing.¹²⁴ In addition, for many or all of his trips, he made plans

¹¹⁸ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹¹⁹ François Romain Léonard Rousselin, 'Informations sur un Frère' Recueil des fiches de carrière, Fichier central des archives lasalliennes, consultables sur https://www.archives-lasalliennes.org/intergration/fiche_frere.php#, Archives Lasalliennes de France.

¹²⁰ Statement by René de Naurois, 14th June 1947, Document 13, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹²¹ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 11, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹²² Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 8 and 10, Righteous collections, YVA; Letter by Marcel Gallon to Henri Dunajewski, 10 October 1983, Document 27, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹²³ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 10-11, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹²⁴ Statement by Hellemans Antoine Charles, 21 July 1946, Document 2, Righteous collections, YVA; Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 9 and 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

with Brother Romain about what each of them would do.¹²⁵ Gallon's preparatory work took more effort and time than the guiding itself.

The Fittkos' preparatory work included several meetings with the refugees. Lisa or Hans would pick up those whom they knew at the railway station; if they did not know them, the refugees went to their hotel, alone.¹²⁶ On the evening before the climb, they told them what to expect and gave them instructions.¹²⁷ Lisa recalls, 'Each evening before, we sit down with the refugees and go over all the details: don't speak until we're in a safe area; carry nothing, don't attract attention; how to talk your way out of it if something goes wrong. We describe the crossover to them in order to allay their fear of the unknown. We repeat with them what they have to do on the Spanish side: descent, customs post, entry stamp (take note: it's called *entrada*), train to Portugal. Some items of clothing must be exchanged; one doesn't go to work in the vineyards wearing an overcoat.'¹²⁸ They clearly tried hard to help the refugees avoid danger and attempted to lessen their fear. On some occasions, they tried to calm nervous refugees by talking about various topics.¹²⁹ In addition, they gave travel funds to those in need.¹³⁰ As mentioned above, they arranged for refugees' luggage to be sent to Spain. This in itself involved considerable work: they asked the mayor of Banyuls for help, planned that the customs officials would be bribed with cigarettes, and Hans travelled by train to the next village to conduct business with the luggage forwarder whom the mayor had recommended.¹³¹ He took the risk of travelling without the required travel document, but mitigated this by organising for a young helper, Walter Meyerhof, who spoke very good French, to accompany him.¹³²

Communicating with escape line members or organisers was an important part of some *passeurs'* preparatory work. Gallon occasionally discussed the arrival of an escapee with Father Ricaud, who brought him refugees needing to reach Spain.¹³³ In at least one case, he asked his fellow brothers in Llívia to give a fugitive an identity card so that he could travel safely to the consulate in Barcelona.¹³⁴ He would go to warn these brothers or Michel Elias that he would soon

¹²⁵ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 11, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹²⁶ Fittko, *Escape*, 126, 141.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 125-126, 127, 141-144.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 126.

¹²⁹ Fittko, *Escape*, 129.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 120.

¹³¹ Ibid., 127-128.

¹³² Fittko, *Escape*, 128.

¹³³ Statement by René de Naurois, 14th June 1947, Document 13, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹³⁴ Statement by Hellemans Antoine Charles, 21 July 1946, Document 2, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA; Statement by René de Naurois, 14th June 1947, Document 13, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

be bringing them escapees to take to Spain proper, as mentioned above.¹³⁵ Like Gallon, the Fittkos communicated with their escape line, but more often with its organiser or his representatives. They met with an employee of Varian Fry's organisation every couple of weeks in Banyuls and scheduled the weekly contingent of emigrants; discussed how to take to Spain individuals who could not manage the climb;¹³⁶ and listened to him tell them that all their escapees had got through.¹³⁷ Occasionally, they would write to Fry or travel to Marseille to speak with him.¹³⁸ They sent him suggestions about what the refugees should wear and warned him about his committee's having been careless about safety, for example.¹³⁹

The guides' preparatory work began many weeks before a particular refugee arrived, and it was comprehensive, meeting several of the refugees' needs. Sometimes the Fittkos could see that the refugees sent to them would not be able to manage the climb to the border because of health, age, or a disability, so they arranged for them to cross the Pyrenees another way. In previous weeks, they had found individuals or groups who could transport such refugees to Spain, and then tested them for reliability and trustworthiness, sometimes several times over. They settled on a French resistance group and Greek locomotive driver-cum-smuggler.¹⁴⁰ The comprehensiveness of their caring is suggested by the fact that they had arranged for an elderly couple to cross the border with the locomotive driver, and on the morning of their departure, they explained to the couple what they must do when they stepped off the train. As they noticed that they were nervous, they tried to distract them by talking about many topics. Later on, in the evening, they saw them off. After they had left, Hans tried to work out where in the crossing they were, worrying about them.¹⁴¹ The preparatory work had involved recruiting and testing accomplices in previous weeks and, once the refugees were in Banyuls, giving them instructions, tending to their emotional needs and accompanying them to their point of departure.

Solidarity-focused Resistance

The work of the *passeurs* and their accomplices was a form of resistance against the Vichy government and German occupation. We may use the term "resistance" because in helping people leave France clandestinely, the *passeur* and their helpers were acting against the government's wishes and the spirit and letter of the law. Some, although not all, were purposeful about their actions undermining the powers that be, performing them in part because hated fascism or were

¹³⁵ Statement by Marcel Gallon, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 10 and 11, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹³⁶ Fittko, *Escape*, 155-156.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 133-4.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 126, 127, 153.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 148-150; 153-156.

¹⁴⁰ YVA, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Statement by Marcel Gallon, March 19, 1983; Fittko, *Escape*, 126, 128-130, 141, 143, 153.

¹⁴¹ Fittko, *Escape*, 129.

resentful of the German occupation or Vichy government.¹⁴² Their stance was like that described by Robert Gildea, who states that the context was one in which thousands of people were unhappy with the French surrender and German occupation of most France. They began acting in small ways, as individuals and in tiny groups, to support people who wanted to join Allied armies or were being persecuted. These were acts of resistance, by which they knowingly countered an oppressive government's wishes.¹⁴³ The *passeurs* and their circles of accomplices were acting in the same spirit and were part of this broader phenomenon of resistance, and for this reason also, the term "resistance" is appropriate. Megan Koreman uses the term 'civil disobedience' to describe the activities of members of the Dutch-Paris escape line, which took escapees from Holland to Switzerland and Spain.¹⁴⁴ This term is appropriate for the *passeurs* studied in this article, but 'resistance' better captures their intention to 'disobey' while simultaneously hitting back at or weakening the oppressive government.

The *passeurs* and their accomplices constituted a resistance cell. That is, they were a small network of individuals, all acting towards the same goal of rescuing the refugees. The accomplices tended not to be working with each other, but they were all connected through the *passeur*. In the resistance cell, the *passeur* was like the round centre of a sun in a child's drawing, with a ray reaching out to each accomplice. The *passeurs'* and their accomplices' work may be termed *solidarity-focused resistance* because it constituted an effort to help others, and because it was conducted in solidarity with these others, with an awareness that they were in danger. It may be described as small-scale yet significant: it enabled individuals whose lives were in danger escape to a safer place. It was akin to John Scott's peasants' 'forms of everyday resistance,'¹⁴⁵ but different in that it was engaged in for the benefit of another. A cell's solidarity-focused resistance can evolve, with the cell helping different categories of person as time goes on. For example, after guiding Jews, Jeanne and Jean-Pierre Acgouau began leading to the border young Frenchmen escaping from the Compulsory Labour Service, in 1943. These men would have been mostly non-Jewish. Solidarity-focused resistance exists in several authoritarian contexts in which a repressive and violent regime persecutes a category of person. In Santiago, Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship, for example, women living in very low-income neighbourhoods joined groups in which they made dissident art. They soon began helping other groups whose members were directly targeted for persecution. They took food and blankets to the relatives of disappeared persons, for example. As a term, "solidarity-focused resistance" may be used to describe many forms of resistance performed in order to help individuals with whom resisters are in solidarity. It may lead to other forms of resistance and continue alongside them, and it may grow out of other forms of resistance.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² On why they became guides, see Adams, "Becoming a Rescuer in the Pyrenees: Border Guides Who Took Jews from France to Franco's Spain (1940–1943)," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, in press. The Fittkos were antifascist activists and the Acgouaus hated the German occupation.

¹⁴³ Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 57, on the large numbers of resisters, see 20-73.

¹⁴⁴ Koreman, *The Escape Line*, 33, 103.

¹⁴⁵ This is the subject of John Scott's *Weapons of the Weak*.

¹⁴⁶ This resistance is defined as "resistance that aimed to help other people or express solidarity with their struggles, as opposed to resistance focused on one's own problems" and conceptualized more fully in Adams, *Surviving Dictatorship*, 163-173.

An ideal type of *passeur*'s resistance cell

Each *passeur*'s resistance cell contained the same kinds of core member. One core member was someone who may be called a 'border guide's work partner.' This was the individual with whom the *passeur* worked most closely, whom they trusted completely, and who performed several aspects of the work. *Passeurs*' work partners accompanied them on the walk, helped the refugees during the climb, looked out for danger and went to warn the next link in the escape line that they were coming. Marcel Gallon had Brother Romain, with whom he ran the sanatorium's shop and food storage room. Brother Romain would warn the brothers in Llivia that he and Marcel Gallon were going to bring them refugees, often walk with Marcel to Llivia, and sometimes wait for him at the border, watching out for patrols. He also acted as a *passeur* in his own right.¹⁴⁷ Jean-Pierre and Jeanne Aegouau were each other's work partners, as were Hans and Lisa, who did all the preparatory work and much of the guiding together.

People who provided food and accommodation for the refugees constituted a second category of accomplice and core resistance cell member. They included local hotel owners, individuals who rented rooms, and restaurant owners and their employees. In Angoustrine, as mentioned above, Gallon had two hotel owners and the sanatorium's doctor helping him by housing the refugees on occasion, in addition to the director of the sanatorium.¹⁴⁸ The Fittkos had at least four people providing lodgings without asking for the refugees' papers.¹⁴⁹ Jeanne and Jean-Pierre did not rely on others for food or accommodation, but Jean-Pierre's wife housed and fed the last group of Jewish refugees whom he guided to the border. The *passeur* Jean Ané, in Aulus, had the director of a local hotel help him by hiding the Melzer sisters.¹⁵⁰ The border guide's work partner and the providers of food and accommodation constitute the key members of a *passeur*'s resistance cell.

In addition to these elements of a resistance cell, there are other categories of accomplice that are not ubiquitous but important enough to deserve mention. In this category was the local government official. The mayor-cum-grocer of Angoustrine warned Gallon about the arrival of German customs officers or the Gestapo and told him that they had their eye on him. Together with his daughter, he provided ration cards and food.¹⁵¹ The mayor of Banyuls-sur-Mer, Vincent Azéma,

¹⁴⁷ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Documents 8-10, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹⁴⁸ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹⁴⁹ Fittko, *Escape*, 129, 141.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Nechama Melzer to Mordecai Paldiel, Yad Vashem, 23 Jan. 1984, Document 2-3, YVA, Righteous collections, Collection of Jean Ané Prince.

¹⁵¹ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 8, Righteous collections, YVA.

was extremely helpful to the Fittkos. He was a socialist and ropemaker who had become the director of a cooperative of vineyard owners. He claimed to have carried the wife of the Nobel Prize-winner Meyerhof piggyback part of the way from France to Spain.¹⁵² In September 1940, Lisa sought him out and he described the smugglers' route to her; warned her where she was most likely to encounter customs officers; and advised her to leave very early, mingle with the vineyard workers, not speak and only carry a musette so that the guards would not be able to tell her apart from the natives.¹⁵³ In addition to this, he gave her food; requisitioned a house for her and Hans and the refugees;¹⁵⁴ gave Lisa and Hans a statement saying that they were residents of Banyuls; enabled them to receive food ration cards; told them how to adapt to local habits; and offered extra food stamps for refugees.¹⁵⁵ He even helped arrange with the mayor of the village just across the border for refugees' luggage to be transported there.¹⁵⁶ At the end of November 1940, he was removed from office and replaced by a collaborator. He disappeared, going to the spa town of Vernet-les-Bains, in the Pyrenees.¹⁵⁷

Passeurs who were part of religious institutions had helpers in other such institutions. For example, since Marcel Gallon was a Christian brother, he had a bond with the brothers of the same order in Llivia, the bishop and local priests. Some of these were accomplices. The brothers in Llivia, as mentioned earlier, housed his fugitives and led them along the neutral road that ran through French territory to Spain proper.¹⁵⁸ The priest of Angoustrine, Abbé Legay, was a member of the Resistance; he would tell Gallon about conversations that he had had with parishioners, and this helped Gallon plan what he was going to do and 'take interesting initiatives.'¹⁵⁹ Abbé Ginoux, who had recruited Gallon into an escape line, advised him to adopt a false name that escapees would use when asking for him.¹⁶⁰ Father Ricaud helped Gallon organise the escape of at least one fugitive.¹⁶¹ Monsignor Bernard, the bishop of Perpignan, 'did important favours' for Gallon and allowed him to knock on his door at all times, using a second door to his office, so that Gallon would not be noticed by other people who were waiting.¹⁶² Gallon had four helpers among the brothers at his sanatorium. Brother Basile, 'a very valuable assistant,'¹⁶³ was a nurse, and so could

¹⁵² Fittko, *Escape*, 128. I am grateful to Christine Sallès for information about Vincent Azéma; personal communication, 31 March 2024.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 105, 108, 124.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 133; Christine Sallès, personal communication, 31 March 2024. I thank Dr. Sallès for the information.

¹⁵⁸ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 10, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Document 8.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Document 10.

¹⁶¹ Statement by René de Naurois, 14th June 1947, Document 13, Collection of Marcel Gallon, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Document 8.

¹⁶³ Brother Basile's civil name was Henri Méjean. He was from Prades, in the diocese of Mende, where his father was a farmer. He had joined the order in 1900, had lived in Spain for 27 years,

enter any room. He would look out of the windows and warn Gallon immediately if he saw anything suspicious, waving a cloth at the window if Gallon was outside.¹⁶⁴ He also urged him to stay safe in the sanatorium, early one morning, after Gallon returned from a trip to Llivia and told him that he was uneasy because he had come across a woman from Angoustrine on the path and had a feeling that something bad would happen when he set out for Llivia again.¹⁶⁵ A young Polish brother who was very ill and had to stay in his room would take notes when the German police or customs officers passed by, outside the sanatorium.¹⁶⁶ The sanatorium's director, Gelase-Marius, gave Gallon permission to take people over the border and told him to be careful, after Abbé Ginoux had asked Gallon to help as a *porteur*. He or another member of the sanatorium community also allowed some of Gallon's refugees to stay the night.¹⁶⁷

The police and customs officials sometimes acted as helpers. No agreement was made with them, but they assisted in important ways, more than once. Lisa and Hans became friendly with the local customs officers and police by eating with them at a restaurant. Subsequently, Hans was on a train to Cerbère and one of the policemen was doing the inspection; he did not insist on seeing Hans' papers. Lisa remembers, 'When the customs and border officials entered the train compartment just before Cerbère, Meyerhof presented his papers. The gendarme whom we often ate lunch with at the pier restaurant was there. Hans wanted to show the slip identifying him as a resident of Banyuls, but it wasn't necessary—the gendarme held up his palm in refusal, "Mais non, monsieur, pas vous!" One must be lucky. Is it really only luck?'¹⁶⁸ One day, two customs officials started following refugees whom Hans was guiding, on the outskirts of Banyuls, because a refugee was carrying a large bundle containing his fur coat. They asked some questions but then let them go; one of them knew Hans. He told Hans that they would not have noticed them if it were not for the bulky parcel, and both described the smugglers' path to him in detail.¹⁶⁹ In February or March 1941, the police ordered all non-residents in Banyuls to the police station to have their papers examined. Hans showed his expired *carte d'identité* and two gendarmes entered him into the register. When Lisa showed her *refus de séjour* [a document indicating she had applied to stay in France but her request had been refused] they passed it back to her without examining it closely and said, 'that's all, Madam.'¹⁷⁰ When Hans and Lisa needed safe-conduct passes to leave Banyuls, the policemen worried that Lisa might be arrested at the first check point if they wrote in the *sauf-conduit* form that she had a '*refus de séjour*.' An employee at the mayor's office, who was present, helped solve the problem by proposing that they write on the form '*pièce d'identité*,' so that at

and then his order sent him to Belgium, and then to Villa Roselande, where he continued to work as a nurse. 'Poème d'humble charité Frère Basile-Felix,' 126-133, Recueil de notices nécrologiques, Fichier central des archives lasalliennes consultable sur <https://www.archives-lasalliennes.org/integration/fiche-frere.php#>, Archives Lasalliennes de France.

¹⁶⁴ Statement by Marcel Gallon entitled, 'NOTES concernant mes activités dans la RESISTANCE pendant mon séjour au Sanatorium Villa ROSELANDE à ANGOUSTRINE (Pyrénées-Orientales),' Document 8, Righteous collections, YVA.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., Document 11.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Document 8.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., Document 10.

¹⁶⁸ Fittko, *Escape*, 128.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 143-144.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 160.

check points they would think it was a mistake for the intended '*carte d'identité*.' All wished Hans and Lisa good luck as they left.¹⁷¹ They were clearly in sympathy with them. These officials may have been helpful because the Fittkos had talked with them in local restaurants, or perhaps they knew what they were doing and approved. But helpful policemen were not unique to Banyuls; throughout the Pyrénées-Orientales and France, there were police and customs officials who hid Jews, provided them with false papers and omitted to arrest them and inform their superiors about their presence.¹⁷²

Some non-charging *passeurs* had fee-charging accomplices. If the accomplices' motives included helping people who wished to escape, these accomplices could be said to be part of the resistance cell. Receiving money and engaging in an act of resistance were not mutually exclusive. Those who charged may have done so because they had a family to support, because the work of guiding took time away from other work, or because it was so dangerous as to require that they save up for their family in case they were arrested. For example, the Greek railway engineer who took two refugees to Spain in his locomotive for the Fittkos had a family, including a young son, and was interested in earning money. He smuggled goods across the border, as well as people. He explained to Lisa and Hans, "one has to eat." Yet he also appeared to be interested in helping the Fittkos get people to the border safely, since he helped them find accommodation for the British pilots and soldiers whom they led to the border.¹⁷³ With his sympathetic stance and the fact that he was acting against the spirit and letter of the law, he could be said to be engaging in resistance. Similarly, when the Banyuls hotel owner, fisherman and railroad employee's family provided paid accommodation for the Fittkos' refugees without registering their stay with the authorities, they no doubt knew that they were helping foreigners escape to Spain; the Englishmen, in particular, were conspicuous.¹⁷⁴ They were very likely in full agreement with the Fittkos' efforts, even though they received money for what they did. If such accomplices had not been in sympathy with the *passeurs* or escapees whom they helped, they could have denounced them or refused the work. Of course, there were *passeurs* and accomplices whose motives were purely pecuniary,¹⁷⁵ and these cannot be considered resisters. Motivation is a key factor in determining whether or not the work was a form of resistance. In sum, if the paid accomplice wanted to help people escape and was against the Vichy and Nazi regimes, they may be considered resisters—resisters who needed the money in order to survive. As such, they were part of the resistance cell.

The *passeurs*' resistance cells tended to be larger when the refugees required food and accommodation or could not manage the climb and needed another way of getting to Spain. The Aegouaus had a much smaller circle of helpers than did Gallon and the Fittkos; it included Jeanne's mother and later the farmer Jean-Baptiste Rogalle. This was because they did not need helpers, as they did not house and feed the refugees before their departure, except for just before Jean-Pierre's last trip. With the Germans in the village, they may also have been afraid to tell anyone what they were doing. Marcel Gallon had a larger team of helpers despite the German presence, perhaps

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 160-162.

¹⁷² On French policemen and civil servants who helped Jews, see Eychenne, *Les Portes*, 80, 81; Yagil, *La France and Désobéir*.

¹⁷³ Fittko, *Escape*, 125, 126, 129.

¹⁷⁴ Fittko, *Escape*, 141, 158.

¹⁷⁵ Viadiu, *Andorra: cadena de evasion*, 175-176.

because many of his helpers were members of his sanatorium community or the broader community of religious men, and this may have made him feel that he could trust them.

To create a circle of accomplices required skill: the *passeur* had to be able to meet and hold a comfortable conversation with a range of individuals; judge people accurately on slender acquaintance; communicate subtly; keep the accomplices motivated; monitor their trustworthiness; and manage them so that they did what was needed, when needed. Being sociable would have been useful for building a larger social network. The work that *passeurs* offered may have been attractive to some accomplices, in that it gave them a way to fight against a set of rules, laws or a government that they did not like. The accomplices may not have had many other opportunities to act against an oppressive, pro-German regime, or to help persecuted individuals escape its clutches.

As well as creating their own resistance cells, *passeurs* tapped into other resistance groups. Several of their helpers had resistance networks of their own. The mayor of Banyuls had a network of fellow socialists who helped each other. When the Fittkos and their assistant, Walter Meyerhof, needed a lenient judge to release them from prison, and a discreet transport company manager to take the refugees' luggage to Spain, the mayor of Banyuls came to their rescue by contacting two socialists in his network.¹⁷⁶ When they needed someone to take to Spain a couple who could not walk to the border, they found a French Resistance group.¹⁷⁷ Conversely, the *passeurs* contributed to already-existing resistance networks. When the Fittkos began guiding British soldiers to Spain for Fry, they contributed to an on-going effort led by the British Embassy in Madrid.¹⁷⁸ It could be said that the *passeurs*' resistance network was loosely connected to several other resistance networks, as one might imagine a solar system whose edges touch those of other solar systems.

In addition to the accomplices, there were acquaintances who helped with '*petits gestes*' (small-scale actions), as Semelin describes the varied ways in which people helped Jews in France.¹⁷⁹ These acquaintances had not been told what the *passeurs* were doing, but had probably guessed. For example, Hans and Lisa had come to know the vineyard workers who left Banyuls before dawn, 'and sometimes in conversation one will mention *en passant* what the best way to the border is, and where one shouldn't go.'¹⁸⁰ The vineyard workers allowed them to mingle with them as they walked. These forms of helpfulness were important for the Fittkos' safety. A local creamery owner gave Lisa milk, and the owner of a restaurant would provide food without asking for food stamps, gestures that helped the Fittkos help the escapees.¹⁸¹

Local cells, transnational resistance

¹⁷⁶ Walter Meyerhof, 'An episode missing from Escape Through the Pyrenees by Lisa Fittko,' YVA, Collection of Hans Fittko, item ID 4014840, Documents 12, 13; Meyerhof, *In the Shadow of Love: Stories from My Life*, 52-55.

¹⁷⁷ Fittko, *Escape*, 101, 105, 122-123, 154.

¹⁷⁸ Fry, *Surrender*, 76-78.

¹⁷⁹ Semelin, *La survie*.

¹⁸⁰ Fittko, *Escape*, 130.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

The *passeur* and their accomplices were a local group that was in some cases part of a transnational network. What made them a local group was that they tended to live and work in the same village, or very close to each other. Yet their escape lines were far-reaching and transnational, in Gallon's and the Fittkos' cases. Megan Koreman has shown how the Dutch-Paris escape line spanned several countries;¹⁸² the same was true for the escape line in which the Fittkos participated. Varian Fry had contacts and associates in New York, Lisbon and Madrid, all assisting him with helping individuals leave France.¹⁸³ But the Fittkos and their accomplices were based in Banyuls-sur-Mer and did not often leave the area. They met regularly with Varian Fry's colleague who came to them from Marseille. They very occasionally went to Marseille but had no contact with Fry's escape line associates in Madrid, Lisbon and New York.¹⁸⁴ Gallon appears to have stayed in and around Angoustrine and Llivia for his work as guide, except for his visits to the Bishop in Perpignan. His accomplices were locals. Yet he was part of escape lines that included a religious community in Marseille; Christian brothers and Americans (presumably the Embassy) in Spain; and individuals connected with the Deuxième Bureau in London. As such, the *passeur* and circle of accomplices were like a bead in a chain of beads (other resistance cells), the necklace stretching across a national boundary.

The concept of transnational resistance should be expanded to include resistance in which the resisters accompany individuals across or to a state's border. A foundational definition of transnational resistance appears in the book *Fighters across Frontiers: Transnational Resistance in Europe 1936-1948*, by historians Robert Gildea and Ism  e Tames. For these authors, resistance is transnational when the resister and those with whom they cooperate are of different national origins or have personal trajectories that are pluri-national.¹⁸⁵ This definition essentially addresses how much contact resisters have had with people from outside their country, or how international, versus parochial, the resister and their trajectory have been. However, the analysis of *passeurs'* work presented above suggests that the concept of transnational resistance should include taking people to or across an international border (even if these people are of the same nationality as the *passeur*). That is, it should focus on what the resister *does* when they engage in resistance, as well as on how international they *are*. The concept should also be expanded to include resistance in which the resisters work within a network that spans more than one country. As we have seen, a *passeur's* work could result in the *passeur* becoming part of a chain of people in different countries, working together for the same cause. Marcel Gallon, for example, was part of a larger whole whose resistance was transnational. Transnational resistance and solidarity-focused resistance intersect where *passeurs* across international borders are concerned. It is likely that many individuals who helped refugees during the Holocaust and Second World War belonged to solidarity-focused resistance cells that were part of a transnational effort.

¹⁸² Koreman, *The Escape Line*, 33, 103.

¹⁸³ See Fry, *Surrender*.

¹⁸⁴ Fittko, *Escape*, 125-126, 134, 142, 148-150; 153-156.

¹⁸⁵ Gildea and Tames, "Introduction," 5. They define transnational resistance as resistance involving meeting and cooperating with people of different national origins; resistance involving trajectories taken by resisters that lead them to resist outside their country of origin; and resistance involving experiences of transnational resistance that change a resister's thinking, practice and identity.

With the analysis presented above, this study of the work of five *passeurs* who did not charge asserts that a *passeur's* work involved considerably more than just taking escapees to the border, difficult and dangerous though this was. *Passeurs* also engaged in substantial preparatory work, going to meet the refugees; describing the upcoming climb to them; giving advice, warnings and instructions; calming them down; on occasion providing food and forged documents; and organising accommodation. In addition, they found, assessed and recruited trustworthy people to help them, and regularly made arrangements with them. All had at least two accomplices. In working with these accomplices, they formed a resistance cell. Because these cells focused on assisting others with whom the cell's members were in solidarity, I call their resistance 'solidarity-focused resistance.' The term also applies to other cases of assistance to individuals with whom the resisters are in solidarity under authoritarian and repressive regimes. At the same time, the *passeurs'* work constituted transnational resistance.

In sum, this research on border guides in the Pyrenees has conceptualised *passeurs'* work as consisting of two sets of activities, guiding and preparatory work, and has explored these in depth, while elucidating the ways in which *passeurs* experienced them. It has also demonstrated that *passeurs* were a more heterogeneous group than indicated in the historiography to date. It has enabled us to better understand forced migration; rescue during the Holocaust; and resistance in France during the Second World War. It has advocated broadening the concept of transnational resistance by incorporating into it work that involves helping people cross international borders, and membership in transnational escape lines. With its focus on Lisa Fittko and Jeanne Rogalle (née Aegouau), it has shed light on Jewish resistance and women's resistance. Furthermore, this study has contributed to our knowledge of a border region that was crucial for the escape of both Jews and non-Jews during the Second World War: the French Pyrenees. It has taught us a little about the social history of this mountain range by examining individuals who were part of the Pyrenean social fabric. The Pyrenees have long been a region in which people who thought differently from the majority sojourned, and the article has shown us what some such individuals did.¹⁸⁶ What it has taught us is ultimately uplifting: in the Pyrenees, continuously traversed during the Holocaust and Second World War by imperilled and frightened refugees from all over Europe, there were people willing to help. These people, the *passeurs* and their accomplices, stood up to the repression and helped the refugees survive Nazi and Vichy violence.



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¹⁸⁶ See, for example, Dreyfus-Armand, "Spanish Republicans Exiled in France," 190-195.

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